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MEMOIRS

OF THE

Public and Private Life

OF

JOHN HOWARD, THE PHILANTHROPIST.

OPTEE
BOMBAY

JOHN HOWARD, THE PHILANTHROPIST.

Engraved by Freeman from an original drawing by [illegible]

Fac simile of his directions for the inscription upon his monument.

My Tomb, to be a plain Slip of Marble, placed
under that of my dear Henrietta's in Cardington
Church, with this inscription John Howard Died [illegible]
My Hope is in Christ

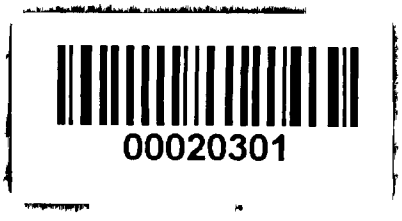
HENRIETTA,

eldest daughter of Edward Leeds, Esq.ᵉ of Croxton, Cambridgeshire,

the second and favorite wife of

JOHN HOWARD, THE PHILANTHROPIST.

Engraved by Freeman from the original miniature formerly in the possession of Mr. Howard.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MEMOIRS

OF THE

PUBLIC AND PRIVATE LIFE

OF

JOHN HOWARD, THE PHILANTHROPIST;

COMPILED FROM

HIS OWN DIARY, IN THE POSSESSION OF HIS FAMILY; HIS CONFIDENTIAL LETTERS; THE COMMUNICATIONS OF HIS SURVIVING RELATIVES AND FRIENDS; AND OTHER AUTHENTIC SOURCES OF INFORMATION.

BY

JAMES BALDWIN BROWN, Esq.

OF THE INNER TEMPLE, BARRISTER AT LAW.

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ae

When the ear heard *him*, then it blessed *him*; and when the eye saw *him*, it gave witness to *him*.
Because *he* delivered the poor that cried, and the fatherless, and him that had none to help him.
The blessing of him that was ready to perish came upon *him*: and *he* caused the widow's heart to sing for joy.

Job, chap. xxix. v. 11, 12, 13.

Sine dubio magnus omnium judicio hic vir extitit. *Cornelius Nepos in Timol.*

x x d 13

LONDON:

PRINTED FOR REST FENNER, PATERNOSTER-ROW.

1818.

TO

WILLIAM WILBERFORCE, Esq. M.P.

&c. &c. &c.

THE ELOQUENT, INDEFATIGABLE, AND SUCCESSFUL ADVOCATE OF

THE ABOLITION OF THE SLAVE TRADE;

THE

ZEALOUS FRIEND, AND LIBERAL SUPPORTER OF EVERY SCHEME OF BENEVOLENCE,

WHICH HAS FOR ITS OBJECT

THE MITIGATION OF THE SUFFERINGS, THE AMELIORATION OF THE CONDITION, THE PROMOTION OF THE HAPPINESS, PRESENT AND ETERNAL

OF

THE WHOLE BROTHERHOOD OF MAN:

AS A TRIBUTE OF ADMIRATION OF HIS PUBLIC CHARACTER; OF VENERATION FOR HIS PRIVATE VIRTUES; AND OF GRATITUDE FOR MARKS OF PERSONAL ATTENTION RECEIVED AT HIS HANDS,

THESE MEMOIRS

OF

THE CHRISTIAN PHILANTHROPIST,

IN WHOSE FOOTSTEPS HE HAS TRODDEN; BY WHOSE MOTIVES HE IS ACTUATED; IN WHOSE GLORIOUS RECOMPENSE HE WILL BE A FINAL PARTAKER,

ARE MOST RESPECTFULLY INSCRIBED

BY HIS OBLIGED AND DEVOTED HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE AUTHOR.

10, *Harcourt-Buildings, Temple,*
July 7, 1818.

PREFACE.

THE friends of the distinguished individual whose extraordinary deeds of philanthropy form the principal subject of the following pages, have long regretted that no memoir of his life has yet been presented to the public, in which full justice is done to the motives by which he was actuated in the unparalleled career of benevolence that has immortalized his name. The deficiency they have deplored, it is the object of this work to supply, from information derived from a variety of sources, of whose originality and authenticity a particular description will naturally be expected at its author's hands.

About four years since, the confidential servant who had attended Mr. Howard in most of his journeys abroad, and who was with him at his death, closed a chequered existence in the infirmary at Liverpool,

and upon his death-bed sent for a respectable minister of that town, into whose possession, and that of some other of its inhabitants, who kindly visited him during his last illness,—and not without hopes of having been the instruments of leading him to repent of the error of his ways,—he delivered a rough journal of his travels; the memorandum-book which his master had with him at his death; some of that master's original letters; and other papers, illustrative of his unwearied labors in the cause of humanity, and the general excellence of his character, in private, as in public life. These various documents were afterwards submitted to one of the earliest, and most intimate of my friends, with whom I have since become connected by nearer ties, the Rev. Thomas Raffles, of Liverpool, who suggested to me the idea of preparing for the press, from these, and other materials which he would aid me in collecting, a Memoir of our Philanthropist's life, in whose compilation his own want of leisure prevented his engaging. Having, through his introduction, obtained the use of such of the papers, formerly in the possession of Thomasson, the servant above alluded to, as are still available for the purposes of a work like the present,—some of them having unfortunately been lent and mislaid,—no time was lost in making application to the successor of Mr. Howard's pastor, at Bedford, for his assistance in procuring the information which that town and its

neighbourhood was likely to supply; and it was then I learned, for the first time, that a life of this great and good man was in contemplation, from materials in the possession of the family of the late Rev. Mr. Smith, to which they had added every thing of interest that their long and intimate connection with Mr. Howard and his friends enabled them to obtain. Unwilling, therefore, to create a rivalry between those whose object and views were precisely the same, though their resources were perfectly distinct and independent the one of the other, a communication was immediately opened with Mr. Newton Bosworth, of Cambridge, into whose hands the papers in question had prudently been delivered; in consequence of which an arrangement was made, transferring, for a second time, the task of becoming the biographer of Mr. Howard from abler hand[redacted] to mine. Thus furnished with information, the greater part of whi[redacted] had never before met the public eye, an announcement of the pro[redacted]ed biography was made in some of the principal periodical journal[redacted]n answer to which I was most liberally furnished, by the near relative and acting executor of Mr. Howard's will, in whose possession the invaluable original remains, with several extracts from his own private diary of some of the most interesting years of his singularly useful life. But valuable as was the stock of materials now collected, it soon received a

most important addition in the kind communication with which I was most obligingly favored by Dr. Brown, Principal of the Marischal College, Aberdeen, of the various entries he had made in his common-place-book of the most striking particulars of Mr. Howard's journeys of philanthropy, which he received from his own lips. These were, from time to time, augmented by the reminiscencies of Dr. Lettsom, the Rev. Mr. Lewin, and several other of the friends of this extraordinary man, with whom, wherever it was probable that they could give any authentic intelligence as to his manners and habits, I have made it my business either to converse or correspond; having also had personal communications on this subject with his surviving domestics, and some others, in the humbler walks of life, who were acquainted with different parts of his eventful history.

In moulding the materials, thus carefully collected from every quarter to which it was probable that reference could be made with any prospect of success, into one connected narrative, it has been my anxious wish so to detail every circumstance of his life, as to exhibit the illustrious subject of my biography in the character which truly belonged to him, as one of the most excellent of the earth, both in his private relations and his public labors; no less ardent in his devotion as a Christian, in

the closet, nor less exemplary in the discharge of his duties as a husband, a father, and a friend, in the retirement of the domestic circle, than prompt, unwearied, and disinterested in the performance of those unprecedented deeds of benevolence by which he has gained to himself the honorable distinction of the Philanthropist of the World. The peculiar traits in his private character—the principal incidents of his domestic history—the record of his feelings, as a man and as a Christian, under trials and dfficulties such as few are exposed to in journeying through this vale of tears, are now, for the most part, for the first time, presented to the public, either in his own language, or from the authentic information of friends who knew him well. But in this part of the following memoirs, as in that which relates to his public conduct, it would be unpardonable in their author to omit freely and fully acknowledging the assistance he has derived from the View of the Character and Public Services of Mr. Howard, published soon after his death by his friend Dr. Aikin, the undoubted authenticity of the information which it contains, rendering that work a most indispensable auxiliary to any one who should undertake the task of giving to the world a more extended biography of that singular ornament of the human race, whose life would, in all probability, never again have been composed, had his family and friends thought proper to furnish this able writer with

those materials which it is my happier lot to have obtained. Throughout the following pages their author trusts it will be evident also, that all possible diligence has been used to extract from the other accoun and anecdotes of Mr. Howard's life which have already appeared in print, few and meagre as they are, every particular that can be deemed nteresting, whilst it may be relied on as authentic. In tracing the prδgress of those journeys of philanthropy, which have given importance to every thing connected with the benevolent being who performed them, recourse too has, of necessity, been had to his own ublications, and from their pages, with a degree of trouble and labor inconceivable to those who may not follow me through the detail, the whole of the more prominent circumstances of the condition in which he found every gaol, and prison, and lazaretto, and hospital that he visited in the course of his repeated journeyings at home and abroad, have been thrown into a regular narrative, following the order of time, and mitting the various minutiæ of scite, dimensions, rules, and regulations, which would prevent the general reader from entering on a perusal of books not now very easily to be procured. This course appeared to me the only one that could be consistently adopted, in a work professing to give a full account of Mr. Howard's life, in which his travels on these errands of mercy occupy so conspicuous a place; and I hope the

readers of the following memoirs will have no reason to wish that another had been pursued. With all those faults upon its head which a first attempt at so difficult a line of authorship may be expected to possess,—and which may, perhaps, in some measure, have been increased by the circumstance of its having been composed during the few intervals from drier and severer studies, which can be allowed to the pursuits of a laborious profession, requiring also frequent and protracted absences from home,—this work is submitted to the public in a full reliance that it will experience the same liberality at their hands, and at those of the periodical critics, who are supposed, to a certain extent, to inform their judgments, and direct their taste, which its author gratefully acknowledges to have received upon former occasions.

Before, however, these prefatory remarks are brought to a close, I have to discharge the pleasing duty of publicly returning my thanks to those kind friends and promoters of this undertaking, but for whose liberal communications it would either never have been completed or have been deprived of the greater part of the interest it may now possess. But so numerous is the list of those to whom, upon the present occasion, I am proud to acknowledge myself indebted, that it is difficult to know where to begin, or when to end. To NATHANIEL BAR-

NADISTON, Esq. of *Charlotte-street, Bloombury-square*, my best thanks are due, for the liberal manner in which he furnished me with those extracts from the diary of his distinguished relative, which, if I am not greatly mistaken, the public will rank with the most valuable part of the following pages. Nor less deep are my obligations, nor less forcibly felt, for the kindness with which the Rev. Dr. WILLIAM LAURENCE BROWN, D. D. Principal and Professor of Theology, in the Marischal College of *Aberdeen*, undertook the task of transcribing for my use those highly interesting memoranda of his conversations with the inestimable friend, who knew and duly appreciated his talents and his worth, with which this work is enriched. In both cases it is impossible not to feel equally flattered and obliged, by so much trouble having been taken for a stranger, who has no claims upon the time or attention of either of these gentlemen, but what they may indulgently have been disposed to give to the design which first introduced him to their correspondence and acquaintance. These communications, important as they are, would, however, have left much of the private history and domestic habits of our great Philanthropist involved in the obscurity, or clouded by the misrepresentations which have hitherto rested upon them, but for the indefatigable exertions of Mrs. GREENE, the eldest daughter of the late Rev. *Thomas Smith*, of *Bedford*, the most intimate and confidential

of Mr. Howard's friends, and of her husband Mr. JOHN GREENE, of *Cambridge*, in collecting all the information which the ravages of death and time had left within their reach, to illustrate the character of a man, in whose reputation they may naturally be supposed to take a peculiar interest. To the former, I have great pleasure in publicly acknowledging myself most deeply indebted for the pains she has taken to prepare for my assistance, in the compilation of this work, a very full account of her own recollections of the life and habits of her father's distinguished friend, interspersed with many original and authentic facts, collected from conversations and correspondence with those who knew him while living, and who venerate, as they ought to do, his ardent piety, amenity of disposition, and universal benevolence, now that he is no more. To the latter, in conjunction with Mrs. Greene, my thanks are most justly due, not only for the confidential letters from Mr. Howard to his friend, but for the promptitude and unwearied zeal with which they have sought out information for the purposes of this memoir wherever it was to be found. It is to their persevering efforts that I owe the great advantages which have been derived from the short, but valuable sketch of Mr. Howard's life, drawn up for publication by the late Rev. SAMUEL PALMER, of *Hackney*, as an appendix to a second edition of the sermon which he preached on his death, and most obligingly

entrusted, by his widow, to the discretion of the present biographer of that eminent character. Through their kind interference I have also been furnished with several interesting anecdotes of Mr. Howard's life, private as well as public, communicated to Mrs. Greene by Mrs. COLES, widow of the Rev. Mr. COLES, of *Ampthill*, in *Bedfordshire*, who lived upon terms of great intimacy with him, both before, and after the death of his second, and favorite wife; whilst their residence at *Cambridge* has rendered them the channel of communication with Dr. EDWARD DANIEL CLARKE, the celebrated traveller, who has kindly answered every inquiry proposed to him, relative to the residence and death of our illustrious countryman, in those distant regions, with whose habits and manners his interesting work has made us so familiarly acquainted.

It has been one of the pleasing circumstances issuing out of the tedious and difficult work of collecting materials for the following memoir, in which, for nearly two years, its author was occupied, that by its means, he has been introduced to the acquaintance and friendship of several excellent men, with whom, in all probability, he otherwise should never have had any intercourse. In the first rank of these esteemed individuals, he would place Mr. NEWTON BOSWORTH, of *Cambridge*,

well known to the world as one of the editors of the *Pantalogia*, but whose talents would have been still more fully developed, had his numerous engagements permitted him to have changed places with the friend, who now requests him to accept his most cordial thanks, for the interest he has taken in a work, for whose execution he himself had made some preparation, from which, as well as from his judicious advice and kind assistance in collecting materials, considerable advantage has been derived by the successor to his labors. Nor less has been the pleasure experienced from the acquaintance and friendship of the Rev. SAMUEL HILLYARD, of *Bedford*, to which his engagement in this work has introduced its author, who now gladly embraces the opportunity of expressing his grateful sense of the kindness with which that gentleman, at no small pains and trouble, procured answers to such inquiries as, during its composition and progress through the press, it became necessary to institute in the neighbourhood of Mr. Howard's residence, and the chief spot on which the more private virtues of his heart were called into a full and constant exercise. Nor can he possibly forget the friendly reception which he met with at his hands, when paying a short visit to the interesting scene of their exhibition, in order to glean every little incident in the domestic history, every trifling peculiarity in the habits, manners, and character of the

illustrious subject of his biography, which might have escaped the notice of his fair fellow-laborer in this interesting field of inquiry. It was in his company that I had the gratification of hearing from the lips of Mrs. PROLE, of her son, and of JOSHUA CROCKFORD, the old and faithful gardener at *Cardington;* from Mrs. PRESTON, and other of Mr. Howard's former tenants, or of the pensioners on his bounty, during life, and the partakers of his remembrance of the poor at his death,—the most unequivocal testimony to the general excellence of his character, and the kindness of his disposition, which they illustrated by several little anecdotes engrafted on various parts of these memoirs; and for whose communication I now tender my sincere thanks to these humbler, but attached friends of him who was the friend of all, but most of the poor, and those of low estate. To Mrs. PROLE, in particular, who, from the liberality with which her former master recompensed those services, which both her husband and herself performed with a more than ordinary share of zeal, prudence, and fidelity, is filling, in her latter days, a respectable station in life, with credit to herself, and advantage to her family, I feel that my acknowledgments are most justly due, not only for the information with which she has furnished me, but for entrusting to my hands the letters of Mr. Howard to her husband, which she so highly values,

and for having enabled me to present to the public correct, and,—thanks to the skill of the engraver,—most exquisitely-finished likenesses of our great Philanthropist, and of the beloved wife, whose melancholy fate had so decided an influence on the future usefulness of his life. The Hon. Captain and Mrs. WALDEGRAVE, the present occupiers of the delightful retreat planned and laid out under the inspection of this amiable and attached pair, though, alas! but for too short a time enjoyed in each other's endeared society, have also claims upon my gratitude for the politeness with which they attempted to decypher the inscription in the root-house at Cardington, and permitted my free access to the house and gardens there; whilst to their owner, JOHN HOWARD CHANNING, Esq. I am under similar obligations for the assistance he so readily afforded me, in procuring from others that information relative to the property contingently bequeathed to him,—and to its original possessor, which he was not sufficiently acquainted with Mr. Howard's private character and history, to furnish himself.

Turning from *Bedfordshire* to *Warrington*, where much of the time of the benevolent being, whose public virtues and private worth these pages are intended to record, was passed, in the labors of philanthropy, to which he devoted the last sixteen years of his existence,

I have great satisfaction in acknowledging the kindness with which my inquiries in that quarter were forwarded by PETER NICHOLSON, Esq. of that town: from whom, from his lady, the only daughter of Mr. EYRES, the printer of all Mr. Howard's works, and from Dr. KENDRICK, the successor of Dr. *Aikin*, at *Warrington*, much assistance has been derived, for the illustration of this period of the following memoir; whilst the manner in which it was rendered has made the favor doubly valuable to the individual on whom it was conferred. By their instrumentality, the opportunity was afforded him of collecting, from personal conversation with Mrs. WILDE, the lady in whose house Mr. Howard lodged, Miss EATON, a member of the Society of Friends, with whose father he was in habits of intimacy, and Mr. JOHN MORRIS, the person principally employed in the printing of his various works, all the particulars of his manners and habits, which survive in a town, where his memory is still held in the highest veneration and esteem.

Few persons, however, have contributed more extensively, by their exertions and their influence, to the promotion of this design, than my friend, and brother-in-law, the Rev. THOMAS RAFFLES, of *Liverpool;* and I am persuaded he will believe me, when I thus publicly assure him,

that his kindness upon this occasion will, if possible, tend to strengthen the ties by which I have been bound to him from our boyish years, and which have since been cemented by one of a still closer description. It is to his exertions that the public and myself are chiefly indebted for the preservation, in these pages, of those curious and interesting documents formerly in the possession of Mr. Howard's confidential attendant, but now in his own, and that of ADAM HODGSON, Esq. and Mr. THOMAS KAYE, of *Liverpool*, who have kindly permitted me the use of them. On his application also, I was liberally furnished by Mr. J. B. WILLIAMS, of *Shrewsbury*, with several interesting anecdotes of Mr. Howard, and such of his letters to the Rev. Mr. *Symonds*, as he had not already sent to the *Editor of the Evangelical Magazine*, by whom the former ones were published, after he was informed of the use that was wished to be made of them, as original documents, in these pages. In consequence also of his request, the Rev. JOHN COCKIN, of *Holmfurth*, was at the trouble of obtaining, from the Rev. JOSIAH TOWNSEND, the son of Mr. Howard's original pastor, such intelligence as he could furnish, for the illustration of the character of his father's old and steady friend; accompanying that intelligence by several highly-interesting anecdotes, communicated to himself, by the late *Rev. Mr. Bealey*, the Unitarian minister at *Warrington*. For the valuable communications of another of Mr.

Howard's friends, the Rev. Mr. LEWIN, minister of *Renshaw-street chapel, Liverpool*, I am likewise indebted to his introduction, as well as for the trouble taken by that gentleman's son, ROBERT LEWIN, M. D. of the same town, in furthering my inquiries.

It will hardly be supposed by any one, that such a life of Howard as the present, could have been undertaken without an application for materials to the family of his friends and relatives, the *Whitbreads*. But, alas! ere such application could be made, the head and brightest ornament of that family was snatched from his weeping country and his friends, by a stroke of death, sudden, unexpected, and most deeply felt by all. Recourse, therefore, was had to his noble relative, Earl GREY, from whom, and from his widowed sister Lady ELIZABETH WHITBREAD, my request met with the most prompt and polite attention, though I am sorry to add, that on searching the papers of the family, nothing was found in connection with Mr. Howard, which, in the estimation of the person by whom that search was directed to be made, could be at all interesting to the public. It only remains, therefore, for me, to express my sincere acknowledgments to these noble personages for the trouble they did me the honor to take in order to meet my wishes, and to add a hope, that the time may arrive when they shall

see fit to reverse the opinion they have adopted, should any thing remain in their possession that can throw light upon the character of one of the greatest and best of men that any age or country has produced.

My thanks are also due for a variety of interesting information which it would be needless and tedious to particularize, and for the readiness with which they have, in various ways, promoted the collecting of materials for the following work, or otherwise furthered its progress, to JOHN NICHOLS, Esq. F. A. S. the well-known historian of *Leicestershire*, and the author of several other valuable works; to his son, JOHN BOWYER NICHOLS, Esq. F. L. S.; WILLIAM MORGAN, Esq. F. R. S. Actuary of the Equitable Insurance Office, and author of the admirable Treatise on the Doctrine of Chances; the Rev. ROBERT WINTER, D.D.; Rev. WILLIAM BENGO COLLYER, D.D. F.A.S.; Rev. THOMAS BELSHAM; Rev. THOMAS MITCHELL; Rev. JOSEPH BROCKSBANK; Rev. JOSEPH BROCKSBANK, Jun.; Miss NESBITT; T. J. PETTIGREW, Esq. F. L. S.; and Mr. THOMAS FISHER, of *London*; the Rev. JAMES PLUMBTREE, M. A. and F. THACKERAY, M. D. of *Cambridge*; Rev. THOMAS WATERS, of *Pershore, Worcestershire*; Rev. JOSEPH FRANCE, M.A. of *Lancaster*; Rev. P. S. CHARRIER, Mrs. HURRY, and Mr. PHOENIX, of *Liverpool*; Rev. JOSEPH STENNET, of *Calne*; Rev. Mr. KENWORTHY,

formerly minister of the Independent congregation at *Warrington*: his son, Mr. J. D. KENWORTHY, and ROBERT KAYE, Esq. of *Manchester;* Rev. J. ANTHONY, THEED PEARSE, Esq. and THEED PEARSE, Jun. Esq. of *Bedford;* CAPEL LOFFT, Esq. barrister at law, of *Troston Hall*, near *Bury;* Mr. RICHARD HOWE, of *Aspley*, and JEREMIAH HOLMES WIFFIN, of *Woburn*, *Bedfordshire;* and to Mr. LE GRAND, of *Hoddesdon*, in *Hertfordshire*.

To these my thanks may reach; but there are some whose communications and friendly exertions have imparted much of whatever interest they may possess, to pages which they can never read, whilst conveying acknowledgments, as voiceless to their ears, as are the tombs in which they rest. Since this work was begun, no less than seven individuals who have furnished, or assisted in furnishing its author with materials for its composition, have followed to the world of spirits the friend, or the Philanthropist, whose history, or whose character they had contributed their assistance to place before the public eye in a fuller and clearer light than has hitherto been cast upon them. Lady ST. JOHN, of *Bletsoe*; Dr. LETTSOM; the Rev. WILLIAM KINGSBURY, formerly of *Southampton;* his sister, Mrs. TAYLOR, of *Portswood*, in *Hampshire*, but latterly of *Caversham*, near *Reading;* and WILLIAM HOL-

LICK; Esq. of *Cambridge*, all of them in the number of Mr. Howard's friends, have, I trust, been called to join him in a better world, as these memoirs of his useful, but toilsome pilgrimage on earth were preparing for, or passing through the press. Nor has the world at large, nor have I, as an individual, less cause to regret the sudden removal of the other two contributors of some of the information on which this work has been compiled. In the Right Hon. JOHN HILEY ADDINGTON, M. P. the late Under Secretary of State for the Home Department, his country has lost an able, an upright, and a zealous servant; his family and connections a most affectionate relative and faithful friend; and society at large a worthy and excellent man. The information he was kind enough to procure for me, in connection with Mr. Howard's correspondence with the different offices of government, though it was but little that he could obtain, was one of the last of the many acts of kindness which I received at his hands, during the very short period that I had the honor of numbering him with my friends. In JOSEPH ADAMS, M. D. F. L. S. his profession has recently lost one of its brightest ornaments, and his friends, a man at all times ready to use his influence to serve them, as upon this, and every other occasion, I uniformly found him to be.

Having thus performed the melancholy, as well as the pleasing part

of his duty, nothing now remains for the author of the following pages but to commit them to the liberality of the public, with an intimation, that, should they extend their indulgence to the faults of this attempt to exhibit the character of an individual, of whom his country and the world may be justly proud, in its proper light, so far as to require its republication in an improved form, he will gladly avail himself of any communication with which he may be favored, in the interim, from any of the surviving friends (and many such no doubt there are, who have escaped his most diligent researches) of a man,—to have shared in whose friendship,—to have enjoyed whose conversation, must have been a source of the purest happiness which the social intercourse of man with his fellow can offer, upon this side the grave.

J. B. D.

Harcourt Buildings, Temple,
July 7, 1818.

For the following beautiful Lines I am indebted to Jeremiah Holmes Wiffin, a youthful member of the Society of Friends, whose poetical talents, if the partiality of friendship does not deceive me, will one day procure for him a very large share of public approbation.

1.

Why, when the souls we loved are fled
  Plant we their turf with flowers,
Their blossomed fragrance there to shed,
  In sunshine and in showers?
Why bid, when these have passed away,
The laurel flourish o'er their clay,
  In Winter's blighting hours;
To spread a leaf, for ever green,
Ray of the Life that once hath been?

2.

It is that we would thence create
  Bright memory of the Past;
And give their imaged forms a date,
  Eternally to last.
It is—to hallow, whilst regret
Is busy with their actions yet,
  The sweetnesses they cast:
To sanctify upon the Earth,
The glory of departed worth.

3.

Such and so fair in Day's decline
The hues which Nature gives;
Yet—yet—though suns have ceased to shine,
Her fair creation lives.
With loved remembrances to fill
The mind, and tender griefs instil,
Dim radiance yet survives,
And lovelier seems that lingering light,
When blended with the shades of Night.

4.

Else why, when rifled stands the Tower;
The Column overthrown;
And, record of man's pride and power,
Crumbles the storying Stone;
Why does she give her Ivy-Vine,
Their ruins livingly to twine
If not to grant alone,
In the soliloquies of man,
To glory's shade an ampler span.

5.

Still o'er thy temples and thy shrines,
Loved Greece! her spirit throws
Visions, where'er the ivy twines,
Of beauty in repose.
Though all thy Oracles be dumb,
Not voiceless shall those piles become,
Whilst there one wild-flower blows
To claim a fond—a passing sigh,
For triumphs passed and times gone by.

6.

Still, Egypt! tower thy sepulchres
  Which hearse the thousand bones
Of those who grasped, in vanished Years,
  Thy diadems and thrones.
Still frowns—by shattering years unrent,
The Mosque—Mohammed's monument,
  And still Pelides owns,
By monarchs reared, by shepherds trod,
His cenotaph—a grassy sod.

7.

They were the Mighty of the world,
  The Demigods of earth;
Their breath—the flag of blood unfurled,
  And gave the battle birth.
They lived—to trample on mankind,
And in their ravage leave behind
  The impress of *their* worth.
And wizard Rhyme, and hoary Song
Hallowed their deeds and hymned their wrong.

8.

And thou, mild Benefactor! thou
  To whom on earth was given
The sympathy for others' woe,
  The charities of heaven:—
Pity for grief—a fever balm,
Life's ills and agonies to calm;—
  To tell that thou hast striven,
Thou hast thy Records which surpass
Storying stone and sculptured brass.

9.

They live not in the sepulchre
In which thy dust is hid,
Though there were kindlier hands to rear
Thy simple Pyramid
Than Egypt's Mightiest could command,
A duteous tribe—a peasant band,
Who mourned the rites they did;
Mourned—that the cold turf should confine
A spirit, kind and pure as Thine.

10.

They are existent in the clime
Thy pilgrim steps have trod,
Where justice tracks the feet of crime,
And seals his doom in blood.
The Tower where criminals complain,
And fettered captives weep in vain,
The pestilent Abode—
Are thy Memorials in the skies,
The portals of thy Paradise.

11.

Thine was an Empire o'er distress,
Thy triumph—of the mind;
To burst the bonds of wretchedness,
The friend of humankind.
Thy Name—through every future age,
By bard, philanthropist and sage,
In glory shall be shrined;
Whilst other Nield's and Clarkson's show,
That still thy mantle rests below.

12.

I know not if there be a sense
More sweet than to impart,
Health to the haunts of pestilence,
Balm to the sufferers' smart,
And freedom to captivity:—
The pitying tear—the sorrowing sigh,
Might grace an Angel's heart;
And e'en when sickness damped thy brow,
Such bliss was thine, and such wert thou.

13.

Serene, unhurt, in wasted lands,
Amid the general doom;
Long stood'st thou, as the traveller stands,
Where breathes the lone Simoom.
One minute, beautiful as brief,
Flowers bloom,—trees wave their verdant leaf,
Another———all is gloom.
He looks:—the green and blossomed bough,
Is blasted into ashes now!

14.

But deadlier than the Simoom, burns
The fiery Pestilence;
His Shadow into darkness turns
The passing of events;
Where points his finger—lowers the storm;
Where his eye fixes—feeds the worm,
On people and on prince;
Where treads his step—there Glory lies;
Where breathes his breath—there Beauty dies.

15.

And to the Beautiful and Young,
Thy latest cares were given;
How spake thy kind and pitying tongue
The benison of heaven!
Soothing her pain, who fair and frail,
Waned paler yet, and yet more pale,
Like lily-flowers at even;
Smit by the livid Plague, which cast
O'er thee his Shadow as he passed.

16.

As danger deeper grew and dark,
Her hopes could Conscience bring;
And Faith, and Mind's immortal Spark
Grew hourly brightening.
One pang at parting—'twas the last—
Joy for the Future!—for the Past—
But Thou wert on the wing
To track the source from whence it came,
And mingle with thy parent-flame!

17.

The nodding hearse—the sable plume—
Those attributes of pride!
The artificial grief and gloom
Are pageants which but hide
Hearts from the weight of Anguish free;
But there were many wept for thee
Who wept for None beside;
And felt—thus left alone below,
The full desertedness of woe.

18.

And many mourned that thou shouldst lie
Where Dneiper rolls and raves,
Glad from barbaric realms to fly,
And blend with Pontic waves;
A desert bleak—a barren shore,
Where Mercy never trod before,
A land whose sons were slaves,
Crouching, and fettered to the soil,
By feudal chains and thankless toil.

19.

But yet, methinks, in future years,
To raise exalted thought,
And soften sternest eyes to tears,
Will be thy glorious lot.
And oft the rugged Muscovite,
As Spring prepares the pious rite,
Shall tread that holy spot,
And see her offered roses showered
Upon the grave of gentle HOWARD!

20.

Those roses on their languid stalk
Will fade ere fades the day;
Winter may wither in his walk,
The myrtle and the bay
Which, mingled with the laurel's stem,
Her hands may plant:—but not with them
Shall Memory pass away,
Nor Pity cease the heart to swell:—
To THEE there can be no Farewell!

Woburn,
January 12, 1818.

MEMOIRS

OF THE

LIFE

OF

JOHN HOWARD.

CHAPTER I.

From his birth, to the death of his first wife, 1727—1755.

IT has been a source of frequent and deep regret to the biographer, that the events of the earlier years of men, who in after life have become distinguished for the splendor of their talents, or the greatness of their actions, have often been involved in doubt and obscurity. It may, however, reasonably be questioned, whether, could the blank which now appears in the page of their history be accurately filled up, the information obtained would not rather tend to gratify our curiosity, than be productive of any practical good. For, after all that has been said, or can be said, on the influence of education, and the force of early habit, in forming the future character of the man—there *are* springs of human action—there *are* bursts of energy in the human mind—which set at defiance all the cool, calculating rules that philosophy has devised for estimating the regular gradation of causes, in producing one grand and

unlooked-for effect. Hence, it has not unfrequently happened, as in all probability it will happen again and again, that the dull or the idle school-boy, the thoughtless and dissipated young man, and even the listless saunterer of maturer life, when roused to action by some sudden and unexpected impetus, have called forth latent talents to adorn the period in which they lived, and to please, and to instruct, in ages then unborn. And might we not even point to those men of yet superior mould, whose splendid achievements, or whose public virtues, have excited the wonder and the admiration of the world, and ask, whether the most minute and exact detail of every occurrence of *their* earlier years, would afford us equal instruction or delight, with that which we should derive from a similar history of many of their associates; the vices, the follies, or the utter uselessness of whose manhood, belied the opening virtues, and blasted the fairest promise of their youth?

Such at least, there is every reason to conclude, was the case with one of the brightest characters that ever attracted the admiration, or merited the esteem of his fellow men. For so noiseless and so even was the tenor of *his* way, until he had reached or even passed the meridian of his days, that of the man, who, by the common consent of the civilized world, is distinguished by an appellation more honorable than sage ever assumed, or hero ever won,—neither the place, nor the year,—to say nothing of the month or the day of his birth, can now be ascertained with any certainty.

JOHN HOWARD, emphatically and deservedly styled *The Philanthropist*, appears, from the best information that can be obtained upon the subject, to have been born about the year 1727,* at Clapton,† in the parish of Hackney, a large and well-known village immediately adjoining to London. To this place his father seems to have removed, probably but a short time before,

* Aikin, p. 9. But see note II.

† Rev. S. Palmer's MS. Memoir. Universal Mag. Vol. LXXXVI. p. 171, 319. Note II.

from a somewhat more distant retreat at Enfield, to which he had retired from the pursuit of his business as an upholsterer and carpet warehouseman, in Long Lane, Smithfield, where he had acquired a considerable fortune* in the way of trade. The house in which he then resided, and where his son was born, is described, in a sketch of that son's life written some years since, as being his own freehold, "a venerable mansion, situated on the western side of the street, but now much decayed, and lately disfigured."†

Soon after his birth he was sent to Cardington, near Bedford, to be nursed by a cottager residing there upon a small farm, which was all the property his father ever possessed in that village, afterwards so celebrated as the favorite residence of the son; when, by large purchases, he had considerably increased this little patrimonial inheritance, in a county, which from the tradition, now reduced to a matter of certainty by the most unexceptionable evidence, of his having spent some of the earliest, as he undoubtedly passed some of the happiest years of his life there; has sometimes, and not very unnaturally, though very erroneously, been supposed to have been the place of his birth.‡

As Mr. Howard's father was a dissenter of calvinistic principles, as it respects church government, there is every reason to believe an Independent,§ it was extremely natural that he should entrust the education of his son to a tutor, professing those religious opinions which he himself entertained; and which, of course, he would wish to be instilled into the minds of his children. Yet, for adopting a plan so consistent with the ordinary course of human actions, that we should never expect it to call forth either praise or blame from any one, he has drawn down upon his head no inconsiderable share of

* Aikin, p. 9. Note I. † Rev S. Palmer's MS. Memoir. See Note II.

‡ Note III. § Note IV.

what the writer of these memoirs cannot but consider, unmerited obloquy. And as the author, whose animadversions have occasioned this observation, has thought proper to accompany the expression of his disapprobation of the conduct which an individual parent saw fit to pursue, in the instance before us, by some general remarks, which seem to have a dangerous tendency;—the great importance of the point at issue, in the view of every religious parent, will surely be admitted as a sufficient excuse for a digression, having for its object, an examination of the sentiments expressed upon this subject by a writer possessed, beyond all doubt, of no ordinary powers; but the bias of whose mind, upon certain polemical questions, it is not very difficult to trace through all the productions of his prolific pen.

Speaking of the selection made by Mr. Howard of the person to whom he might most safely commit the care of his son, Dr. Aikin observes,* that " his choice for this purpose was the source of a lasting misfortune, which, as it has been too frequent an occurrence, deserves particular notice. There was at that time a schoolmaster at some distance from London, who in consequence of his moral and religious character, had been intrusted with the education of the children of most of the opulent dissenters in the metropolis, though extremely deficient in the qualifications requisite for such an office. That persons whose own education and habits of life have rendered them very inadequate judges of the talents necessary for an instructor of youth, should easily fall into this error, is not to be wondered at; but the evil is a real one, though its cause be excuseable: and as small communities, with strong party attachments, are peculiarly liable to this misplaced confidence, it is right that they should in a particular manner be put on their guard against it. They who know the dissenters will acknowledge, that none appear more sensible of the importance of a good education, or less sparing in their endeavours to procure it for their children; nor, upon the whole, can it be said, that they

* Life of Howard, p. 9—12.

are unsuccessful in their attempts. Indeed, the very confined system of instruction adopted in the public schools of this kingdom, renders it no difficult task to vie with them in the attainment of objects of real utility. But if it be made a leading purpose to train up youth in a certain set of opinions, and for this end it be thought essential that the master should be exclusively chosen from among those who are the most closely attached to them, it is obvious that a small community must lie under great comparative disadvantages."

" Train up a child in the way he should go, and when he is old he will not depart from it," is a command and an assurance of too high authority for any stretch of human ingenuity successfully to impeach. The christian parent, therefore, to whatever sect or denomination he may belong, could neither find, nor wish to find, a more complete answer to the argument here employed, than that with which he is so readily furnished by this single precept of his divine master. If he believes,—however erroneous, in point of fact, or on the principles of sound reason, that belief may be,—that he, and the body of christians to which he belongs, have more correct views of the general doctrines of christianity than others who differ from them; if he considers as essential to salvation, certain peculiar tenets of the gospel, which others may think non-essential, or may treat with levity, or even brand as impious: surely it will be an object of the first moment with him, to choose preceptors for his children, who will train them in the way, in which, as a parent anxious to promote their best interests, and to secure their lasting felicity, *he* thinks they should go. The man, for instance, who looked upon the divinity of Christ; the doctrines of original sin; human depravity; imputed righteousness; and salvation by faith upon the Son of God (and such an one there is every reason to suppose the person whose conduct is in question to have been), could never entrust the education of his offspring to a tutor, who was known openly to impugn, or secretly to undermine those

very doctrines, as the fatal errors that had crept in to corrupt the original system—the mud that had choaked up the pure fountain of christianity; without evidencing to his fellow professors, and to the world around him, —who, in all their dealings, act by a very different rule—that he was far more anxious to enlarge their knowledge of the things that perish, than to train them up to the anticipation and final enjoyment of those that endure for ever. It may, indeed, and perhaps often does happen, that the tutor just described, is possessed of far higher intellectual attainments, and much more acquired knowledge in himself, and may have a happier method of imparting these advantages to others, than any who can immediately be met with in the circle of those, whose religious views may be altogether such as it is wished to instil into the mind of the child; the formation of whose character, the cast of whose opinions and sentiments, may, in a great measure, depend upon which of the individuals here contrasted is selected for this most important office. But reversing, for a moment, the picture that has been drawn, let us ask the conscientious Unitarian,—and many such I know there are,—whether *he* would choose as the place of education for *his* children, an academy, over which a master presided, who, though eminent for his learning, and distinguished by his superior mode of instruction, was no less zealous, than learned in "the faith once delivered to the saints," which, according to his interpretation,—erroneous and uncharitable as that interpretation may be,—could know but little difference between the man who denied the divinity of Christ, and the man who did not believe the existence of a God. If *he* would make such a choice, on the ground that the best instructor he could find within the pale of that religious communion, which he believed alone to profess the genuine, unsophisticated doctrines of the gospel, was, in the attainments desirable in a person filling such an office, somewhat behind those whose theological opinions are so grossly erroneous, that they call light darkness, and darkness light, and blindly worship the creature instead of the Creator, who is God over all, blessed for ever:—if he could do this, and still

preserve in the church, and in the world, the character of a man walking consistently with the religious profession he is making, and the faith for which it is his boast that he earnestly contends, I concede the point to him; and admit that the censure passed by Dr. Aikin upon the father of Mr. Howard, for having adopted a very opposite line of conduct, is well-founded;—provided the facts of the case be correctly stated.

That they are so, we have the express assurance of Dr. Aikin, on the authority of the individual who is represented to have suffered most materially by the choice, in the passage immediately following that which was last quoted. "The event, with respect to Mr. Howard was (as he has assured me, with greater indignation than I have heard him express upon many subjects), that, after a continuance of seven years at this school, he left it not fully taught any one thing." But, surely, this might be strictly true, without the master's having been "extremely deficient in the qualifications requisite for his office;" for there are few persons who have past through a large school, public or private, but may have occasion to lament in themselves, or must have had many opportunities of observing in others, the effects of a disposition to idleness or levity, or of a want of steady application on the part of the scholar, which have rendered abortive the best and most unremitted efforts of the master to give them a taste for learning, and to forward their advancement in it. *All*, it must be remembered, cannot depend upon the merits of the teacher, be he ever so able;—*much* may depend on the scholar, however inferior the natural ability with which he is endowed. In the case of Mr. Howard, it is not attempted to be insinuated that he was naturally dull, or naturally idle; for the history of his maturer years would give a complete contradiction to the assertion. But then, it must not be forgotten, that the full energies of his character were suddenly called forth, at comparatively so late a period of his life;—whilst we know but little of the history of his earlier years, that we are not warranted in concluding, in the absence of all

evidence on the subject, that his talents were so acute, and his ardor in the pursuit of knowledge naturally so strong, that it was impossible for him to leave school other than a good scholar, without his tutor having been either totally incompetent to the work of instruction, or grossly neglectful of the duties it imposed upon him. That the former of these suppositions is incorrect, has been publicly maintained by the anonymous author of an account of Mr. Howard's life, published many years since in the Universal Magazine,* in which it is asserted that Mr. Worsley, for that was the name of our philanthropist's first tutor, "was a man of considerable learning, and author of a translation of the New Testament and of a Latin Grammar." "Without inquiring," says Dr. Aikin, in his observations upon the above statement,† "how far this may set aside his being deficient as an instructor, I think it proper to say that my only foundation for that charge is Mr. Howard's own authority." And on this authority, the present biographer of Mr. Howard would add, no person of common candour could hesitate to receive as true, a fact of much more importance than that for which it is adduced to vouch. But still, on the other hand, it is but justice to the memory of the dead, to remark, that, as the opinion which a person, when grown up into life, may give of the qualifications of his tutor, must generally be founded upon the impressions made on his mind whilst a school-boy, subjected to his controul, common charity would forbid our condemning, upon such testimony alone, an individual now no longer able to defend himself.

From this academy he was removed, though it does not appear at what age, to a school of a superior description in London, then under the direction

* Vol. LXXXVI. p. 170. See also Gentleman's Mag. Vol. LXX. Part I. p. 291, where there is an obituary of "the Rev. Samuel Worsley, pastor of the congregation of Protestant Dissenters at Cheshunt, son of Mr. John Worsley, that good greek scholar (who kept a school at Hertford) translator of the New Testament edited by his son."

† Life of Howard, p. 10, note.

of Mr. John Eames, a fellow of the Royal Society, and a man of considerable erudition.* Amongst his fellow pupils in this seminary, was the late celebrated Dr. Price, with whom he contracted a friendship, ending but with his life. To the same source was he also indebted for his first acquaintance with several highly respectable dissenting ministers of different denominations, who, from having been the companions of his scholastic hours, were, in after life, numbered with his most intimate associates, and sincerest friends.

At what period Mr. Howard finally left school, we have no means of determining. He was, however, in all probability, removed at about the usual age with boys who are intended by their parents to increase the fortune they will have it in their power to give them, by engaging in those commercial pursuits, in which that fortune was acquired. And this being the path of life in which his father, as might naturally be expected from his habits, and the success that had attended his own pursuits in trade, seems to have destined the subject of these memoirs to tread, it is not to be supposed that he was over anxious to give him such an education as should render him the accomplished scholar, and the finished gentleman, rather than the ready accomptant, and the active tradesman. It is, therefore, a circumstance far from surprising, that he should have left even Mr. Eames's academy, by no means a profound classic, and but an indifferent grammarian, even as it respects the proper construction of his own vernacular tongue. The first, it is more than probable that those to whom the care of his education was entrusted, were never instructed to attempt to make him; and as to the second, we must all of us be well aware, that a critical acquaintance with the rules of English grammar, would, more than half a century ago, have been considered much less essential to the complete education of a gentleman, than classical learning would now be thought necessary to fit the son of a tradesman for the exercise of his father's honest, though most unclassical calling, of making boots and

* See note V.

shoes, or gravely descanting on the newest fashions in haberdashery to a group of shopping ladies. Whilst, therefore, we feel no disposition whatever to controvert Dr. Aikin's assertion, founded upon his own personal knowledge of the fact, that Mr. Howard "was never able to speak or write his native language with grammatical correctness, and that his acquaintance with other languages (the French, perhaps, excepted) was slight and superficial;"* it will hardly be thought necessary to adopt his biographer's gratuitous assumption, that his continuance in Mr. Eames's academy must therefore have been but of short duration. This, unquestionably, might have been, and probably actually was the case; but the exception which the Doctor himself makes in favor of the French language, qualified as it is by a *perhaps*, tends strongly to confirm the suggession just offered, that Mr. Howard never was intended to have more than a good commmercial education, with such a portion of classical learning as is generally acquired in every school, where the classics are partially taught as a branch of liberal education, and not as a preparative for the university, or an acquirement absolutely necessary to the exercise of either of the learned professions. Be this, however, as it may, he left school quite learned enough for the situation in which he appears to have been immediately placed, which was that of an apprentice to Mr. Newnham, grandfather to the late Alderman Newnham, a large wholesale grocer in the city, who received a very considerable premium with him.† But his father dying before his apprenticeship expired,‡ his ill state of health, combined with a distaste for a line of life upon which he no doubt entered in compliance with a parent's wishes, rather than to gratify his own inclination, he gladly embraced the

* Aikin's Life of Howard, p. 13.

† Rev. S. Palmer's MS. Memoir. Universal Mag. Vol. LXXXVI, p. 171. Gentleman's Mag. Vol. LX, Part I, p. 277.—Note VI.

‡ Rev. S. Palmer's MS. Memoir.

opportunity afforded by his coming of age, to make arrangements with his master, for the purchase of the remainder of his time.* By his father's will he was not to come into the possession of his fortune until he reached his twenty-fourth year,† and then he became entitled to the sum of seven thousand pounds, in addition to the whole of his father's landed property, his plate, furniture, pictures, and the moiety of his books, besides being named sole residuary legatee, in the event of his attaining to the age prescribed for the full enjoyment of so ample an inheritance. His sister, who with himself constituted the whole of the testator's family, on reaching the same age, was to receive the sum of eight thousand pounds as her portion of his personal estate, together with the other moiety of his books, and nearly the whole of the jewels and wardrobe of her mother, and her stepmother.

The executors of this will were Mr. Laurence Channing, the husband of the testator's sister; Mr. Ive Whitbread, of Cardington, his first cousin; and Mr. Lewin Cholmley, a Blackwell-hall factor, who was one of his most intimate friends, and also, I believe, some distant relation to his first wife, the mother of the children whose persons and property were committed to the joint guardianship of these gentlemen, until they attained the age of twenty-one. But as the subject of these memoirs, even at an early period of his life, was remarkable for prudence and discretion, a considerable part of the management of the estate to which he was the sole heir, was entrusted to his more immediate oversight, particularly the superintendence of those repairs in the house at Clapton, which the parsimony of its late possessor had rendered necessary. He went there for this purpose every other day; and a

* Aikin, p. 15.

† *Will*, as registered in the Prerogative Office, Doctor's Commons. Dr. Aikin (p. 14) erroneously states it to have been till his *twenty-fifth* year.

venerable old man, who had been gardener to Mr. Howard the father, for many years, and who continued in that situation until the son let the house,* would, in the year 1790, when he had attained the age of ninety years, take great pleasure in relating, as an instance of his young master's punctuality and goodness of disposition, that he never failed to be at the long buttressed wall, which separated the garden from the road, just as the baker's cart was going past, when he would purchase a loaf, throw it over the wall, and, on entering the garden, goodhumouredly say, " Harry, look among the cabbages, you will find something for your family." " To some readers " says the anonymous author of the life of Mr. Howard, upon whose authority this early proof of his kindness to his inferiors, and consideration for the wants of the industrious poor, is here inserted,† " this anecdote may appear trifling: others will be pleased with the first traces of youthful benevolence in a character, which, at a more advanced period of life, became the admiration of the world." It is for the latter description of persons alone, I would add, that these memoirs are written.

The interest of the money bequeathed to him by his father, was sufficient to enable him, soon after leaving the warehouse of Mr. Newnham, to set out upon his travels to France and Italy,‡ where he met with objects much more congenial to his taste than the hogsheads and the ledgers which he most cheerfully left behind him in Watling Street. In this tour he either acquired, or strengthened that taste for the fine arts, which induced him, during his earlier travels—for in his later ones he had more noble objects to attend to—not only to embrace with eagerness every opportunity of contemplating with the eye of an ardent, if not of an enthusiastic admirer, the most finished specimens

* Aikin, p. 15. — Note VII. † Universal Mag. Vol. LXXXVI, p. 171.

‡ Aikin, p. 15. See Note VIII.

of the magic skill of their ablest professors, in ancient and in modern times; but, as far as his comparatively limited means would allow, of becoming himself the possessor of some of the productions of their creative genius. It must have been during these travels, that he obtained those paintings of the foreign masters, and other works of art, collected upon the continent, with which he afterwards embellished his favorite seat at Cardington; for when he had once entered upon the execution of his great scheme of universal benevolence, it so completely absorbed all the energies of his mind, that he never suffered himself for a moment to be diverted from carrying it into effect, even by the most attractive of those objects which formerly possessed all their most powerful influence upon his curiosity and his taste.

How long he continued absent from his native country is uncertain, though it was most probably not more than a year or two. Soon after his return, the delicate state of his health induced him to take lodgings at Stoke Newington, where he lived a life of leisure, though not of idleness, spending his time in the manner in which a man of fortune, whose religious principles and natural inclination, alike prevented his plunging into any of the fashionable dissipations of the day, may be supposed to spend it. Some considerable portion of his leisure hours he there devoted to the improvement of his mind, and engaged, amongst other pursuits, in the study of some of the less abstruse branches of natural philosophy, and of the theory of medicine; of which he acquired sufficient knowledge to be of the most essential service to him in his future travels, upon those errands of mercy, which exposed him, in so peculiar a manner, to the danger of infection from contagious diseases. * From the example of his parents, and the care bestowed upon his own education, he had early imbibed those principles of piety, which

* Universal Mag. Vol. LXXXVI, p. 171.

never forsook him during the whole course of his active and most useful life. From principle, from habit, and from education, he was a dissenter; as it respects church discipline an Independent,—in doctrine a moderate Calvanist. * The congregation with which he first associated himself in church fellowship was that of the Independent denomination, then under the pastoral care of the Rev. Micaiah Townsend, now under that of the Rev. Thomas Mitchell, formerly of Leicester. Of this church he was regularly admitted a member but at what precise period of his life I have not been able to ascertain; the earlier records of the proceedings of the church still flourishing there, if any such were at that time kept, having been either mislaid or destroyed; and notwithstanding his subsequent residence in distant parts of the country, he seems never to have dissolved the connection. Whilst regularly worshipping with this congregation, he set on foot a subscription for the purchase of a house for the residence of the minister, to which he himself generously contributed upwards of fifty pounds. † But his liberality was not confined to those to whom he was bound by the tie of christian fellowship, in this religious association. During the period of his life in which he resided at Stoke Newington, he gave away a very considerable portion of his income in deeds of charity to those who appealed to his benevolence, or whom his ever active philanthropy sought out as fit objects of his bounty;—remembering, as he did, in the distribution of all his alms, "the words of the Lord Jesus, how that he said it is more blessed to give than to receive."

His medical attendants considering his constitution much inclinable to the consumptive, put him upon a very rigorous dietetic regimen, which is said by one of his biographers, ‡ to have "laid the foundation of that extra-

* Aikin p. 19. Rev. S. Palmer's Funeral Sermon on the death of Howard, p. 10.

† Aikin p. 18. Rev. S. Palmer's MS. Memoir. Univ. Mag. Vol. LXXXVI, p. 172.—Note IX.

‡ Aikin, p. 16.

ordinary abstemiousness and indifference to the gratifications of the palate which ever after so much distinguished him." He was also, about this time, a frequent visitant at Bristol Hot-wells, and made several excursions to different parts of the kingdom, for the benefit of his health, which was then suffering under the continued depression of a species of nervous fever, and of a general weakness of the whole system. * But notwithstanding these precautions he was attacked with a severe fit of illness, whilst lodging in the house of Mrs. Sarah Loidoire, † a widow lady of small independent property, residing in Church Street, Newington, to whose apartments he had removed in consequence of not meeting with the attention he thought he had a right to expect, from the person beneath whose roof he had taken up his abode, as a lodger, on his first coming to live in this village. ‡ Whilst here, he experienced, on the part of his landlady, so many marks of kind attention during his sickness, that, upon his recovery, he was induced, from a grateful recollection of her kindness, contrasted with the utter want of it in his former residence, to make her an offer of his hand in marriage, though she was twice his age, extremely sickly, and very much his inferior in point of fortune. Against this unexpected proposal the lady made many remonstrances, principally upon the ground of the great disparity in their ages; but Mr. Howard being firm to his purpose the union took place, it is believed in the year 1752, he being then in about the twenty-fifth year of his age, and his bride in her fifty-second. Upon this occasion, he behaved with a liberality which seems to have been inherent in his nature, by settling the whole of his wife's little independence upon her sister.

The marriage thus singularly contracted, was productive of mutual satisfaction to the parties who entered into it. Mrs. Howard was a

* Univers. Mag. Vol. LXXXVI, p. 170. † Note X.

‡ Univers. Mag. LXXXVI, p. 171. Gent's. Mag. Vol. LX, Part I, p. 276.—Note XI.

woman of excellent character; amiable in her disposition; sincere in her piety; endowed with a good mental capacity; and forward in exercising its powers in every good word and work. Her husband, whilst she lived, uniformly expressed himself happy in the choice he had made; and when, between two and three years after their marriage the connection was dissolved by her death, he was a sincere mourner for the loss he had sustained in her removal.* She was buried in a vault, in the church-yard of St. Mary's, Whitechapel; where Mr. Howard caused a handsome tomb-stone to be erected to her memory, bearing the following simple, but appropriate inscription:

Here lies the Body of
SARAH HOWARD,
Wife of JOHN HOWARD, Esq.
of *Stoke Newington*,
in the County of *Middlesex*,
who died the 10th of Nov^r. 1755,
Aged 54,
In hopes of a joyful Resurrection,
thro' the merits of JESUS CHRIST.

* Aikin, p. 17. Univ. Mag. Vol. LXXXVI, p. 172. Gent's. Mag. Vol. LX, Part I, p. 276. Rev. S. Palmer's MS. Memoir. Chalmers' Biog. Dict. Art. "Howard."—Note XI.

CHAPTER II.

From the death of Mr. Howard's first Wife, to that of his second. 1755—1765.

THE character we are now contemplating was, in no respect, an ordinary one. There was a singularity in Mr. Howard's mode of thinking and acting, even in the more private concerns and relations of life, that distinguished him from the great mass of every day characters with which the world so plentifully abounds. Of this he gave a very early proof, in forming a matrimonial connection, so repugnant to those feelings which nature herself has implanted in us, as the bond of that endeared connection, which is at once the source and chief solace of our existence; and yet so free from the mixture of any selfish, or unworthy motive, as that the particulars of which have just been detailed. And yet in this, as in every other circumstance of his life, he was not singular from an affectation of singularity, as too many men who have stepped aside from the ordinary course of human actions, unfortunately for themselves, and in some measure for society at large, upon whose weaker members their example has often had a contagious influence, have evidently been. Duty, and duty alone, seems, from the earliest period at which we are acquainted with his history, to have been the sole director of this great and good man's actions in private, as in public life. And having been attended, during his illness, with all the solicitude of a near and affectionate relative, by a woman, upon whom he had no claims beyond those of suffering humanity,

which seldom makes its appeal to a female bosom in vain, he seems to have felt himself impelled by this principle, to recompense such unlooked-for kindness, by giving to the person who had displayed it, at once the right, and the opportunity of becoming the constant soother of his days of pain and sorrow; as well as the sympathizing partner in his hours of joy. From the great disproportion in their ages, it is hardly possible that any of that ardor of passion, so natural to persons at his time of life, could have entered into the offer which he thus made of his hand and his fortune, to a woman, whose chief recommendation to his regard, had been her kindness in voluntarily discharging the duties of a nurse. But, having once persuaded himself, probably without much difficulty, that it would be right in him to make the offer,—the natural determination of character which directed all his proceedings, would not suffer him to be diverted from his object by any scruples on the part of the lady, addressed entirely to his prudence, without in any measure affecting his principles. The opinion of the world was a thing to which he never paid any attention, in what he did, provided he had the approbation of his conscience, that he was doing his duty. In marrying Mrs. Loidoire, he felt that he was actuated by no improper motive; but, on the contrary, by a principle of gratitude, that would never permit him to be deficient in those attentions, which, when she had become his wife, she would have a just right to expect at his hands. In those attentions he never *was* deficient; and the manner of her discharging her part of the duty, which the relations they had mutually contracted imposed upon them, so far increased Mr. Howard's regard for her, that, soon after her death, he resolved upon leaving England on another tour, with a view to divert his mind from the melancholy reflections which that event had occasioned. But before his departure upon this journey, indeed immediately after his wife's funeral, he broke up his housekeeping establishment at Stoke Newington, and gave another proof of the natural generosity of his disposition, by distributing amongst the poorer housekeepers

of that neighbourhood, such parts of the furniture of his house, as he had no occasion for in the apartments which he took for his temporary residence, in St. Paul's Church-yard. The old gardener, mentioned in the preceding chapter of these Memoirs, gratefully remembered to the day of his death, that, upon this occasion, he had for his *dividend*, as he was accustomed to call it, a bedstead and bedding complete, a table, half a dozen chairs, and a new scythe;—besides receiving a guinea for a single day's work, probably in assisting in the removal of the portion of his furniture which his former master reserved for his own necessary use, upon this charitable distribution of the remainder.*

The country he intended first to visit was Portugal, then rendered particularly interesting by the situation of its capital, still smoking in ruins from the effects of the tremendous earthquake that had recently shaken it to its very foundations; a great part of which, with the superb edifices erected upon them, and thousands of their unfortunate inhabitants, had been suddenly embowelled in the earth. It was to this sublime, but melancholy spectacle, that Mr. Howard's attention was principally directed; and he accordingly took his passage in a Lisbon packet, called the Hanover, which had the misfortune to be captured on its voyage by a French privateer. His captors used him with great cruelty; for after having been kept forty hours without food or water, he was carried into Brest, and confined with the other prisoners taken in the packet, in the castle of that place. Here his hardships were but little, if they were at all diminished; for, after being cast with the crew and the rest of the passengers into a filthy dungeon, and there kept a considerable time longer without nourishment, a joint of mutton was at length thrown into the midst of them, which, for want of the accommodation of so much as a solitary knife, they were obliged to tear to pieces, and gnaw like dogs. In this dungeon he and his companions in misfortune experienced very similar

* Universal Mag. Vol. LXXXVI. p. 172.

treatment for nearly a week, having been compelled to lay for six nights upon the floor of their miserable dungeon, with nothing but straw to shelter them from its noxious and unwholesome damps. He was afterwards removed to Morlaix, and thence to Carpaix, where he was two months upon parole; or rather, more correctly speaking, was permitted to reside in the town, though not an officer, entitled by the law of nations and the usages of war to this indulgence; owing, we are told, to the humanity of his goaler, and the confidence he reposed in his prisoner's honor. A similar conviction of his integrity is also said to have induced the person in whose house he went to board and lodge, amply to supply him, though an utter stranger, with both clothes and money, of which he had been stripped at Brest; and to maintain him, upon the faith of being paid for so doing, when he got back to his home, or could get remittances from thence,—until he was allowed to visit England, upon his promise to return to his captivity if his own government should refuse to exchange him for a French naval officer. But as he was only a private person, their consenting to do this appeared to be so much a matter of doubt, that he requested his friends to suspend the congratulations upon the recovery of his liberty, with which, upon his arrival amongst them, they were ready to overwhelm him, until the success of his application to the British ministry should satisfy him, that he might remain in his native country with honor, which, with a man of his principles, was precisely the same thing with his remaining there at all. This point being, however, happily accomplished without difficulty, he was no sooner assured of his own liberty, than he exerted all his influence to procure the liberation of some of his fellow-countrymen, who were still imprisoned in the towns where he himself had been confined; or, at least, to secure a mitigation of those sufferings which he had been convinced by too melancholy proofs, that they experienced there. Whilst at Carpaix, as he himself informs us,* "*he* corresponded with the English prisoners at Brest, Morlaix, and Dinnan: and had sufficient evidence of their

* State of Prisons, p. 11.—Note.

being treated with such barbarity, that many hundreds had perished; and that thirty-six were buried in a hole at Dinnan in one day." His humanity being excited by this affecting statement of the wretched situation of so many of his gallant countrymen, to much of whose cruel treatment he had himself been an eye-witness, and even shared in its horrors, he lost no time in making so strong a representation upon the subject to the Commissioners of Sick and Wounded Seamen, that they not only gave him their thanks for his information, but took such immediate and effectual measures for getting the injury redressed, that he had soon the satisfaction of learning, that the prisoners at war confined in the three prisons to which he had more particularly directed their attention, were sent home in the first cartel ships that arrived in England; being entirely indebted for their deliverance from their accumulated sufferings, to his benevolent and timely interference on their behalf. It is to this event that Mr. Howard himself refers the first excitement of that attention to the distressed situation of those of his fellow-creatures, who were sick and in prison, with no one to visit or relieve them, which afterwards so fully occupied the greater part of sixteen years of his useful, but most laborious life.* It was some time, however, before the impression thus made upon his mind by the barbarity with which he himself had been treated, or by the still greater hardships which he had seen some of his countrymen undergo, coupled with the witnessing of other scenes of a somewhat similar nature, had the effect of inducing him to devote all the most active energies of his being to the devising and carrying into execution his benevolent plans for the relief of persons under similar circumstances of aggravated distress.

Soon after his return to England from this disastrous journey, he turned his thoughts to the extension and improvement of his Cardington estate; by adding to the farm which he inherited from his father, another, situated in the middle of the village. Here he seems principally to have resided for some

* Note I.

years;* most probably dividing his time between the superintending the alterations which he found it necessary to make in his newly purchased property;—the promoting the comfort of his tenants; administering to the wants of the neighbouring poor; and amusing himself, during his leisure hours, by those researches into some of the less abstruse branches of philosophy, for which he appears always to have had a strong predilection. It is not, however, meant by this observation to insinuate, that he was a man of deep scientific knowledge, or that he had very profoundly studied any of its various branches: but he had a great taste for meteorological observations, which he followed up with much assiduity, and was sufficiently interested in the general pursuits of scientific information, to procure his being chosen a fellow of the Royal Society, to which honor he was elected on the 13th, and admitted on the 20th of May, 1756.† It is unquestionably true, that this species of literary diploma is no proof whatever of the person upon whom it is conferred being distinguished by his scientific attainments, or even for his love of philosophical pursuits. The society has long been accustomed to enrol on the list of its members, persons of rank and fortune, without any thing like a scrupulous enquiry into their mental qualifications. Nor, in doing this, can we conceive them at all to blame; as whilst they add, in the eye of the world, weight and respectability to their own body, they interest in the general pursuits of science, men who have the means of contributing to its advancement and diffusion, not, it is true, by the discoveries they themselves are likely to make, but by the assistance which their wealth and influence enable them to give to the promotion, and application to the most useful purposes of life, of the discoveries of others. But with a man of Mr. Howard's retired character,—so little emulous of distinction, that upon all occasions, he rather shrunk from than courted the slightest mark of it; the very circumstance of his admittance as a fellow of this learned body, were, in itself sufficient to prove, that he at least felt interested in its pursuits, and associated

* Note II.

† Aikin, p. 21; Universal Mag. Vol. LXXXVI. p. 172.

himself with its members, for the purpose of promoting, as far as in him lay, the laudable object they had in view, in contributing to the extension of knowledge; and of adding to his own slender stock of information, by the friendly intercourse to which that association introduced him, with some of the most distinguished literary characters of the day. But that the bare honor of the thing was not what he sought, is still more clearly proved by three of the papers communicated by him to the society, the nature of which will hereafter be more particularly noticed, having been printed in its Transactions.

But we must now return to the contemplation of Mr. Howard's character in the domestic relations of life. He had not been many years in his native country, after the hardships he had experienced abroad, before he formed a connection which was at once the immediate source of some of the sweetest, and, in its consequences, an occasion of some of the bitterest moments of his existence. I allude to the marriage, which, on the 25th of April, in the year 1758, he contracted with Miss Henrietta Leeds, eldest* daughter of Edward Leeds, esq. of Croxton, in Cambridgeshire, one of his Majesty's serjeants at law, and father to the late Edward Leeds, esq. a master in chancery, and member in parliament for the borough of Ryegate, and of Joseph Leeds, esq. who died some years since at his house at Croydon, where he had long resided, like his elder brother, in what it is to be presumed he considered a state of single blessedness.† This alliance was in every respect a suitable one. The lady possessed, in no ordinary degree, all the softer virtues of her sex; and as far as we can judge from the miniature formerly in the possession of her husband, and now in that of her female attendant,—from which the engraving, illustrative of this work, was copied,—she was by no means deficient in personal attractions. Her disposition was amiable, and her affection for her husband appears to have been ardent and sincere. She seems

* See Note III.

† Universal Mag. LXXXVI. p. 173; Aikin, p. 24.—Note III.

most cheerfully to have seconded the execution of all his plans of benevolence, and to have considered it no less her pleasure than her duty to conform herself in all things to his wishes. I am indebted to a lady now in the decline of life, but possessing in a remarkable degree all the vivacity and quick sensibility of youth, for a few anecdotes of this amiable woman, with whom she had the advantage of a personal acquaintance; which, as they tend in a strong degree to shew the propriety of Mr. Howard's choice of her as his wife, I am sure the reader will not be displeased to meet with in this place.

Though educated in a manner suited to her father's fortune and professional rank in life, she seems not to have imbibed any of that love of dress but too common with females in her situation: or, at least if she did imbibe it, she prudently and willingly relinquished it, upon her union with a man who set a just estimation upon these meretricious ornaments, truly considering, that a beautiful woman never appears so lovely, as when the elegant simplicity of her dress leaves her, "when unadorned—adorned the most." As a proof of this, it appears that soon after her marriage she sold some jewels she had no longer any inclination to wear, and put the money into a purse, called by herself and her husband the charity purse, from its contents being consecrated to the wants of the poor, and the relief of the destitute. To how many a thoughtless daughter of dissipation—to how many a fashionable wife, who is now sparkling in her jewels, in the dress box of a theatre,—swimming down the circling mazes of the dance, or losing all the modesty which was once the peculiar characteristic, and the most resistless charm of her sex, in the wanton fascinations of the waltz,—as she blazes in the splendor—whilst she rivets the eye of the lascivious, and crimsons the cheek of the virtuous, by the voluptuousness of her dress,—might it not be said, in the plain, but forcible language of inspiration, "Go thou and do likewise."

It must have been no inconsiderable source of happiness to our great

Philanthropist, to meet with a partner thus cordially inclined to co-operate with him in every work of charity and labor of love, in which his active benevolence prompted him to engage. There are many scenes of distress which a female only can, or ought to visit, and where none but a female hand can administer proper consolation and relief. Nor is it possible to conceive of any thing capable of affording a purer satisfaction to a benevolent mind, than to see the wife of your bosom occupying the time, not necessarily devoted to her own domestic arrangements, in visiting the sick; in feeding the hungry; in clothing the naked; and, above all, in administering comfort to the poor of her own sex, in an hour of pain and anguish, when they stand most in need of that assistance and nourishment which the poverty of their own circumstances but too generally prevents their procuring for themselves. This satisfaction was greatly increased, in the instance before us, by the pleasing conviction of the wife's being actuated in these deeds of mercy, by the same pure motives as those which had long prompted and directed the charitable exertions of the husband. Religion had a like influence upon both their minds; and Mr. Howard had the supreme delight of seeing the wife of his fondest affections, as deeply impressed with the importance of this "one thing needful," as, from the earliest period, his own mind evidently appears to have been. Of this we have a striking illustration in another of her friends characteristic anecdotes. When Mr. Howard was in London, soon after his marriage, he took his wife to a place of public resort, "I believe" says Mrs. C "it was the Pantheon," which people of fashion used to frequent as a promenade. His motive for so doing, was to ascertain what effect such a scene would have upon her mind. As they were walking the gay, and idly busy round, she appeared to be quite lost in thought, wholly unobservant of what was passing around her. Her husband stopped, and turning round to her said, "Now, *Harriet*," (for though her name was *Henrietta*, this was the appellation by which he more familiarly addressed her) "I must insist on your telling me what you have been thinking about:" to which she replied,

"Well, if I must tell you, I have been thinking of Mr. —— 's sermon last Sunday."

With dispositions thus congenial, we may readily conceive that Mr. Howard and his amiable partner passed the short period they were allowed to spend in each other's society upon earth, in all the felicity that can possibly spring from the endearing relations of a wedded life, when the wishes, the opinions, and the principles of the parties contracting them, thus harmoniously accord, it might allowably be said, are thus sweetly blended into one. So pure, indeed, was the felicity the disconsolate survivor of this happy union derived from the endeared connection to which it introduced him, that Dr. Aikin assures us,* he has "often heard him declare, that in it he passed the only years of true enjoyment which he had known in life."

Soon after his marriage, he brought his bride home to Cardington, his house there having been previously furnished in that stile of peculiar neatness, without any attempt at shew or splendor on the one hand, or any thing like an appearance of meanness, or of studied singularity on the other, for which throughout the whole of his personal and domestic economy, he was always so remarkable. With his habitual attention to the interests of the industrious poor, the greater part, if not the whole of the linen required upon this occasion for the use of the table, and for other necessary purposes of housekeeping, was spun by the neighbouring cottagers, under the more immediate direction of Mrs. Howard herself; during the remainder of whose life, and indeed until the period of his own death, whenever he could give the necessary directions for its being done, he kept increasing his stock of these useful articles by this judicious mode of employing such of the poor around him, as were not able to get their livelihood in any other way.

* Life of Howard, p. 24.

But he had not long been settled in this abode, before the delicate state of his wife's health induced him to try the effects of a milder atmosphere in invigorating her sickly constitution; and he accordingly removed to Watcombe, near Lymington, in the New Forest, Hampshire; where he purchased a house and small estate for the sum of seven thousand pounds, from the representatives of their late possessor, a gentleman of the name of Blake, who had formerly been a captain in the East India Company's service.*

Of his manner of living there, we have no other account than that given by Dr. Aikin, which is here transcribed in his own words:

"Concerning his way of life in this pleasant retreat, I find nothing characteristic to relate, except the state of perfect security and harmony in which he managed to live in the midst of a people, against whom his predecessor thought it necessary to employ all the contrivances of engines and guns in order to preserve himself from their hostilities. He had, indeed, none of those propensities which so frequently embroil country gentlemen with their neighbours, both small and great. He was no sportsman, no executor of the game laws, and in no respect an encroacher on the rights and advantages of others. In possessing him, the poor could not fail soon to find that they had acquired a protector and benefactor; and I am unwilling to believe that in any part of the world these relations are not returned with gratitude and attachment. After continuing at Watcombe three or four years, he sold the place, and went back to Cardington, which thenceforth became his fixed residence."†

But whilst thus removed for a time to a distance from his tenantry, and the dependants upon his bounty, on his patrimonial estate,—for such, for the

* Aikin, p. 24; Palmer's MS. Memoir; Univers. Mag. vol. lxxxvi. p. 173; Gent.'s Mag. vol lx. part I. p. 289.

† P. 24, 5.

sake of distinction, though not with strict propriety, his property in Bedfordshire may be called; he did not by any means forget their wants, or fail to do every thing in his power to contribute to their happiness. To his old nurse, in particular, he had always been remarkably attentive, carrying his care of her so far, that he not only gave directions that in his absence she should never be permitted to want for any thing which could administer to her comfort in her old age, but whenever he was at Cardington, he was so mindful of her minutest wants, and so anxious that they should not be forgotten, that he would himself see that coals were regularly taken to her cottage to warm her bed, whenever he thought the coldness of the weather, or the ill state of her health, rendered such a mark of attention necessary. His kindness to her continued to the last; for on her death, during his residence at Watcombe, he ordered her to be buried at his expence, in the church-yard of her native village.

The reason for Mr. Howard's return to Cardington, is stated by Mrs. Prole, the servant who attended her in the capacity of her waiting maid, to have been the very delicate state of Mrs. Howard's health, and a persuasion in her mind, that the situation of Watcombe did not agree with her. An additional, though certainly a less powerful motive for this change of habitation, is, however, assigned by a gentleman who enjoyed the happiness of Mr. Howard's friendship during his abode in Hampshire, namely, that the proximity of his house to the New Forest, rendered it, on account of the vapour arising there, unfavorable to the pursuit of astronomical observations, to which he was at that time much attached.* Here he continued to carry into effect the plans he had laid, and partly completed for the improvement of his estate. In the house, which was but small, he made some further alterations to render it commodious for his future residence; and his taste, with the assistance of Mrs. Howard's, which was highly cul-

* Gentleman's Mag. Vol. LX. Part I. p. 288.—Note IV.

tivated and correct, soon gave to it an air of neatness and elegant simplicity very different to the appearance it had formerly borne. The front he adorned with lattice work, replacing by simple cottage windows the old fashioned casements that had given to the whole building a character as sombre as that of the church-yard into which they looked. To the back of the house he made some additions, by the erection of a new set of rooms, abutting, somewhat beyond the site of those he had pulled down, upon the pleasure grounds, to which he made a handsome entrance from the house, near the end of the new buildings. The grounds themselves were formed entirely under his own direction, out of a field of about three acres, which had formerly been a kind of homestead to the farm. They are laid out with great taste, having a kitchen garden in the centre, so completely hid from observation by the shrubs surrounding it, that you can have no idea of its existence until you arrive at some of those narrow openings, over-arched by spreading boughs, through which you enter it, without the intervention of any gate, or other artificial barrier, to break the charm of so pleasing, and so harmless a deception. Between the shrubbery and the house there is a very neat lawn, and the whole is surrounded by a broad gravel walk, sheltered from the heat of the sun by fine full-grown trees, or thickly-planted evergreens. In one part of the grounds this walk is skirted on each side by a row of very majestic firs, the plants, or seeds of which are said to have been brought by Mr. Howard from abroad, on his return from some of his earlier travels upon the continent. The still silence of this shady grove was his most favorite resort; and in its mossy path he spent many a solitary hour in devising, and many a social one in communicating to his friends when devised, those glorious schemes of benevolence, which will never cease to impart to every spot his footsteps are known to have traversed on so merciful an errand, a charm more powerful than, without the magic influence of some such genius of the place, can dwell in nature's loveliest or sublimest scenes. The trees are still standing where they were first planted by his hand, and the gardener who watered the nursling

shoots is yet living, in his eighty-sixth year, to prune, though with a sparing hand,—unwilliag to lop off any thing his master loved to cherish,—the exuberance of their spreading boughs. One tree, in particular, seems to be an object of his especial care. It was planted, as he delights to tell you, by Mrs. Howard, on the original formation of the walk, and therefore always possessed a peculiar charm in her husband's eyes. Nor has the moss with which Mr. Howard delighted to see the paths of his pleasure grounds and gardens completely overspread, entirely disappeared. The old man, upon a visit I lately paid to them, complained, however, most bitterly, that the children of the present occupier of the house, had sadly spoiled its beauty, and were in a fair way to root it up altogether; whilst his indulgent master, on the other hand, good-naturedly told me, that his old gardener, thinking it little less than sacrilege to disturb it, would not suffer him,—for from the length and the fidelity of his services to the successive residents at Cardington, he is left to do pretty much as he pleases, in what he considers his own territories,—to remove any of the dingy edges of the gravel walks, which, at least in their present condition, he himself considers rather an eye-sore, than an agreeable addition. It is now more than half a century since a master whom he loved, and a fellow-servant with whom he spent some of the happiest hours of his life, labored with this attached domestic, then in the full vigour of his days, during all the inclemency of a severe frost, in laying out those walks, and in planting (chiefly by that master's own hand) the trees around it. Can we be surprised, then, that he should feel a wish to preserve to those walks and trees the general appearance which they wore, ere he or they had arrived at their maturity; or that he should be particularly anxious that nothing in the garden should be changed from the shape and character it bore when the trees were last watered by the hand that planted them; and the moss-covered walks were rapidly traversed by the footsteps of the extraordinrry man, under whose direction they had been laid out, as he gave orders for their preservation during an absence from their beloved seclusion which the strong presentiment

of his own mind assured him, (nor assured him falsely) would be eternal? Nor *has* any thing been altered there, beyond the change which nature herself has introduced by the ordinary process of vegetation; except it be in a root house at the end of the pleasure grounds, now not exactly in the state in which Mr. Howard left it.

This little rural retreat is built entirely in the rustic style, without any of those curious intermixtures of Chinese, Grecian, or Tuscan architecture, which give to many buildings, intended for similar purposes, in our days, a sort of non-descript character often truly ridiculous. The materials of which it is formed are the roots and trunks of trees; the roof thatch work, without ceiling or pannelling on the inside, to mar the rude simplicity of the exterior. The door and its portico are gothic, with windows of the same description on each side, just admitting light enough into the hermitage within to fit it for the purposes of study and retirement, for which it was intended, without destroying the sombre and recluse appearance of the whole. The furniture exactly corresponded with the room. In the centre are still the remains of a lamp formed out of a root, and originally furnished with glasses, some of which were broken the first time they were used, and have never been replaced. In one corner there is a fire-place hid from observation by a chimney-board, formed, like the rest of the interior of the building, of roots and rough-hewn pieces of green wood. The place of chairs is supplied, partly by some singular masses of peat, of a very curious description, in the precise state in which they were cut out of a moss at Ampthill, a market town in Bedfordshire, distant from Cardington about seven miles;—and on another side of the room by benches, fastened into the wall, and covered with coarse matting. Opposite to these is a stone slab, serving the purposes of a table, and ornamented with a female figure in marble, seemingly a nun, in a reclining posture; a model in wood of one of the public buildings which Mr. Howard had seen in the course of his travels; and an hour-glass. Over these,

in a recess in the wall, is a small book-case, with glass doors, still enclosing a sufficient number of books to enable us to form a pretty accurate notion of what description of reading our great philanthropist was most attached to, from the little library he had selected for the spot where he was wont to spend his more retired hours in study and meditation. Hervey, Flavel, Baxter, and the divines of that class, seem to have been his favorite authors. But besides a well chosen selection of writers of this cast, these shelves contained the poems of Milton, Thomson, Young, Watts;—Lord Anson's Voyages;—The Wonders of the Universe Displayed; and most of the popular, with a few of the more abstruse philosophical treatises of the day; such principally as are calculated to exhibit and to illustrate the wonders of creation and of providence; and, whilst they inform the enquiring mind in some of the minutest, as well as the grandest of her operations, to teach their pupils, as a lesson habitually to be derived from all her works:—

"To look through Nature up to Nature's God."

Nor does the book, in which, after all, that, and every other valuable lesson is taught, at once in the simplest and the sublimest language, fail to find a place in a retreat so admirably adapted to the serious contemplation of its sacred page. The identical bible which was Mr. Howard's constant companion in all his travels, undertaken for the sole object of carrying into effect those principles of universal charity to the whole brotherhood of man, which the bible, and the bible alone inculcates, still occupies the spot where it was regularly placed, whenever its owner, for a few short days or weeks, had found a resting place from his labors in the calm solitude of the shades he loved.

With what delight, at proper seasons, he cherished, what anxiety he felt duly to improve that solitude, and the advantages it gave him, may be gathered from an inscription placed opposite to the door by which you enter

the root house, but of which the first stanza alone remains entire. The whole indeed was taken down upon my visit to this place in the course of the last autumn, the better to enable the lady of the present tenant of the estate (the Hon. Mr. Waldegrave) to execute the task she had most obligingly imposed upon herself, of endeavoring to trace the words wanting to complete it. The paper was, however, too completely corroded to admit of any sense being given to the disjected fragments that remain, and I should therefore have been reduced to the alternative of omitting the inscription altogether, or of supplying the deficiency by the best conjectures I could offer, were it not that a venerable friend of Mr. and Mrs. Howard's, has kindly supplied me with a copy of the lines from her own recollection; by a comparison of which with the fragments of the original, the inscription is thus completely restored:

" O solitude, bless'd state of man below,
Friend to our thought, and balm of all our woe;
Far from throng'd cities my abode remove
To realms of innocence, and peace, and love;

" That when the sable shades of death appear,
And life's clear light no more these eyes shall chear,
It's work may be fulfill'd; its prospects won,
By virtue measured, not a setting sun."

" The four first lines," says Mrs. Coles, in her letter, " are in Brown's Essay on the Universe; the four last might be taken from another poem or may have been composed by Mr. Howard himself." The tradition of the place, I would add to this account, is that the whole of the inscription was composed, not by Mr. but by Mrs. Howard; and this probably was the case with the latter part of it; though even with regard to that, her only merit

may consist in its selection from the works of some of our poets, with whose writings I must confess—it may hereafter turn out that I do it to my shame—I am not sufficiently acquainted, to enable me to ascribe these lines to their real author.

There is nothing else in the root house worthy of being noticed, unless it be a copy of verses on the death of its original owner by the old gardener's grandson; and they are far more remarkable for the spirit of attachment to the author's benefactor, breathed through their every line, than for the beauty or harmony of the rustic poetry, in which the expression of that attachment is conveyed. These of course are of modern date.

At the back of this peaceful hermitage you pass through a narrow door to what was formerly a small, but very convenient bath. Here Mr. Howard, when at home, used to bathe every morning, summer and winter; the root house answering, upon these occasions, the purposes of a dressing room, from which, by merely opening the door, he could immediately plunge into the water. The bath, which was filled by means of an adjoining pump, is now entirely neglected, being turned into a kind of storehouse for seeds and vegetables.

I feel confident that the readers of these pages will not be displeased at my closing this description of the house and grounds at Cardington, as designed and laid out under the direction of Mr. Howard himself, by transcribing the inscription on a pedestal erected in the gardens, long since his death, to commemorate that circumstance, when I inform them that that inscription was written by the late Samuel Whitbread, Esq.;—a man of whom, from the splendor of his talents; the probity of his intentions; and the public spirit which so decidedly actuated him in all his undertakings, it may truly be said, that he was as useful in his day and generation to the neigh-

bourhood in which he lived, and to the country whose interest he at least wished in all things to promote, as,—if we can confine our ideas of the services *he* rendered to mankind to so limited a sphere of their operation, was the great philanthropist to whose unrivalled merit he here bears so honorable a testimony. Nor, on the spot where his public services, abstracted from the doubtful merits of his foreign politics, and the part he took in questions merely of a party nature, could be, and were the best appreciated, was his loss less deeply felt, or less sincerely mourned. "Never," said poor old Joshua Crockford, as we stood by the simple memorial which Mr. Whitbread had erected in the lawn by the side of the house, to record the faithful attachment of an old servant to the best of masters—his voice faultering, and a tear standing in his eye as he spoke, "Never shall I see two such men again!" and he pointed me to the following inscription on the pedestal:

THIS GARDEN was formed, the root-house built, and the trees which overshadow and adorn them, were planted in the year 1762, by JOHN HOWARD, THE PHILANTHROPIST, who lived for many years in this retirement, before his virtuous energies were called into action; and he quitted it to become the Benefactor of mankind.

To this spot he eagerly returned to pass the interval between those labors which ended in his death, and have insured to him a guiltless and imperishable fame.

JOSHUA CROCKFORD, whose hand put the seedlings into the earth, under his master's eye, has spent the intervening years in watching and assisting their growth; exhibiting in his narrow circle, a model of sobriety, industry, and neatness.

He still lives, in his eightieth year, faithful to his duties, and strong to fulfil them; contented in his station; pleased with his charge, and full of the remembrance of his beloved master.

August 10, 1812. S. W.

But it is time that I should turn from a description of the alterations made by Mr. Howard, on his estate at Cardington, on fixing there as his future residence, to the manner of life which he pursued when settled in his new abode. His leisure hours here, as at Watcombe, seem to have been prin-

cipally devoted to meteorological pursuits; for soon after his removal into Bedfordshire, we find him addressing a letter to the Secretary of the Royal Society, on a remarkable degree of cold which he had observed at Cardington, during the severe frost in the winter of 1763. That letter is one of the three papers of his contribution already stated to have been published in the Philosophical Transactions; and as it is very short, I transcribe it here, with the double view of showing with what ardor he pursued his favorite enquiries, and of affording a specimen of his original style of writing, long before he had any idea of ever presenting himself to public notice as an author:

" An account of the degree of Cold observed in Bedfordshire: by John Howard, Esq. F.R.S. in a letter to John Canton, M.A. F.R.S. Read April 12, 1764.*

" SIR,

" I WOULD beg leave to acquaint you of a degree of cold that I observed at Cardington, in Bedfordshire, the 22d of November last: just before Sun rise Farenheit's scale, by one of Bird's thermometers being so low as ten and $\frac{1}{2}$. If it will throw any light on the locality of cold, or think it worth the Society's observation, would leave to your better judgment, and remain with great esteem,

SIR,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN HOWARD."

But a far more considerable portion of his time than was ever consumed in philosophical, or mere sedentary pursuits, was actively employed, with the assistance of his beloved and amiable wife, in forming and executing various schemes of benevolence, for ameliorating the condition of his tenantry, and

* Philosophical Transactions, Vol. LIV. p. 118.

administering to the wants of the poor in his neighbourhood. Of this valuable assistance he was, however, too soon deprived; for his domestic happiness received a sudden, but a final shock, by the removal of the beloved object of his fondest affections, soon after she had given birth to a son, the first and only issue of their marriage.* This afflicting event happened on the 31st of March 1765; and though, as a Christian, Mr. Howard bowed with resignation to the blow that laid his dearest enjoyments, and hopes of happiness in this world in the dust, he felt it in all its poignancy as a man. He loved the wife, thus unexpectedly torn from his embrace, with no common affection; and to the latest hour of his existence, he cherished her memory with a mixture of fond regret and melancholy pleasure. Her miniature was his constant companion in all his travels, at home and abroad, and he never mentioned her name, but with sentiments of affection and veneration for her person and character, and of the deepest sorrow at her loss. Those who knew him at this period of his life, bear testimony, that while she lived, his behaviour to her was always marked by the greatest kindness and attention; nor did he shew less respect to the amiable qualities of her heart and mind after her decease. He caused a tablet to her memory to be erected in Cardington church, where she was buried, bearing an inscription which speaks but the genuine feelings of his heart, at the loss he sustained by her early removal, whilst it records, that there;

In hope of a resurrection to eternal life,
Through the mercy of God by Jesus Christ,
Rests the mortal part of
HENRIETTA HOWARD,
Daughter of EDWARD LEEDS, Esq.
Of CROXTON, in CAMBRIDGESHIRE,
Who died the 31st of March 1765, aged 39.
She opened her mouth with
Wisdom,
And in her tongue was the law of kindness.
Prov. xxxi. 26.

* Note V.

A remarkable instance of his fond veneration for every thing with which her idea was associated, has been communicated to the author of these Memoirs, by the venerable lady to whose friendship with Mr. Howard, and her readiness to contribute every thing in her power to the illustration of a character she so highly esteems and venerates, he is indebted for several of the anecdotes inserted in this chapter of his work. Some years after her death, as he was walking with his son in the garden, he pointed out to him a particular fir tree; and addressing him by the appellation he familiarly used, said, "Jack, I charge you upon my blessing never to remove that tree: it was one your mother planted."* Such little incidents as these speak volumes in refutation of the charge so maliciously and wantonly brought forward to injure the character of the great and good man, whose domestic history they are adduced to illustrate:—that with all his public spirited philanthropy, and the extraordinary proofs he gave of commiseration for the sorrows of the human race, he was lamentably deficient in the private charities of life, and an utter stranger to all those tender endearments which spring from the kindred relations of husband and wife—of parent and child.† Never, perhaps, was a man more sincerely attached to a woman whose fortunes he had identified with his own, than Mr. Howard appears to have been to his second, and his favorite wife; and never, according to the account of those who enjoyed the happiness of her acquaintance, was such attachment fixed upon a more worthy object. To such an extreme, indeed, I might almost say, did he carry his veneration for her, that I have been informed from the most undoubted authority, that he always kept the anniversary of her death as a kind of fast, or time more peculiarly devoted to private meditation and prayer; shutting himself up in his own room, and taking nothing in the course of the day but an apple and a piece of bread, or some such slight refreshment. Nor was he in this altogether singular: Johnson, it will be recollected did the same, or rather observed the day of his wife's death with still more strictness; and

* Note VI. † Note VII.

though there is every reason to conclude, that these two extraordinary men were influenced by very different views in the line of conduct which they adopted upon this occasian; and opposite, in most respects, as were their characters, and mode of action, it will not fail to strike an attentive observer of both, that this is not the only coincidence to be traced in the peculiarities which so strikingly distinguished them from the common race of men.

One simple tribute to the worth of a woman thus loved in life, and lamented at her death, has come to my knowledge, which I cannot permit myself to withhold from that of my readers; because, whilst it bears the strongest testimony in her favor, it evinces the gratitude of an individual in a humble station of life, who was the domestic the nearest to her person, and therefore enjoying the best opportunities of observing, and forming a true estimate of her character.

When the lady to whose persevering zeal in collecting information to illustrate the private virtues of that inestimable man, to whom her father had stood in the endearing relationship of pastor and of friend, and whose kind attentions she herself, when a child, had often experienced, I am so deeply indebted, questioned Mrs. Prole as to the character and disposition of her deceased lady, she described her, and has since repeated the description to me, as a most amiable woman, of a very sweet temper and disposition; an excellent mistress to her servants, and very benevolent and kind to the poor:—adding, with great emotion, that she should always remember her with respect and affection. That these were not mere idle words was proved, not only by the manner in which they were uttered, but from the circumstance of her having, but a few days before, been very much hurt at a lady's expressing a wish to purchase the miniature of her mistress, which Mr. Howard had given to her immediately before his departure from England upon his last journey. She suffered this valued relic to be sent out of her

sight for the lady to look at, but the most liberal offers could not tempt her to part with it; and when she named the circumstance to Mrs. Greene, she said, with tears in her eyes, " No, I will never part with any thing, that was my excellent master's and mistress's till I want a piece of bread. My master gave me this picture because he knew I should value it, and I will keep it to the day of my death." It was not without some difficulty, that, through the kind interference of the Rev. Mr. Hillyard of Bedford, she was persuaded to entrust for awhile, to my keeping, the memorial of her departed benefactor's kindness, upon which she sets so high a value. Nor would she have parted with it (and she wept as she delivered it into my hands), even for so short a time, as the copying it for the engraver has required, but that she understood the work for which it was borrowed, had, for its chief object, the vindication of her beloved master's character from imputations she well knew to be false, and under which she had long grieved to see his memory so unjustly suffer.

Happy the heads of families who have such domestics; and happy the servants who have the privilege of living under so good a master, and so kind a mistress.

CHAPTER III.

From the death of Mr. Howard's second Wife in 1765, *to the autumn of the year* 1769; *including a particular account of his treatment of his son during his infancy, and the earlier period of his childhood; and a view of his religious opinions and associations up to his departure from England, upon his fourth excursion of pleasure upon the continent.*

IN proportion as Mr. Howard was attached to the wife who had so suddenly been removed from him, at the very moment when she had, if possible, gained a yet stronger hold upon his affections,—in that proportion it is most natural to expect, that he would feel all the fondness a heart so kind as his was capable of feeling, centre in the dear pledge of their attachment, whose only parent he was now become, by the afflicting dispensation, which had at once deprived him of the wife of his bosom, and the mother of his infant son. And yet the most—it may indeed be said, the only serious imputation that calumny has dared to fix upon his character, is that of having acted the part of a cruel and unnatural father to this, his only, and his motherless child, the offspring of the woman whom he so affectionately loved, and whose loss he so deeply, and so unceasingly deplored. This charge is, however, so revolting to all the feelings of our nature, so utterly inconsistent with all the ordinary principles of human action, that we could not, without the most unimpeachable evidence, believe it to be true of any individual, even in the lowest and most degraded

walks of life. Much less then can we, without such overpowering proofs, be disposed to think it possible, that a man, who sacrificed his time, his fortune, his health, and ultimately his life, to the cause of universal benevolence; who, like the divine master, whose example was ever before his eyes, literally "went about doing good," could be a merciless tyrant over the being to whom he had given existence, and who was doubly endeared to him by the recollections he must constantly have excited in a widowered father's mind, of the mother, who lost her life in giving his.

The charge, however, inconsistent and unnatural as it is, has not only been made, but, such is the proneness of the human mind to listen to with eagerness, and to believe with readiness, every thing that can tend to bring down the characters of men, whose talents, or whose virtues, have rendered them the ornaments, or the benefactors of their race, to its own ordinary level;—that it has been widely circulated, and but too generally believed. It therefore becomes a duty above all others incumbent upon the biographer of such a man, to collect all the information he can, for the purpose of showing how little foundation there ever was for such an accusation, or, more correctly speaking, how entirely it originated in malice, in ignorance, or in wilful misrepresentation. For this purpose, recourse has been had to those who were not only intimately acquainted with the general benevolence of Mr. Howard's character, in the more private, as in the public walks of life, but who were eye-witnesses to the manner of his behaviour to his son, from the first hours of his infancy, to the period of that son's unfortunate derangement of his intellects, and his sorrowing parent's own removal from this world of weariness, and labor, and strife, to a world of eternal rest, and joy, and peace. It is from information of this authentic nature, that the following account is drawn up, in the confident hope that it will remove from every candid mind, even the strongest of those doubts upon the point in question, which may long have lingered, not a cherished guest, but an unwelcome intruder there.

The loss of his wife, with whom he had spent so many happy hours, amidst the calm retirement of the seat which her taste had greatly assisted him in improving, lessened, if it did not dissolve, the charms that bound Mr. Howard to his favorite residence; and he thenceforward remained at Cardington, rather because it was the sphere of his duty, than, as it hitherto had been, the spot of his choice. Here he principally employed himself, for some time, in superintending the education of his infant son, the care of whose earlier years the removal of the parent, on whom it would more naturally have fallen, devolved upon him. "This," says Dr. Aikin,* "was an office which almost immediately commenced; for, according to his ideas, education had place from the very first dawn of the mental faculties."

I shall give, in that author's own language, the explanation he has inserted in his memoirs, of those ideas, and of the manner in which Mr. Howard acted upon them, remarking by anticipation, that that explanation will be found to be confirmed in most of its particulars, by the detail, or illustration of his peculiar mode of management, which his present biographer is enabled to communicate to the public from the various original and authentic sources of information, from which the materials for the present narrative have been derived.

"Regarding children," says the Doctor,† "as creatures possessed of strong passions and desires, without reason and experience to controul them, he thought that Nature seemed, as it were, to mark them out as the subjects of absolute authority; and that the first and fundamental principle to be inculcated upon them, was implicit and unlimited obedience. This cannot be effected by any process of *reasoning*, before reason has its commencement; and therefore must be the result of *coercion*. Now, as no man ever more effectually combined the *leniter in modo* with the *fortiter in re*, the coercion he practised was

* Page 42. † Ib. p. 43—6.

calm and gentle, but at the same time steady and resolute. I shall give an instance of it, which I had from himself. His child one day, wanting something which he was not to have, fell into a fit of crying, which the nurse could not pacify. Mr. *Howard* took him from her, and laid him quietly in his lap, till, fatigued with crying, he became still. This process, a few times repeated, had such an effect, that the child, if crying ever so violently, was rendered quiet the instant his father took him. In a similar manner, without harsh words and threats, still less blows, he gained every other point which he thought necessary to gain, and brought the child to such a habit of obedience, that I have heard him say, he believed his son would have put his finger into the fire if he had commanded him. Certain it is, that many fathers could not, if they approved it, execute a plan of this kind; but Mr. *Howard*, in this case, only pursued the general method which he took to effect any thing which a thorough conviction of its propriety induced him to undertake. It is absurd, therefore, to represent him as wanting that milk of human kindness for his only son, with which he abounded for the rest of his fellow-creatures; for he aimed at what he thought the good of both, by the very same means: and, if he carried the point further with respect to his son, it was only because he was more interested in his welfare. But this course of discipline, whatever he thought of it, could not have been long practised, since the child was early sent to school, and the father lived very little at home afterwards." *

The age at which young Howard was removed from the immediate inspection of his father, was that of between four and five years,—one but little, if at all less advanced, than that at which, where a system of public, or academical education is intended to be adopted, children are usually sent from beneath the paternal roof. There would be nothing, therefore, at all remarkable in this circumstance, were it not that the period of the son's removal from the scenes of his infancy, was followed, at no very considerable distance, by

* Note I.

that of the father's departure, and more continued absence from his home, upon the first of those philanthropic expeditions, which, during the remainder of his life, rendered him, not merely a citizen, but a benefactor of the world; giving up all that was left, or that might have been secured to him, of the comforts of home, and of domestic life, for the purpose of administering to the wants, and promoting the comforts of those who had no other claim upon his regard, than that they were men, who, but for the exertion of his generous compassion, would have had no earthly friend to pity, or to relieve their distress. This, however, is not the time to enter upon an explanation, and justification, if justification there possibly can be needed, of the motives that induced him to take this step: the present business of his biographer, being rather, to attempt something like a regular detail of the manner in which the son of this extraordinary man was treated by his father, until that father felt himself called upon,—in the first instance, by a regard to the improvement of his offspring, and afterwards by a sense of the duty which he owed to God and to his fellow-creatures, whatsoever his hand found to do, to do it with his might, to commit the immediate superintendence of his education to others.

The loss of a fond and affectionate mother, nearly at the very moment of giving birth to her child, is, in most cases, a more serious disadvantage than any which that child could possibly experience. But, in the instance before us, it was irreparable; and in all human probability, had no small share in producing that scene of domestic infelicity, which imbittered the latter days of its surviving parent. Mrs. Howard, with all the softness, possessed all the prudence necessary to the due discharge of the important duties of a mother; and to her care had her continued life been granted to his wishes, and to his prayers, there is every reason to believe that her husband would have left the delightful, but the difficult and the delicate task, of giving to the mind of her infant son, its first impressions, and its future bias. It would then, doubtless, have

been her delight, and the object of her most studious attention, to impress upon the mind of that son, sentiments of filial reverence to the commands of a father, the expression of whose every wish, as a husband, she herself was habitually accustomed to meet with the most ready and cheerful compliance. By every means which the deepest interest in the happiness of both the objects of her fondest affection could inspire;—in every mode which an intimate acquaintance with the peculiarities of their characters and dispositions, and a most watchful observation of their effects could suggest, she would have strove, by the gentleness of her own manner, to have prevented an unfavourable impression being made upon the mind of her son, by any apparent harshness in that of his father. Nor would her influence have been exerted in vain, to correct those errors which the rare combination of maternal solicitude and maternal prudence she possessed, would have enabled her to discover in some of her husband's notions upon the education of children, or at least in their practical application to its earlier stages. It is true, indeed, that accustomed as she appears to have been to look to his principles and conduct as the rule and standard of her own; and knowing, as she did, that in the ordering of his house he was and would be implicitly obeyed, she would not openly, imprudently, and pertinaciously have opposed her opinions upon the subject to his; but she would have carried a point, she would not have wished to have carried at all, but where she saw the future happiness of her husband, and her child so nearly concerned in its issue, by exerting that nameless and indescribable influence, which a prudent woman may always maintain over a husband, whose devotion to her is not the child of caprice, but the offspring of genuine affection, cemented by the bonds of mutual esteem, and of long continued kindness.

Except, however, in as far as the vindication of Mr. Howard's character is concerned, it is vain to reason on what *might* have been the mode of education pursued with his only child, had not Providence, by a dispensation

most afflicting to him, but over-ruled for the lasting benefit of the world, in its wisdom seen fit to devolve the sole direction of that education upon him, whilst his infant was yet wrapped in his swaddling-clothes. Suffice it to say, that he himself often feelingly lamented the loss of his wife's assistance in forming the early habits, and correcting what was wrong in the temper of his son. He felt and acknowledged, as every sensible man must acknowledge, how much more capable is a prudent and tender mother of managing a young child, than the kindest father possibly can be. There is a somewhat of gentleness, of fondness, of never-slumbering watchfulness, and, as it were, of intuitive foresight in maternal solicitude, which no attention, however anxious on the part of surviving relatives, near as they may be, can ever supply. But whilst he felt this deprivation most keenly, and for his son's sake, as well as for his own, lamented it as bitterly as was consistent with the duty that taught him as a Christian, not to repine at the dispensations of Providence, dark and mysterious as they might appear to be, Mr. Howard endeavored to obtain the best assistance he could in discharging the double obligations which now centered in himself. With this view, he engaged a most pious and excellent woman, still living, to superintend his domestic concerns; and to her he chiefly entrusted the more immediate oversight of his son, during his infancy, and the earlier years of his childhood.

The person whom he thus selected for this important office, was in every respect worthy the confidence reposed in her, and most faithfully and conscientiously discharged all the duties which that confidence required at her hands. But well qualified as she appears to have been, in as far as kindness of disposition, fidelity to her trust, and piety and consistency of character could qualify her, for the care of a motherless babe, no one can suppose that the father of that babe could be so unnatural, as not to take the deepest interest in its welfare, or to neglect any thing in his power to promote it. But whilst a child continues in the nursery, or, at least, whilst

it is an infant dandled in its nurse's arms, unable to give utterance to its wants, or any thing like a reason for its joy, or its grief, little is it that a father can do to promote the one, or to soothe the other, of its infant passions. We have, however, already learnt from the passage transcribed from Dr. Aikin's narrative, that, even at this period, Mr. Howard began to carry into execution the scheme of discipline, from which, as it was founded in the principles he uniformly acted upon, in every circumstance of his life, he saw no reason to exempt his son; but, on the contrary, anticipated the best possible results from its early adoption, in securing that object, which, of all others, of an earthly nature, he was the most anxious to secure—the happiness of a beloved and only child.

His mode of quieting his son, when crying, as infants cry they know not wherefore, as related by Dr. Aikin, has also been communicated to his present biographer by some other of Mr. Howard's surviving friends, and particularly by the late Doctor Lettsom, whose sudden removal from the circle of his acquaintance, that biographer will ever have occasion most deeply to deplore. No one could more highly esteem the character of our great Philanthropist, than did this benevolent man, who having been honored with his friendship, followed through life his bright example in being unwearied in doing good. And though he was far from approving the whole of Mr. Howard's system of education for his son, I think it my duty to state, for the information of those, who, from the character of the person who made, and the success which is said to have attended this experiment, are inclined to repeat it—that, in a lecture upon the education of children, delivered by the Doctor before a society in which I had, for some time, the honor of holding an office under his presidency, he expressed his unequivocal approbation of the mode he thus adopted for subduing the passions, and silencing the cries of infants.

After having had somewhat more than a year's experience of the fidelity with which his housekeeper discharged the duties of the confidential situation in which he had placed her, sufficient to convince him that he might safely leave his infant son under her care, Mr. Howard seems to have found it necessary for the recruiting of his health, so materially injured by the mental affliction he had undergone since the removal of his wife, to pay a short visit to Bath, where he remained during a part, at least, of the months of November and December 1766. Whilst here, he amused himself with his favorite meteorological pursuits, as appears from an "Extract from a letter from John Howard, esq. F.R.S. to William Watson, M.D. F.R.S. giving some observations on the Heat of the Waters at Bath," received January 30, 1767; read before the Royal Society on the 2nd of April following; and subsequently published in its Transactions.* From a passage in the same letter, I am led to conclude that, either on his way to, or from this place, he spent a short time in London, and availed himself of the opportunity which his stay there afforded him, of enjoying the society of some of his literary friends, and amongst others, of the gentleman to whom this communication is addressed. In the following spring he resolved upon taking a short tour through Holland, most probably for the purpose of diverting his mind from the melancholy reflections which still associated themselves with his abode at Cardington. The companion of his journey appears to have been Edward Leeds, esq. the brother of his deceased wife; though a letter, now in my possession, shews that he was anxious to have made an addition to his party, in the person of the late Mr. Gough, of Enfield, well known to the public as the editor of Camden's Britannia, and by his many other topographical and antiquarian labors. His acquaintance with this gentleman is most likely to have originated in the meetings of the Royal Society, which Mr. Howard, after his election as a member of that body, was in the habit of pretty constantly attending, during his occasional visits to London, or else in some of the literary parties which sprung out of them. This,

* Philosophical Transactions, Vol. LVII. p. 201, 2.—Note II.

however, is mere matter of conjecture; but the following invitation will at least prove, that he knew Mr. Gough as a man of letters, engaged in antiquarian researches. It is, however, inserted here, more with a view to shew the kindness of its author's disposition, in the anxiety he exhibits to be the means of contributing to the gratification of his friend, than for the purpose of proving, that, in the number of his correspondents, at a period of his life when there was nothing either in his character or conduct to attract public attention, were some men who had devoted their lives to literary pursuits, and who had thereby gained for themselves a name and a reputation in the world.

To Richard Gough, esq. Winchester Streeet.

Dear Sir,

Having fix't, with my Brother Leeds, the tour thro' Holland, about the week after next, I seem desireous If I could to persuade You to take the journey with us for about a Month, as I am certain you will be highly entertained with the excessive pleasantness of Holland. In the Spring of the year all is a neat beautiful Garden, and not wanting in antiquities to entertain a *Gentleman* who has a turn that way; expence of traveling is less there than in England, and dress not more regarded, care of a young Voyager permit me to assure Mrs. Gough, shall not be wanting. I am sure, on the review, it will be a pleasing jaunt to my friend; as such, I could not go without giving you a line, being with much Esteem,

Dear Sir,

Your M', Humble Servant,

Jn°, Howard.

Cardington,
near Bedford.
May 5, 1767.

To this friendly invitation Mr. Gough returned a polite answer, declining, on account of the engagements then pressing upon his attention, a tour, than which, he assures his correspondent, nothing could be more agreeable to him. It is, therefore most probable that Mr. Howard set off at the appointed time,

with no other companion than his brother-in-law. In the absence of all evidence to the contrary, we may also safely assume, that he did not remain abroad much, if any, longer than the period he had fixed upon; and we have no account of his having left England again, until the latter part of the year 1769. The interval he seems to have spent principally at Cardington, where his time was chiefly occupied in the improvement of his estate.

In this domestic retreat, the engaging prattle of his little son, no doubt afforded him a source of the purest enjoyment, of an earthly nature, that his widowed heart could know. He witnessed, we may be assured, the expansion of his infant powers with all a father's fondness, and not a little of a father's pride. I have the uniform testimony, not of one or two only, but of many of his surviving friends and domestics, now lying before me, to the fact of his having, at this period of his life, shewn the strongest affection it was possible for a father to shew to his interesting charge; to his having had that character as a parent in the circle of his acquaintance, at the time when it was exhibited, and to his having maintained it amongst them ever after, in spite of the calumnious reports so industriously spread abroad after his death, but which they always treated, either with silent contempt, or with merited indignation. All these accounts agree in representing Mr. Howard to have been, not only remarkably fond, but if I may use the expression without conveying any improper notion to the minds of my readers, remarkably proud of his dear motherless boy. Of this many instances have been given me, which I should have thought of too trifling a nature to be communicated to the public, but that nothing can be trifling, or unimportant, where the character of such a man is, in any measure, at stake.

As soon as the child was old enough to sit in the chaise, his father used generally to bring him by his side to Bedford, two or three times a week, to see Mrs. Belsham, (mother to the highly respectable minister of the Unitarian

chapel in Essex-street, and to the historian of the reign of George the Third), and his other friends in that town: and upon these occasions his playthings were always carefully put into the chaise along with him. With these sources of childish amusement he was abundantly supplied, suitably to his years, and to his father's ample fortune. At Cardington he had his carts and wheelbarrows, and tools to dig and delve with in the garden, of a size proportioned to his age, and consequent power to use them without danger of hurting himself; and he was suffered to draw his childish vehicles in and out of the house at his pleasure. He would load and unload his cart with leaves, and draw it backward and forward between the garden and the parlour, in which his father was sitting, by the hour together; and so far was that father from checking him in these amusements, that he was always delighted to see him busily employed in his infantile pursuits, and never sent him from him, but when he was so particularly occupied that he could not suffer his attention to be distracted, or was engaged by company. Upon the latter of these occasions, indeed, when he was enjoying the pleasures of social intercourse with his friends beneath his own hospitable roof, he would often fetch his son from his attendants, or from his play, and, putting him out of his arms at the door of the room, would send him in first, telling him, with all the fondness and honest pride which a parent is wont to feel for a beloved and interesting child, "There, John, my little man, go and shew yourself to the ladies." In fact, whilst he was a child, his father never appeared so happy as when he had him by his side; nor so highly gratified, as when others took notice of him; which, as he was a very fine boy, and when he went out, or was brought into company, was always dressed with remarkable neatness, was frequently the case.

Mr. Howard, as might naturally be expected from a person of his decidedly pious turn, was particularly careful that those who were about his son, at a time when his young mind was open to receive any impression that might be made upon it, should be persons of such unexceptionable character, as, that from

being themselves actuated by the pure principles of Christianity, they would instil into him such lessons of religion and morality, as he was capable of receiving, so as to second his own most anxious desire to train him up in the way from which he would never wish him to depart. But he did not, on this account, forbid his associating with children of his own age, of whose education in these principles, however humbly conducted, he was well assured. With the children of John Prole, who, during the life-time of his second lady, was Mr. Howard's coachman, and afterwards became his bailiff; and who married the waiting-woman, of whom mention has already been made, he was accordingly allowed to associate as his playmates, they having been religiously and carefully brought up. With them, and with other children whom he was permitted to make the companions of his youthful sports, though in the disposition which he at this time manifested, he was rather inclined to be steady and sedate, he was lively, cheerful, and active; nor did his innocent mirth ever seem to be checked by the presence of his father.

At the age of between three and four years, Mr. Howard always took his son with him to Meeting, and I have the authority of the family who sat in the next seat to him there, for asserting, that upon these occasions they have often noticed the affectionate manner of his behaviour towards him. He used himself to lift him upon the seat, and set him down again when he was tired of standing; and as soon as ever he could read, looked out the hymns for him which the congregation was singing. Whilst standing up, during the time that the minister was engaged in prayer, he had always his arm round the waist of his child, who would stroke his shoulder with his little hands, play with his buttons, and give other marks of being in the habit of treating his father with the most perfect freedom and familiarity, though he had been too well taught how to behave in the house of God ever to make a noise, or disturb any one there. Whilst thus training up in his duty towards his heavenly father, and early taught to lift

his infant hands to his Maker in his sanctuary, no wonder that his earthly parent should often look upon his interesting child, when thus engaged, with a fondness parents only feel. That he often did so, I have the same authority for stating, as that upon which the other parts of this pleasing scene in domestic life have been given to the public, coupling with it a remark, that he would look much pleased if, at these times, any of the congregation were to notice the child's behaviour.

Surely, surely, this was a very different line of conduct to that which a father capable of treating his only child with severity, or even with moroseness, would, under such circumstances, have adopted! Well, therefore, may the lady from whose personal knowledge these particulars are derived, assert, as she most unequivocally does, that the reports of Mr. Howard's harshness to his son were never believed by any of his friends, as indeed it is impossible that they should be by any one at all acquainted with his character and conduct; and that when, after his death, they were industriously put into general circulation, they took great pains, as far as lay in their power, to expose their falsehood, and to prevent their wider diffusion. How they came to gain ground in spite of their efforts, it will, by and by, be my painful duty to endeavor to explain. Well too may she declare, that she had always defended him whenever she heard the subject mentioned, and should still continue to do so, whenever the opportunity offers. To this she adds, as a fact within her own observation at the time, and yet fresh in her memory, that young Howard, when a lad, always appeared to be as much attached to his father, as his father was to him.

But in thus earnestly and zealously endeavoring, by the most incontestible and unexceptionable evidence, to vindicate the memory of Mr. Howard from so serious a charge, as that of being deficient in natural affection for his son, it must not be supposed that I am at all anxious to conceal any

of the peculiarities in his mode of treating that son, during the earlier stages of his education, or to vindicate them from the imputation of being founded in an error in judgment, wherever that imputation will fairly attach itself. It is agreed, on all hands, that he entertained the most exalted notions of the authority of the head of a family;—notions derived rather from the scriptural history of patriarchal times, than from any of our modern codes of ethics, or systems of education. Upon this point I would, however, prefer giving the sentiments of those who speak from their personal knowledge of him, as far as I have the means, in their own language, to offering any observations originating with myself.

"The truth is," says Mr. Palmer, in the manuscript memoir of his distinguished friend, to which I have had, and shall have such frequent occasion to refer, "he had a high idea (some of his friends may think too high) of the authority of the head of a family. And he thought it right, because most convenient, to maintain it, for the sake of avoiding the unhappy consequences of domestic disputes. On this principle, I have more than once heard him pleasantly relate the agreement he made with the last Mrs. Howard, previous to their marriage, that to prevent all altercations about those little matters which he had observed to be the chief grounds of uneasiness in families, he should always decide. To this the amiable lady readily consented, and ever adhered. Nor did she ever regret the agreement, which she found to be attended with the happiest effects. Such was the opinion she entertained both of his wisdom and his goodness, that she perfectly acquiesced in all that he did, and no lady ever appeared happier in the conjugal bonds."

Learning, then, from this characteristic anecdote, that Mr. Howard, taking the scripture in this, as in every other instance of his life, as the rule of his conduct, in his connection and intercourse with others, required from the wife

whom he tenderly and most affectionately loved, a constant and cheerful obedience to the apostolic injunction,—"Wives, submit yourselves unto your own husbands, as unto the Lord;" we cannot be surprized that one of the first lessons he would strive to impress upon the infant mind of his son, should be that of implicit obedience to the commands of his parent.

"As to his son," continues Mr. Palmer's narrative, "during his minority he taught him implicit obedience, and inured him to hardiness. But herein he acted upon principle, and intended most effectually to secure his son's real happiness, for whom it would be easy to prove he had a very tender affection, while he avoided that foolish fondness, and excessive indulgence, which he had often known to be as fatal to the true welfare of children, as to the comfort of parents."

In confirmation of this statement of one who knew Mr. Howard well, I would give the substance of a communication from another of his surviving friends, a most respectable lady, who well remembers young Howard when he was quite a child. In unison with every one who was acquainted with our illustrious philanthropist, and had an opportunity of observing his conduct as a parent, she states that from what she herself witnessed of his uniform kindness to his son, she never did, or could think, that there was any truth whatever in the reports spread abroad respecting his harshness towards him. She knows that, from what he had seen of other children, he had a great dread of his becoming a spoiled child, and therefore kept him in proper order and subjection; but she never knew him to treat him with any thing like severity. Upon the whole, her opinion of Mr. Howard's treatment of his son, is now, on retrospection, what it always was, whilst that treatment was immediately exposed to her view, that "it was firm, but not harsh; for his general manners" she continues, "were so gentle and so kind to every one, that I never could believe him capable of treating his son with unkindness."

Convinced himself, both by reading and experience, that temperance and plainness of food were most congenial to the health of the body, and to the activity of the mind, he bestowed particular attention upon the diet of his child, whose meals were always prepared according to his own directions; though he seems to have pursued no other system in giving them, than that of taking care that his appetite should not be pampered with those "nice things," with which the stomachs of children are too often cloyed by the mistaken fondness of their parents, or their nurses, until they learn uniformly to reject that plain, wholesome food, which is alone proper for their nutriment, for the sweet, the rich, or the high-seasoned viands, which pall their appetites, and most seriously injure their health. From the same concern for the health and real happiness of his offspring, he never allowed any of those cakes and sweetmeats to be given him, with which persons, who ought to know better, are apt to stuff the children who may visit them, or to whom they feel an attachment, they seem not to have any other mode of evincing.

In all this, he surely did nothing but what every prudent parent must approve, and every fond one—if fondness for a child means, as it certainly does, in its proper and only legitimate sense, an anxious desire to promote its best interests—ought to imitate. With respect to the extent to which he carried his notions of filial obedience, and more especially the mode he adopted in training up his son in the most rigid practice of it, there may perhaps be somewhat more diversity of opinion as to its propriety.

From the earliest period of his infancy he was taught a lesson, it were much to be wished that every child was as effectually taught, that he never was to have any thing he cried for. From this rule he neither deviated himself, or knowingly suffered those who had the care of his son's education to deviate, upon any pretence whatever. By a similar firmness on all other points, he brought him to that habit of implicit obedience to his commands, which induced

him to express the opinion already given, in the words of the person to whom it was delivered, that he would have put his finger into the fire, if he had ordered him to do so. This, however, would have been a proof of docility, which the natural kindness of Mr. Howard's heart, and the love he bore to his son, would never, we may be sure, have allowed him to require at his hands: for there was nothing of harshness in his mode of training up his child to a method of discipline, which derived all its force from the knowledge, in that child's mind, of its father's firmness to his purpose, and not from any fear that his severity might have inspired. When walking with him in the garden, Mr. Howard has, more than once, been known to bid him sit down upon the grass, and remain there until he came back; which he would instantly do, and sit quite still and contented, until his father called him. This, however, was generally done with a view to keep him out of mischief; and, as he never spoke, upon these occasions, in a harsh, or severe, but rather in a playful tone of voice, the child shewed no reluctance whatever to obey the direction.

Upon this point, I cannot avoid mentioning an instance of a somewhat similar mode of treatment, whose good effects I lately witnessed with much satisfaction. Whilst conversing, somewhere about a twelvemonth since, with a lady, at whose house I had been dining, and her sister, the child of the former, a fine boy of about two years of age, interrupted our conversation by the noise he made at his play; when his mother, after having desired him, once or twice, to make less noise, with no other effect than that of quieting him for the moment, until the command was forgotten; instead of beating him, turning him out of the room, or threatening him with any other punishment,—much to my surprize and gratification, took him by the arm, without any violence or shew of anger, but that of a serious and determined look, to convince him that she was in earnest, and sat him in one of the chairs in the room; where he remained perfectly still, and without evincing the least sign of discontent with his situation, until she took him down again, and told him he might go on with his

play, but that he must make less noise. This he accordingly did, with the most perfect good humour; and when I expressed my astonishment at the contented manner in which the child had borne his punishment, she told me that he always did so, and that she never found it fail in keeping him quiet, and out of mischief; as if she were to leave the room, even for a considerable space of time, he would not remove from his seat until she came back.

It is highly probable that Mr. Howard adopted some such general system of punishment, which is certainly infinitely preferable to those in common use; and really seems to be, not only as unobjectionable, but as worthy of imitation, as any that could possibly be devised. Yet in a circumstance of this nature, has originated a charge which has been pretty widely circulated,—that, by way of punishment, he was in the habit of shutting up his son in the root-house, erected in his garden, and of confining him there all night. I am happy however, in having it in my power completely to vindicate the memory of this great man from an imputation, which, if true, would give some colour to the representations so industriously spread abroad, and but too readily believed, of his having treated his son with a degree of harshness, which, at least towards him, proved, that with all his philanthropy, he was deficient in natural affection, and in those feelings of parental fondness, which seem, as it were, to be intuitive to the heart of man. The circumstance that gave rise to this groundless report, as communicated to me, not only by several of Mr. Howard's surviving friends, to whom he related it soon after its occurrence, but by some of his domestics, who have a distinct recollection of it, was briefly this. One afternoon, as he was walking with the child in the garden, according to his usual practice, whilst the servants were at dinner, he took him into the root-house, and, after having been engaged in playing with him for some time, he sat him down upon the matted bench, and being called away at the moment by the arrival of a gentleman who wished particularly to see him, told him to stay there until he returned. His mind being occupied with the business upon which he had

been brought into the house, he unfortunately forgot the child and the situation in which he had left him; and it was two or three hours before he again came into his mind, when he hastened to the root-house, and found him sitting very contentedly where he had placed him. On finding that the child had been left so long alone, he was very much vexed with himself at his absence of mind, and took him immediately in his arms into the house; telling him, at the same time, in his most affectionate manner, that he had quite forgotten him. And yet, upon this single act of accidental forgetfulness, have those who envy the virtues, or hate the religious principles of this most excellent man, raised the absurd story of his not only habitually confining his son in this solitary place, but of his having shewn himself so inhuman and unnatural a parent, as, upon more occasions than one, to have imprisoned him there all night. But in refutation of this vile calumny, I am enabled, from the testimony of the domestics who still survive him, as well as of the family of the late Rev. Mr. Smith, who made diligent and strict inquiry into the matter, the moment the charge reached his ears, upon its first promulgation after Mr. Howard's death—most distinctly, and unequivocally to state, that young Howard never was shut up in the root-house, either by his father, or by his father's order, for a single moment, much less for a whole night;—that the circumstance of his even being left there at all, never occurred but once, and that then, as has already been shewn, it was a pure accident,—so far from being connected with the idea of punishment, that it happened at a time when Mr. Howard was so perfectly satisfied with the child's conduct, that he was playing with him in the most familiar and cheerful manner.*

Such is the sandy foundation upon which the most serious charge ever advanced to blacken the character of John Howard the Philanthropist rests; and I cannot but please myself with the anticipation, that every other spot which the eagle eye of envy or malignity has pleased itself with discovering in the fair

* Note III.

sun of his unclouded reputation, will be as easily, and as completely effaced. We have already seen, from the account of the mode of education he adopted, as given by Mr. Palmer, that he was most anxious to form the character of his son, the very reverse of that effeminacy, which, even in his days, had begun to spread its unmanly, and unmanning influence, over the sons of our robust and hardy ancestors, whose prowess and whose courage have reflected so much honor upon the name of Briton. And he was the more so, from having witnessed the ill effects of this unnatural taste upon some of the more servile and degraded of the continental nations, the hermaphroditical character of whose male population, if I may be allowed the use of so strong an expression, had deeply impressed upon his mind a thankfulness to God that he was born an Englishman, and had not forgotten that he was a man. But in order to effectuate this object he was far from borrowing any lessons from the cold-blooded and unrelenting code of discipline, which froze, in the veins of the fathers and mothers of ancient Sparta, the genial current of natural affection, and destroyed all that was delightful and endearing in the parental character. He used him to no coarse diet; he did not expose him to any of the inclemencies of the season; nor did he deny him a single gratification which was not injurious to his health, or had not a direct tendency to destroy in him those habits of virtue, and of the mild charities of Christianity, to the practice of which, from the purest regard to his best interests, he was most anxious, from the earliest period of his childhood, to mould his disposition, and form his character.

One anecdote has, indeed, been communicated to me, which I do not conceive myself at liberty to suppress, though it may produce upon the minds of the too indulgent parents—especially of the tenderer-nerved mothers of our day—an impression very unfavorable to the method of early discipline of which, as a whole, I feel myself much inclined to approve.—" When I was with some friends upon a visit to Mr. Howard," says the venerable matron to whose kind communications this part of the memoirs of his life are

indebted for so large a portion of whatever interest they may possess, "he took us into the garden, and, as we were walking, he bid the child put off his shoe, which he did, and walked as well as he could upon the ground for a short time, till his father bid him put it on again." To some of my readers this act may appear to breathe a little of the harsh spirit of Lycurgus, and of his stern republican institutions;—and I am free to confess, that it seems to have formed part of a plan, which, in the language of Dr. Aikin, "many fathers could not, if they approved it, execute." But whilst readily making this concession to the more indulgent systems of our own days, which would explode putting children in the corner from the nursery, and flogging them from our public schools, as marks of the barbarous tyranny of former ages —though by the exercise of that tyranny (if, in deference to their prejudices, the term may thus be misapplied) were trained in the paths of learning, of science, of virtue, and of heroism, some of the brightest characters that ever yet adorned, or, in all human probability, ever will adorn the page of history —I cannot for a moment admit, that it affords the shadow of a proof of any harshness, much less of any unnatural cruelty in Mr. Howard's habitual treatment of his son. Considering who were the witnesses of the scene, there can be no doubt but that the child was put to this proof of his hardihood, in a spirit the very reverse of this: and knowing, as every observer of their natural character must know, how delighted boys are, even at an early age, to shew what they consider the spirit of a man, it must, I should think, strike the mind of the reader, as it has struck my own, that the child was highly pleased at such an opportunity of displaying that manly disposition, which he was taught to know would gain him the praise and the esteem of others. That there was nothing of harshness or severity exhibited upon this occasion is evident, from the circumstance of the respectable lady who witnessed the transaction she describes, and who is herself a parent, having communicated it, in connection with the account of the child's being shut up in the root-house, as a proof of the command Mr. Howard had obtained over his son, but

without the most distant hint that that command had been obtained by any undue coercion. On the contrary, the passage in her letter which immediately precedes the relation of these two circumstances, is so clearly expressive of her decided persuasion that this was by no means the case, that I am not aware that I can better close the detail I have been enabled to give of the mode adopted by the distinguished individual who is the subject of these remarks, in the earlier stages of his son's education, whilst yet a child in his father's house, than by transcribing it.

"As to his want of parental affection, and treating his son harshly, so far as I know," says this most sensible woman, "I think it not only false, but improbable. I believe he had the greatest affection for his amiable lady—he was anxious for a child—when his wish was gratified, the dear mother was soon removed. Putting these circumstances together, can it be supposed that he should act a cruel part to this son? At the same time, I believe he had a very high idea of parental authority; and though, I dare say, he thought the principle he acted from was right, he might in some instances err in the application; at least in the apprehension of those who indulged their children too much."

Whether the qualification contained in the close of this sentence should not only be taken to express, in pretty direct terms, the impression upon this lady's mind, that none but too indulgent parents would accuse Mr. Howard even of having committed an error in judgement, in the manner in which he trained up his child; but, coupled with the detail of that manner here given, upon her information and that of persons whose knowledge upon the subject cannot be doubted, should convince us, that none but parents of this description can discover any ground for censuring him, is a point that will best be considered hereafter, when his general character, as a father, comes to be reviewed. At present, however, I flatter myself that the reader of these

memoirs will find no difficulty in coming with me to the conclusion, that, if there was anything approaching to unconcern in the happiness, or harshness in his treatment of his son, we must look for it after that son had passed the years of his childhood, which he spent beneath his father's more immediate eye.

But from the history of that period, it is now time to pass to another view of Mr. Howard's character, which his biographers, where they have not wilfully and most grossly misrepresented it, have hitherto kept in the back-ground, chiefly, I would hope, from the absence of that information upon the subject, the greater part of which is now, from entirely original sources, for the first time, communicated to the public. I allude to his views and conduct as a professor of the religion of Jesus Christ, and their influence upon some of the principal events of his extraordinary life.

Upon this subject, his friend and principal biographer, Dr. Aikin, observes,* "As Mr. *Howard* was so eminently a *religious* character, it may be expected that somewhat more should be said of the peculiar tenets he adopted. But, besides that *this* was a topic which did not enter into our conversations, I confess, I do not perceive how his general plan of conduct was likely to be influenced by any *peculiarity* of that kind. The principle of *religious duty*, which is nearly the same in all systems, and differs rather in strength than in kind in different persons, is surely sufficient to account for all that he did and underwent in promoting the good of mankind, by modes which Providence seemed to place before him."

Without feeling myself called upon to controvert a position which seems to place the disciples of Christ, of Mahommed, and of Brahma, upon the same level, as to the benevolent actions which the principles of their religion may lead them to perform; and can therefore know no difference between the

* Pp. 236, 7.

Christian martyr sacrificing his life, rather than give up an article of the faith once delivered to the saints, and the self-devoted victim of the impure and merciless Jughernaut, as to the principle by which they are actuated—I think it sufficient to say, that the letters and papers of Mr. Howard do most unequivocally prove, that *he was* influenced in all he did, in every part of his conduct, both in public and in private life, by some of the peculiar tenets he had adopted—though in those tenets the doctrine of predestination, which some of his biographers have asserted to have had so unhappy an influence upon his conduct, holds no very prominent, and certainly far from a dangerous place. But, in making this remark, I wish to be most distinctly understood as giving no opinion whatever upon the question, whether a person who not only did not hold a single one of the tenets peculiar to the Calvinists —the body of Christians to which, as it respects doctrine, Mr. Howard belonged—but who even openly oppugned some of the most essential articles of their faith, might not have devoted himself to the cause of humanity with as much zeal, and precisely in the same manner as he did; but I must maintain, and the documents I shall hereafter produce will bear me out in the assertion, that the motives that would actuate such a man—whether more natural, or less scriptural is not the question here to be decided—would, in many respects, have differed most essentially from those upon which Howard acted, and by which he himself avers that he was supported through his great and most laborious undertaking.

It has already been stated, that he was, in doctrine, a moderate Calvinist; as it respects church discipline, an Independent; and that, about the time of his first marriage, or it may be somewhat previous to it, he was admitted a member of a church of this persuasion assembling at Newington, under the pastoral care of the Rev. Meredith Townsend. From that church, I have reason to believe that he never received his dismissal; and consequently that he continued a member of it until the time of his death; though after his removal into the country

he had few opportunities of joining in communion with it. Upon whose ministry he attended during his residence in Hampshire, I have no means of ascertaining; but, from his general habit, there is reason to suppose it was that of some dissenting preacher, if any such there were at that time, within a convenient distance from his residence. If there were none, *without* the pale of the establishment, who preached the gospel of Christ, in what he considered its genuine purity and simplicity, neither at this, nor at any period of his life, was Mr. Howard so bigotted to the opinions and practice of the sect to which he belonged, in points of discipline,—the forms and ceremonies, and little outward peculiarities, which, in but too many instances, have unhappily given to the church of Christ, at least in the eyes of the world, the appearance of a house divided against itself—that he would not enter *within* that pale, and consequently join in the worship of God, in a form of prayer, which, in general, breathes so pure a spirit of fervent piety, of deep humility, and of earnest supplication, that his heart could not but join in most of its devout aspirations, however he might, upon principle, deny the right of any human power to prescribe the use of these, or any other set form of words, for *his* public worship of the Deity. When he could hear the gospel faithfully preached by a dissenting minister, it was natural, and consistent in him, as a dissenter, to prefer attending a chapel, or meeting-house;—but when that gospel was so proclaimed in the neighbourhood of the place in which he had taken up his temporary, or more permanent abode, only in the church, it was as natural and consistent in him, as a Christian, to be found sitting in one of the pews of a more splendid edifice, consecrated to the worship of God, according to the rites and ceremonies of the church, by law established. The wife to whom he was so affectionately, and so deservedly attached, was a member of the church of England, as indeed it has been said was her predecessor also;* and during her life, he seems to have made it his regular practice to accompany her, in one part of the day, to the parish, or other church, which she attended:—she, in return, usually, though not so

* Universal Mag. Vol. LXXXVI. p. 260.

regularly, going with him, during the other part, to the chapel, or meeting-house, which he frequented. This, at least, was their custom at Cardington; and it is to be presumed, that they only continued there a practice, which they had begun immediately after their marriage; as, from Mr. Howard's general mode of acting, there can be no doubt but that this was a matter of previous arrangement between them, founded on what he considered a duty imposed upon them by the intimate relation they had mutually contracted.

The minister under whom Mr. Howard first sat as a regular hearer, after his settlement at Cardington, was Mr. Saunderson, pastor of the Independent, or free-communion church, at Bedford, once under the pastoral care of the celebrated John Bunyan. With this church he continued to be an occasional communicant, as long as Mr. Saunderson lived, which was but a very few years, after he himself came to reside in Bedfordshire. Upon the ministry of his successor, the Reverend Joshua Symmonds, he continued to attend until the year 1772, when a division in the church took place, of which more particular mention will hereafter be made; and he then joined himself to the separatists. At least until this period, and there is every reason to suppose until death dissolved the bond of union, Mr. Howard still considered himself to be, as upon the principles of the Independent churches, he certainly was, a member of the church at Newington; and, in this capacity, he applied to Mr. Townsend, as his pastor, to baptize his son, which he accordingly did, at Cardington, in the presence of the servants of the family, and a few of its more intimate friends.

Perhaps this detail of our great philanthropist's connexion with particular churches or congregations of Christians, may, to many a reader of these pages, appear not only uninteresting, but unnecessary; but it certainly will not be thought so by those who feel interested in the character of this extraordinary man; not merely as the "friend of every clime, the patriot of the world," but

as a zealous, though humble professor of the religion of Him, "who went about doing good, leaving us an example that we should follow him."

In that capacity, it will be seen, from his own letters and private reflections, which will constitute a great portion of the following pages, that he performed the duties devolving upon him, as a member of the church of God upon earth, with as much faithfulness, though not with so much *eclat*, as he trod that path in public life, which placed him on the very pinnacle of fame, when he himself was anxious for nothing so much, as for the obscurity, and retirement of a private station.

To the inmost recesses of the privacy he loved;—to his confidential correspondence with his friends;—to the seclusion of the closet;—and to the more secret meditations of his heart, the next chapter of these memoirs will introduce the reader; and lay open to his view the sources of those acts of unexampled benevolence, which have gained for him, who made so glorious and so extraordinary a display of them, the mingled applause and wonder of the world.

CHAPTER IV.

Mr. Howard's fourth journey to the continent in the years 1769, 1770;—*including various extracts from his journal, and private memoranda, and several of his letters to his friends, during his absence.*

IT is extremely natural to suppose that a person left, as Mr. Howard was, a widower, with a motherless boy, whose education he himself was by no means competent to undertake,—and the care of whose childish years he had no near female relative qualified, or if qualified, disposed to superintend, should determine upon placing him, as soon as he was of a sufficient age, at some respectable seminary; where he would be satisfied that, whilst proper pains were bestowed upon his education, every attention would be paid to his comfort, consistent with that discipline, which it is absolutely necessary to keep up in all such establishments. But he was as yet too young to encounter the bustle of a boy's school, or to make his way through the difficulties and rebuffs he would meet with there, from those more turbulent spirits, who think that the advantage of a few years in age, of stronger nerves, and a more robust constitution, gives them a right to tyrannize and domineer over their younger, weaker, and more gentle companions. After diligent enquiry amongst his friends, he determined, therefore, upon placing his son under the care of a very excellent woman, who kept a boarding-school for young ladies at Cheshunt, in Hertfordshire;*—those

* Gents. Mag. Vol. LX. P. I. p. 277, 287, 9.

useful preparatory schools, which are now so general, not being then in existence. About Michaelmas, 1769, appears to have been the time at which the child was sent from beneath his paternal roof, to a school, the selection of which, neither he who made it, nor he for whom it was made, ever had occasion to repent.

As soon as he had completed his arrangements for this commencement of his son's education, Mr. Howard turned his thoughts to another excursion upon the continent, for the purpose of relieving his mind from the perpetual recurrence of that scene of domestic desolation, which his now solitary residence at Cardington would have presented to the recollection of one, who was ever most feelingly alive to the irreparable loss he had sustained. From the following letter to his friend Mr. Gough, whom he again wished to be the companion of his tour, it would appear to have been his intention to visit Italy, and to pass the winter in the romantic neighbourhood of Geneva, in a character, which no one ever more honorably, or more consistently maintained than he did—that of an English gentleman of the old school; without any of the glare, and show, and parade, which are but the tinsel ornaments, engrafted from foreign climes, upon that original sturdy and healthy stock of our own native growth, of which hardly a specimen survives in our more polished—would it be too much to say, at least in this respect—our more degenerate days. What were his views of this character, and of the manner in which a person sustaining it, should unite a proper attention to economy, with the gratification of a taste for visiting all that is sublime in nature, or curious in art, his own letter will, in some measure, explain.

" Dear Sir,

" I have heard you express a desire of seeing Italy, I could not go abroad without writing how much Your company would add to my pleasure, as our thoughts relative to the gay and expensive Schemes are similar. My Boy going from me to School, I intend Ab^{t} the 21st of Sep^{r}, Crossing the

Water for Calais, so to the southern part of France to Geneva, or going in a Leghorn or Naples Ship by sea, as would afford greater variety, and not be so fatigueing or expensive as by Land both ways, the accommodations aboard those Ships being far preferable to any of the Packets. Shall probably be at Geneva about Xmas, where I intend fixing my Winter Quarters. I am sure I sh[d] be very happy if the Scheme was agreeable to you, as I intend it a frugal one appearing as an English Gentleman without glare or show; the passage, with a genty table always fresh meat or fowls 20 Guineas You will favour me the first Opportunity with a Line.

" I am
" Sir,
" Your friend and servant,
" J. HOWARD."

" Cardington,
" Augt. 30 1769.

" Would beg my best Comp[ts] to our Friend Mr. Bush and to Mrs. Gough.

" P. S. one of my serv[ts] will be a Monday at Mr. Tatnall's at Theobals and returns that Evening; perhaps it might be as convenient to favour me with a line by him.

" Yrs J. H."

" To Richard Gough, Esq[r].
" at Forty Hill, Enfield
" In Middlesex."

The servant alluded to in the above postcript, was one who will unfortunately make rather a singular figure in some future parts of these memoirs. His name was John Thomasson; and, according to his own account, he seems to have entered Mr. Howard's service, a lad just seeking out for his first place, about a year, or a year and a half before he had projected this tour, in which

he was desirous of taking him as his attendant. The boy's father and mother lived at a distance of about four or five miles from Cardington; his master therefore sent him over with a letter to them, expressive of his wishes upon the subject: but, though he afterwards sent for the father, to explain to him personally, of what advantage such an opportunity of seeing the world might hereafter prove to his son, the parental affection of these poor, but kind-hearted people, prevented their listening to his representations, or to the earnest entreaties of the lad himself, to be allowed to accompany him. Indeed so strong was *his* wish to embrace this opportunity of seeing the strange things which were to be met with, as he had heard, in foreign lands, that, when he went to London, upon the eve of his master's departure for France, he begged of him, in the most urgent manner, to take him with him, without the consent of his parents, which, as we may well suppose, Mr. Howard refused to do; though, even at this period, he seems to have taken a great liking to the lad,—who afterwards became his attendant upon most of his philanthropic tours, and who was the only Englishman with him at the moment of his death, in a far distant country. The chief ground of this partiality, if indeed there can be any thing particular in it, when we consider that he was in the constant habit of treating all his servants as his humble friends, rather than as menial dependents, was the fondness he had shewn for his little son, whose infant steps he was entrusted to watch; being hired more particularly for that purpose, as soon as the child was old enough to go alone, and to amuse itself in the garden, and in different parts of the house, where it was still necessary to have some one present to keep a constant eye upon its movements, lest it should come to any harm itself, or do mischief to the things by which it was surrounded, but of whose use or value, it could know nothing. It is not, therefore, by any means surprizing that the master and servant should, under these circumstances, part with mutual regret; though there can be little doubt upon whose side the disappointment was the more severely felt, when that servant, in the rude journal which he kept of some of the most important circumstances of his life, in

ill-formed characters, and worse-spelt words, says with great simplicity, "and so we parted, and a very sorrowful parting it was."

It was by no means Mr. Howard's wish, however, that the refusal of this lad's parents to permit him to go abroad, should dissolve a connection between them, in which both master and servant seem to have discharged their respective duties, so much to the satisfaction of each other. He therefore wished him to return to Cardington, and employ himself in the garden, or in any other way in which he could make himself useful, until he could resume his personal attendance upon himself, on his return from the continent, which he expected would be in about fourteen or fifteen months. But the lad was young, and, it would seem, naturally of an active, and somewhat indeed of a roving disposition; therefore, to use his own expressions, though not in his own orthography, "to spend his time with an old woman [the housekeeper], and to work in the garden, did not suit him much; so *he* determined to get another place." This determination he succeeded in carrying into effect; for, going with the coachman to take two of his master's coach-horses to Mr. Bush of Enfield, to whom he had sold them, that gentleman promised to look out for a place for him; and, in a fortnight's time, found him a very comfortable one, in which he continued for some months, until a severe attack of fever compelled him to go to his father's; where, as his new master was not able to wait his recovery, he continued until Mr. Howard's return; when, in consequence of a letter from Paris, he joyfully went to London, to attend him upon his arrival there.

I mention the seemingly immaterial circumstance of this man's short absence from that service, which alone can rescue his name from an oblivion, in which it would, in some respects, be desirable that it should for ever moulder, for the purpose of introducing, as immediately connected with the

the subject, though somewhat out of its regular order, an anecdote related in his journal, which, however unimportant in itself, is valuable, as it shews the constant attention to propriety which Mr. Howard himself observed, and taught others connected with him to observe, even in the most trifling things—especially where they were in any measure connected with a grateful sense of past kindness. When, in answer to his enquiries of how he had fared during his absence, this servant told him how kindly his last master had behaved to him, he asked whether, since his return to town, he had called upon him to thank him; and, on being told that he had sent him a letter of acknowledgment, he desired him to call the first opportunity, as a proper and more respectful mark of his gratitude.

Before Mr. Howard quitted England upon this tour, he in a great measure broke up his housekeeping establishment; but he took care to provide for all his old and faithful domestics. John Prole, who came into his service as coachman, upon his marriage with the second Mrs. Howard, when he laid down his carriage at, or soon after her death, became a kind of bailiff, or steward, for the management of his estate, which, in his master's absence, was committed to his more immediate superintendence. During his first irregular journies on the continent, this man and his wife continued to live in the house at Cardington; but when his absence from home became more continued, they resided in a small cottage near to it. Prole continued in his service for more than thirty years; and his wife, as has already been stated in a former part of these memoirs, is still living, and has contributed much valuable information for the compilation of this biographical account of a master, to whom both she and her husband felt themselves to be bound, during his life-time, by the strongest ties of gratitude and esteem, and the memory of whose virtues and offices of kindness, when death had deprived them of their benefactor and best earthly friend, they cherished with a veneration all but bordering on idolatry.

The seeond invitation given by Mr. Howard to Mr. Gough to become his *compagnon du voyage*, seems, for what reason I am not informed, to have been as unsuccessful as his first; and he therefore left London upon his tour to Italy, for any thing I have been able to discover to the contrary, alone. On being thus entirely left to his own choice, he adopted the former of the two plans he had proposed to his friend; and, instead of going direct to Naples or Leghorn by sea, he crossed over to Calais, and proceeded on through the south of France to Geneva, where he spent a few weeks before he went into Italy.

It appears to have been at Milan, that he made the first of those reflections upon the scenes he visited, with which I have been most kindly favored by the liberality of the friend and relative, in whose possession the rough journals or memorandum books, in which they are entered, remain. Upon the transcription of those refiections, I now enter with no small pleasure; inasmuch as, by their means, my readers will be admitted to the most intimate acquaintance with the secrets of that man's heart, whom they may hitherto have contemplated as the benefactor of mankind—the greatest, it may be, of mortal mould and mortal birth, that ever arose among the sons of men, to bless his fellow-creatures, by administering to their wants and relieving their distress; but whose extraordinary and untrodden path to that fame, which pursued him but with the more eager step, the more anxiously he avoided its most distant approach, might leave upon the minds of some, at least a lingering doubt of the purity of his motives; of the reality of his seeming humility, and more than indifference to public applause; and, above all, of the compatibility of that philanthropy which encircled in its wide embrace the whole brotherhood of man, seemingly without any distinction but that which the degree of their suffering and misery could impart,—with the ties of kindred, the duties of friendship, and all the milder charities of domestic life. Here, however, they will learn, from the habitual feelings and the occasional overflowings of his own heart, traced in lines and expressions which he thought no other eye than his would ever glance upon,

that this philanthropist of the world—this unrivalled benefactor of the human race, became such from no other motive than that of a full conviction that it was his duty to tread, though as he always felt he did, and must continue to do, at an humble, an imperfect, and unworthy distance, in the steps of his Divine Master; who, through a life of suffering and of privation, but yet of constant and never-ceasing exertion, went about doing good, and at length sacrificed his life for a guilty, an obdurate, and a miserable race, leaving us an example, that we should follow in his path. And if such, and such only, was at once the pure and the exalted motive of his conduct; such the example of benevolence and of meekness which he always had before his eyes, who can possibly doubt the genuineness of his humility, or suppose, for a moment, that he professed to shrink from the honors which his grateful country, and the distant regions of the globe he had traversed upon so generous, so disinterested an errand of mercy, were anxious to heap upon him, only that he might the more confidently secure, whilst he seemed so studiously to avoid, the praise of men, rather than that of God? If any should still entertain a doubt upon this point, let them read the genuine breathings of this genuine Christian's heart; let them mark the constant sense of his own unworthiness which pervades all the secret meditations of his soul; and the invariable ascription of all the praise that might be bestowed upon any action which he should be the agent in performing to God, the fountain of all good, and to the influence upon his mind of that system of grace and of good-will to man, in which every deed of pure and genuine love and mercy must originate and be carried on—and surely that doubt must vanish. Nor can it, I should think, after this exposition of his character and motives, be supposed, that so devoted a Christian, so kind, so good, and so benevolent a man, as he unquestionably was, could be deficient in any of the offices of kindness which he owed to his own house, to the child of his prayers, or to the faithful friends, who shared in his sorrows, and rejoiced with him in his hours of joy. If this can still be thought possible, he must be proof against the strongest and most unobjectionable testimony

that could be adduced in support of any proposition, and must doubt whether it is light whilst the sun is shining in his face, in the full splendor of its meridian beams; or dark, when, at the dead of night, not a star is glimmering in the heavens, when the moon gives no light, but the whole hemisphere is one sheet of clouds, impenetrable from their density and gloom,—who will not give up the opinion he has formed to Mr. Howard's prejudice, however long it may have been cherished, or by whatever doubts, suspicions, or rumours it may have been fed, to the clear proofs of its falsity which will be found in the ensuing pages.

The first extract from the private memoranda in my possession, is dated November 26th, 1769, and would seem to have been written either at Milan or Turin. It is literally as follows; having preserved in this, as in the other extracts, which will be given in their proper order, for reasons hereafter to be explained, the orthography of the copy in my hands, which has, I am persuaded, been carefully transcribed from the original.

" 1769, Nov. 26th. Having bought an Italian Almanack I counted the Holydays in Italy and they amount to 80 which with Titular Saints 3 more make 83 of which 52 are Sabbath days so remains 31. Oh! how is pure Religion debased in these Countries who despice and hate all others who differ from them, preventing on many days providing for a Family by work either in Town or Country and allowing every species of wickedness at little Cabarets on Sabbath days—how different from the primitive sacred Sabbath! When men leave the holy word and set up own Inventions, God often leaves them—then how low do they fall!—Blessed be God who has called us Protestants out of Darkness into his marvelous light—make me more sencible! more thankful oh my God! How much Reason have I to bless God for the Reformation: how is religion debased into Show and Ceremony here in Italy—what Curtseys bowings and ceremonies to the sound of Music have I seen at Turin, how is a

sacred Sabbath called a Feast Day not for holy but unholy things—Operas—Ballad singing Concerts 138 Lights at the Altar for a feast of St. Anthony—what dressing and undressing of the Arch Bishop what Parade before the Cardinal at Milan! My soul enter thou not into their Secret—20 Saints days near together at Christmas—poor Creatures prevented getting their daily bread, thousands idling and miserable in the Streets—"

Here we may at once trace the serious turn of the writer's mind; his real attachment to pure and undefiled religion; and the strong impressions which he had even at this time imbibed of the great and primary importance of training up the people in habits of industry, not only to secure their own happiness, but to promote the prosperity of the state. Hence does he mingle with his detestation, as a Protestant, of the worse than unmeaning forms, and ceremonies, and pomps, and solemn mockeries of the Church of Rome, his reprobation, as a man and a member of society, of the miserable system of setting apart a particular day for every priest, or nun, or jesuit, whom the Pope may chuse to canonize as a saint, or beatify as a martyr, as a high and holy day, ostensibly for the worship of God, and the glorification of his saints in heaven, and the encouragement of those of them who are yet upon earth, waiting their departure in the faith; whilst, in reality, they are days consecrated with more than ordinary devotion to the vain and frivolous amusements, but too generally the parents of the vices and the sorrows of life;—thus confirming, in effect, the higher and the middle orders of society in habits of dissipation, of thoughtlessness, and extravagance; whilst by their example the poor are led to plunge into the same vortex of folly, and of vice. Thus early too, in the course of his extensive journeyings in foreign lands, did our great Philanthropist direct all his observations upon men and manners to that general usefulness, to the promotion of which he subsequently devoted himself with such astonishing ardor and perseverance, as thereby to have immortalized his name, as long as such deeds of mercy shall continue to attract the esteem and admiration of mankind, whose lot,

while sojourners in this vale of tears, would, but for their exertion, be cheerless and miserable indeed.

When Mr. Howard left England, it was, we may recollect, with a design of spending the winter either at Geneva, or in the south of Italy; but that plan he abandoned, upon his arrival at Turin, for reasons which cannot better be explained than by the following extract from his own journal.

" Turin 1769 Novr 30 My return without seeing the Southern part of Italy was on much deliberation as I feared a misimprovement of a Talent spent for mere Curiosity at the loss of many Sabbaths, and as many donations must be suspended for my pleasure, which would have been as I hope contrary to the general conduct of my Life and which on a retrospective view on a death Bed would cause Pain as unbecoming a Disciple of Christ—whose mind should be formed in my Soul—These thoughts *with distance from my dear Boy* determines me to check my curiosity and be on the return.—Oh! why should Vanity and Folly Pictures and Baubles or even the stupendious mountains beautiful Hills or rich Vallies which ere long will all be consumed engross the thoughts of a Candidate for an eternal everlasting Kingdom.—a worm ever to crawl on Earth whom God has raised to the hope of Glory which ere long will be revealed to them who are washed and sanctified by Faith in the Blood of the divine Redeemer! look forward Oh! my Soul! how low, how mean, how little is every thing but what has a view to that glorious World of Light Life and Love—the Preparation of the Heart is of God—Prepare the Heart Oh! God! of thy unworthy Creature and unto Thee be all the glory thro the boundless ages of Eternity.

Sign'd " J. H."

" This Night my trembling Soul almost longs to take its flight to see and know the wonders of redeeming Love—join the triumphant Choir—Sin and

Sorrow fled away—God my Redeemer all in all—Oh! happy Spirits that are safe in those Mansions."——

Throughout this extract from his private reflections, and most secret meditations; this faithful and invaluable record of every disposition of his mind, and every emotion of his heart, we cannot fail to trace that habitual sacrifice of his pleasures to his duties, of his own comfort and gratification, to the comfort and gratification of others, which afterwards became the chief impetus in forming, and the ruling principle of his life in carrying into execution, that boundless plan of benevolence for the relief of the most destitute, and the most abandoned of his fellow-creatures; which has deservedly procured for this extraordinary man, so distinguished a place in the list of the benefactors of mankind. As a Christian, we here behold him most cheerfully sacrificing the delight which the contemplation of all that is most sublime in nature, and most curious in art, must have afforded to a taste so cultivated, and a heart so formed for the enjoyment of the beauty and grandeur of the creation, as were his, because it could not be purchased but by the loss of many of the religious privileges to which he had been accustomed; and especially of that he most of all delighted in, the going up with his family and Christian friends, to worship God in his sanctuary, according to the dictates of his conscience, no man daring to say him nay. As a father, we find him checking his curiosity to examine the choicest monuments of the ancient, and the noblest specimens of the modern grandeur of the arts, on the very spot where that curiosity could have been the most readily, and the most completely gratified, because every step he took in pursuit of this very allowable source of rational enjoyment, would have removed him still further from his child, and have delayed the happiness he promised himself, when he should again behold his face in peace. Yet this is the man upon whom the envenomed tongue of slander has dared to fix the charge of being a cruel and unnatural parent!—As a man too, entrusted with riches, but as the steward of his Heavenly Father's bounty, he is hastening

home, lest, while lingering to admire the splendid cities—the luxuriant plains of Italy, and the romantic, yet majestic scenery of Switzerland, some poor cottager upon his estate at Cardington, or some distressed family in its neighbourhood, should want any of those comforts which his bountiful hand was ever ready most liberally to supply.

Whilst he continued in Italy, his generous heart was deeply grieved at witnessing the luxury, the profligacy, and the gross superstition of the inhabitants of one of the loveliest regions of the earth; where the edifices erected by human ingenuity, seem, as it were, to be proudly vying with those stupendous proofs of the power of the Creator of the Universe, by which they are every where surrounded; whilst fruits of the sweetest taste, and flowers of the loveliest hue, are springing spontaneously from the earth, to add to the gay luxuriance of so rich a scene. He left *them*, therefore, we may well suppose, without much regret; and, recrossing the Alps, returned to Geneva, on his way to France. Here he seems to have met with some persons whose characters and religious principles he greatly admired; yet had he occasion to notice and to deplore the influence of the corrupt manners of the neighbouring French, and of the opinions of their infidel philosophers; to both of which he had an antipathy alike insurmountable—in destroying the ancient purity, simplicity, and, as he considered it, the genuine faith of this celebrated city.

He spent about ten days in Paris, which he characterizes as "the dirty city;" an epithet, to which every one who recollects it in the year 1770, will, no doubt, readily admit the justice of its claims; whilst those who have spent a portion even of the last summer there, will not, I should imagine, be of opinion that those claims are entirely abrogated by the improvements it has since undergone. Whilst there, his right to the respect due to the character of an English gentleman, seems to have been so well established, that we find him dining with a party of his countrymen at the table of Lord Harcourt, at that time our

ambassador at the court of Versailles, to whom, he most probably had letters of introduction.

From Paris he proceeded to Holland, at all times a favorite country with him, chiefly from its resemblance, in many points, to his own; and from the respect shown by its government to religious liberty, and the rights of conscience. It was on his way thither, that he wrote the only letter by which I have been enabled to trace his route, in carrying into execution the plan for returning home, which he had formed at Turin. It is addressed to the Reverend Joshua Symonds, minister of the congregation at Bedford, with which, when at Cardington, he was then in the regular habit of worshipping; and as it contains many striking remarks, illustrative of the serious turn of mind, and of the habitual piety of its author, I here transcribe it from the Evangelical Magazine, for January, 1816;* for which it was copied from the original, by a gentleman of Shrewsbury, to whose kindness I am indebted for the communication of some unpublished letters from Mr. Howard to the same respectable minister.

" Abbeville, Jan^{y} 4th, 1770.

" Dear Sir,

" Having an opportunity, by an Italian gentleman with whom I have travelled, I thought a few lines would not be unacceptable. After I landed in France, my first object was Geneva, where I spent some time before I went into Italy. The luxury and wickedness of the inhabitants would ever give a thinking mind pain, amidst the richest country, abounding with the noblest productions of human power and skill. I was seven days re-crossing the Alps. The weather was very cold: the thermometer 11 degrees below the freezing point. The quick descent by sledges on the snow, and other particulars, may perhaps afford a little entertainment some winter's evening.—I

* Vol. XXIV. p. 10, 11.

returned to Geneva. There are some exemplary persons: yet the principles of one of the vilest men (Voltaire) with the corruptions of the French, who are within one mile of the city, has greatly debased its ancient purity and splendor. I spent about ten days at the dirty city of Paris. The streets are so narrow, and no footpaths, that there is no stirring out but in a coach; and as to their hackney-coaches, they are abominable. There were but few English at Paris. I dined with about twenty at our ambassador's (Lord Harcourt). I am now on my route to Holland, a favourite country of mine; the only one, except our own, where propriety and elegance are mixed. Above all, I esteem it for religious liberty.

" Thus, dear Sir, I am travelling from one country to another; and I trust, with some good hope, through abundant grace, to a yet better. My knowledge of human nature should be enlarged by seeing more of the tempers, tastes, and dispositions of different people;—but shudder, my soul, at the glimpse of a thought of its dignity and excellence—for 'how is the gold become dross!'

" I bless God I am well. I have a calm and easy flow of spirits. I am preserved and supported through not a little fatigue. My thoughts are often with you on the Sabbath-day. I always loved my Cardington and Bedford friends; but I think distance makes me love them more. But I must conclude with my affectionate remembrance of them; and my ardent wish, desire, and prayer for your success in promoting the honour of God, and the love of our divine Redeemer.

" I am truly,

" Your affectionate friend, &c.

" JOHN HOWARD."

In lieu of imbibing that spirit of pride and self-conceit, which is but too

often the only acquisition of our modern tourists, whilst thus strengthening in his own mind, by all that he saw in the course of his travels, an habitual spirit of humility, and a corresponding sense of the imperfection which attaches itself to our nature, under all circumstances, and in all climes; and still feeling, as he passed from country to country, a higher veneration for his own, and an attachment, increased by distance, for the friends whom he had left behind him there; this excellent man proceeded on to the Hague, where we find him entering the following Sabbath-evening reflection in his memorandum book.

" Hague 1770 Sunday Even^{s} 11th Feb^{y}. I would record the goodness of God to the unworthiest of his Creatures—for some days past an habitual serious frame relenting for my Sin and folly applying to the Blood of Jesus Christ, solemnly surrending myself and *Babe* to Him beging the conduct of his holy Spirit.—I hope a more tender Conscience by a greater fear of offending God—a Temper more abstracted from this World more resigned to death or Life thirsting for union and Communion with God as my Lord and my God—— Oh! the wonders of redeeming Love! Some faint Hope even I! through redeeming Mercy in the perfect righteousness—the full attoning Sacrafice shall ere long be made the Monument of the rich free Grace and mercy of God thro' the divine Redeemer—Oh! shout my Soul Grace Grace free sovereign rich and unbounded Grace! not I, not I, an ill deserving Hell deserving Creature!—but where Sin has abounded I trust Grace superabounds—some hope what Joy in that Hope that nothing shall seperate my Soul from the Love of God in Christ Jesus—and my Soul as such a frame is thy delight pray frequently and fervently to the Father of Spirits to bless his Word and your retired moments to your serious Conduct in Life.

" Let not my Soul the Interests of a moment engross thy thoughts or be preferred to my Eternal Interests—Look forward to that Glory which will be

revealed to those who are faithful to death—my Soul walk Thou with God be faithful hold on hold out—and then—what words can utter.——

" J. H."

To some of my readers, this may appear to be the language of enthusiasm; the wild ravings of a fanatic. But others will recognize in it the ardent breathings of a spirit longing to be set free from the struggles it must perpetually maintain with sin and imperfection, whilst imprisoned in this lower world;—and panting to be delivered from every folly, every vice, and every temptation to do evil that can assail it here; and so to enter on its rest. All too, will surely admit, from the whole tenor of his life, that Howard was no enthusiast; but that every thing he did was the result of mature and deliberate reflection, and of a firm conviction that it was his duty so to do. Few men were less the victims of their feelings, at the expense of their judgment, than he was: nor could any one possibly be less open to a suspicion of writing a single sentence, or uttering a single word, which was not the genuine sentiment of his heart, and the honest, and sincere conviction of his mind. Every thing, therefore, that he here expresses, we must take it for granted that he really and actually felt, and thought, at the moment that he committed these sentiments to paper: And if, like St. Paul, he should by some be thought to be beside himself, we shall have abundant reason to see that there was a method in his madness; whether good, or bad, every reader will determine for himself, according to the views of religion which he entertains, and to the effect they may have had upon his mind, his actions, and his heart. But, in doing this, we must not separate his faith from his practice—his feelings as a Christian, from the actions to which those feelings prompted him, as a man. If he prayed for a serious conduct in life, let us not forget that it was a most useful, a most benevolent, and a most active one. If he entertained the lowest possible opinion of his own merits and conduct in the sight of God, let us recollect that he recognized, and professed to act upon a principle, sufficiently powerful in its operation to render him the agent in performing more essential, and more

disinterested services, of a temporal nature, to his fellow-creatures, than any man ever did before, or since his time. His religious principles too, be they right, or be they wrong, were not selfish ones; for whilst looking forward to the happiness that awaited him beyond the grave, through faith in his Redeemer's sacrifice, his most earnest prayer to God was, that he might be made useful in his day and generation, so as to be enabled to give up the account of his stewardship with joy, at the great day of final retribution; whilst the same breath which committed his own future way to the merciful guidance of a superior providence, commended to the same sacred influence and protection the babe that had been entrusted to his parental care.

The plan which Mr. Howard had formed at Turin, for returning home earlier than, when he left England, he had originally intended, he afterwards abandoned, principally it would seem from the weakness of his constitution and the lowness of his spirits, not allowing of his continuance, for a long period, in any one place; and therefore, from circumstances already sufficiently explained, least of all permitting his return, in such a state, to his own residence, with which so many melancholy recollections were necessarily associated. He therefore determined upon revisiting Italy, in the hope that a change of scene and of climate might be of advantage in restoring his health and recruiting his spirits; though there can be no doubt, but that, during his continuance in France and Holland, he availed himself of the greater facility of communication with his friends in England, to prevent, as much as possible, the evils which he apprehended might result from his protracted absence, and greater distance from his home.

A short account of the route he pursued on leaving Holland, is contained in the extracts from his journal, now in my possession, which I shall insert, in such portions as appear to be most convenient for the introduction of some other reflections made by the way. Their commencement is as follows:——

" I would acknowledge it is thro' the goodness of God alone that I enjoy so many travelling Mercies, such comfortable degrees of health and strength with such an easy calm flow of spirits.——

" When I left Holland the beginning of March I went to Paris and travelled thro' Champaine and Burgundy to Lions on the 1st of April, the best view of which City is from a Monastery on a Hill to the S° West of the Town."

In this city he appears to have remained for a few days; for, in his journal, we meet with the following reflections, or memoranda of the state of his feelings, and the motives which seemed to justify, in his mind, the journey he was entering upon, made at this place. They are characterized by the same strain of fervent piety, of devotedness to the service of God, and of humble dependence upon him for every gift that he stood in need of, spiritual or temporal, as those last inserted in these memoirs.

" 1770 Lyons, April 4th. Repeated instances of the unwearied Mercy and goodness of God preserved hitherto in health and safety! Blessed be the name of the Lord! endeavor Oh my soul! to cultivate and maintain a thankful serious humble and resigned Frame and Temper of mind. May it be thy chief desire that the Honour of God the spread of the Redeemer's name and Gospel may be promoted—Oh! consider the everlasting worth of spiritual and divine Enjoyments—then thou wilt see the Vanity and nothingness of worldly pleasures. Remember Oh my soul Saint Paul who was determined to know nothing in comparison of Jesus Christ and him crucified—A tenderness of Conscience I would ever cultivate—no step would I take without aknowledging God—I hope my present Journey, tho' again into Italy is no way wrong rejoycing if in any respect I could bring the least improvement that might be of use to my own Country—but oh my soul! stand in awe and sin

not daily fervently pray for restraining Grace remember if thou desirest the death of the righteous and thy latter end like his thy Life must be so also—In a little while thy Course will be run thy Sands finished—*a parting farewell with my ever dear Boy*, and then, Oh my Soul be weighed in the Balance—wanting wanting! but oh! the glorious Hope of an interest in the blood and righteousness of my Redeemer and my God!—In the most solemn manner I commit my Spirit into thy Hand oh Lord God of my Salvation!—

"My Hope in time! my Trust thro' the boundless ages of Eternity!—

"JOHN HOWARD."

Here we may again mark the workings of that ardent desire for general usefulness, which, at all times, seems to have been the chief end of this great and good man's thoughts, and words, and deeds, as they respected this present world; and which, in the latter years of his extraordinary life, prompted him to exertions for the attainment of this grand object of his existence, that seemed to rouse to action, and completely to occupy all the energies of his mind, and to which he himself ultimately fell an honorable, but a lamented victim. Yet was his good will to men always subservient to the glory of God, which he was ever most anxious, in all that he did, uniformly to promote. Another proof too is here afforded of the strength of his attachment to his motherless child; for we find him unwilling, or rather, if such should be his heavenly Father's will, desirous not to depart this world of sin and sorrow, which he yet well knew would to him be far better, until he had been permitted to take another, and a last farewell of his own dear boy. And what stronger, or more convincing proof, I must be permitted to ask, could any parent give of a father's tenderness, than this single expression, were there no other upon record, so abundantly supplies. Surely, when the circumstances under which, and the character of the individual by whom this wish was uttered and put

upon record, and the train of feelings of which it forms a part are taken into consideration, together with the utter impossibility of its having been committed to paper with any expectation that it would ever meet another eye than the author's own, no one will hereafter venture to assert, that the man who could thus wish, as it were, to delay his own flight to heaven, his entrance into the realms of eternal bliss, that he might have but one parting embrace of his child, did not love that child with all the fondness that a father's heart can feel.

Quitting Lyons, " I then," says Mr. Howard's short narrative of his route, " descended the Soane to Avegnion, the great beauty of which are its walks —from thence I went to Aix—thence to Marseilles whose course is elegant and its Harbour commodious—the Road to Toulon is remontick and pleasant—I saw many of our flowering shrubs in the Hedges and in most Gardens Oranges and Lemons—from Touloun I travelled to Antibes—from thence I sailed in a Felluca to Nice and Monanco——I then travelled over the Mountains to Genoa the stateliness of which City is not exceeded by any I have seen—from Genoa I went to Pisa remarkable for its elegant Church the Gates of which were brought from Jerusalem—from thence I went to Leghorn & Florence from Florence the Road is pleasant tho' depopulated thro' Sciena to Rome where there are many Monuments to humble the pride of Man and shew how Luxury and Wickedness will sink a Nation"—

From this city, no less celebrated in the page of modern history as the centre and fountain of superstition, than it was in ancient times as the seat of empire and the capital of the world, our traveller sent a farther account of his tour, in a letter to his friend and correspondent, the Rev. Joshua Symonds; which is here extracted from the Evangelical Magazine for February, 1816.*

* Vol. XXIV. pp. 51, 2.

" Rome, May 22nd, 1770.

" Dear Sir,

" With great pleasure I received your obliging letter as I passed through Flanders. The esteem yourself and some of my friends have for me, humbles me to think what I ought to be. But, how mean and defective! yet, amidst all, a sincere love I hope I have to all who bear the impress of our divine Master.

" Since I left Holland, and through all the southern part of France, and over the Appenine mountains into Italy, I travelled not a mile with any of our countrymen. Those mountains are three or four days in passing: for many, many miles, there is hardly a three foot road, with precipices into the sea, I should guess, three times the height of St. Paul's; but the mules are so sure-footed there is nothing to fear, though the road is also very bad. Through the mercy and goodness of God I travel pleasantly on. I have an easy calm flow of spirits. A little tea equipage I carry with me, with which I regale, and little regard if I have nothing else.

" Florence being the seat of the arts, I visited the famous gallery many days, from whence I travelled to this renowned city. The amazing ruins of temples, palaces, aqueducts, &c. gives one some faint idea of its ancient grandeur; but comparatively now a desert—The description of them, as also of St. Peter's Church and the Vatican, I must defer till I have the pleasure of seeing you. The Pope passed very close by me yesterday; he waved his hand to bless me. I bowed; but not kneeling, some of the cardinals were displeased. But I never can nor will to any human creature or invention, as I should tremble at the thought of the adoration I have seen to him and the wafer. My temper is too open for this country, yet an important piece of news of this court (expuls--n of the J-s-ites) that I now know I durst not

commit to writing. That cruelist of all inventions, the Inquisition, stops all mouths.

" I set out to-morrow for Naples. As I return to see the great procession on the 15th of June, I intend staying about a fortnight. Afterwards I am bound for Loretto, Ancona, Bologna, and Venice; at which last place it will be a great pleasure to receive a line from you. My thoughts are often with my Bedford friends. I beg to be remembered to Mrs. Symmonds, Mess. Neguses, Mr. Palmer, Mr. Odell, Mr. Wiltshire; and as they know it is the divine presence and favour that makes every place happy and comfortable, my most grateful acknowledgements for any interest I have had in their sacred moments.

" Thus, my dear friend, am I travelling over desolate places of ancient grandeur, and felt it to overpower that selfish and vain principle that is rooted in my constitution, and humble the pride of one's heart! And when at other times I view in statues, paintings, architecture, &c. the utmost stretch of human skill, how should one's thoughts be raised to that glorious world, that heavenly city, the city of the living God,—where sin, sorrow, and every imperfection will be done away! Oh, the free, sovereign, unbounded grace of our Lord Jesus Christ! how thankful should we Protestants be for this glorious gospel which we have in our hands. The happiness we are exulting in, millions in this country are denied. But I must conclude that I remain with much esteem,

" Dear Sir, yours &c.

" J. Howard."

The gratitude he here expresses, for the privilege of having been born in a Protestant country, was a feeling which Mr. Howard constantly experienced, and frequently avowed in his confidential communications to his friends,

when travelling through the catholic states of Europe. For superstition, in all its shapes, he entertained the most rooted aversion: he therefore witnessed its triumph over some of the fairest regions of the globe, with a mingled sensation of deep regret, and of chilling horror. For the freedom of religious opinion, he was a most zealous advocate: no wonder, then, that he felt indignant at the cruel shackles imposed upon the energies of the mind, by the unknown terrors and hellish tortures of the Inquisition. No wonder, that from the mummeries which rendered religion at Rome nothing but a gilded pageant—a sounding brass and a tinkling cymbal,—a substitution of worse than unmeaning forms, and ceremonies, and solemn mockeries of God, for living faith and genuine repentance, he should turn with delight to his Christian friends at Bedford, and desire to be remembered in the prayers they offered up in the unadorned edifice, which their ancestors had consecrated to the worship of God, in the simplicity of the earlier, and the happier ages of the church;—in the family altars erected in their houses; and in the more secret devotions of their closets.

But whilst thus maintaining his Christian fellowship with his friends in England, we find him no less anxious to contribute to their amusement, by a description of the countries through which he had passed, and the curiosities he had there beheld;—reserving, to entertain the friendly circle which should be gathered around him, when they met again, the further details of his journeyings and various adventures. He visited every thing in Italy that could give him an idea either of its ancient grandeur, or of its celebrity in more modern times, in taking the lead in the re-establishment of letters, and the revival of the arts. From all these monuments of human skill, these extraordinary proofs of the vast capacities of the mind of man, he drew lessons for the future conduct of his life, worthy an intelligent being, who felt that this world was not to be his rest, but that he was a candidate for a brighter, and a more enduring inheritance, beyond the grave.

At Naples his mind was still deeply impressed by the most serious thoughts, and he occupied a portion of one of the sabbaths which he spent there, in preparing, and deliberately signing a covenant, in which he cheerfully, but with all due solemnity, consecrated all that he had, and all that he was, to his maker and his God; resigning into his hands, and to his disposal, himself, and every thing most dear to him on earth; not forgetting especially to include in this solemn dedication, as next in value and importance to his own soul, his dear child. Few of my readers will need perhaps to be informed that the practice of entering into a solemn engagement of this kind, and in this form, was very frequent amongst the earlier of our Non-conformists, and that it has been adopted by many of their descendants, and by serious persons of various denominations in the Christian world, for the strengthening of their faith, and their encouragement in the performance of the many important duties which the profession of that faith imposes upon them. It is worthy of particular remark, that this covenant, and the other engagements of a similar nature still preserved amongst the few remaining papers of this most exemplary believer, were renewed at Moscow, on his last journey, and within a few months of the close of his extraordinary career of Christian charity, and universal benevolence. I give the original engagement, and the memorandum of its renewal, in the precise terms in which it has been communicated to me, by the gentleman with whom the original now remains:—and I give it without note or comment, for none can surely be needed, to point out to the reader's notice the spirit of fervent piety, of deep humility, of ardent love to God, of devotedness to his service, and to the relief of his suffering creatures, which it breathes in every sentence.

" 1770. Naples, May 27. When I left Italy last year it then appeared most prudent and proper: my return I hope is under the best direction not presumptious being left to the Folly of a foolish Heart, not having the strongest Spirits or Constitution my continuing long in Holland or any place lowers my Spirits so I thought returning would be no uneasiness on the Review as sinful

and vain diversions are not my Object but the Honour and glory of God my highest Ambition did I now see it wrong by being the cause of Pride I would go back but being deeply sencible it is the Presence of God that makes the Happiness of every place so Oh my Soul! keep close to Him in the amiable light of redeeming Love and amidst the Snares thou art particularly exposed to in a Country of such wickedness and folly stand thou in Awe and Sin not—commune with thine own heart—see what progress thou makest in thy *Religious* Journey! art Thou nearer the heavenly Canaan? the vital flame burning clearer and clearer or is the concerns of a moment engrossing thy foolish Heart—Stop remember Thou art a Candidate for Eternity—daily fervently pray for Wisdom—lift up your Heart and Eyes to the Rock of Ages and then look down on the glory of this World—A little while and thy Journey will be ended, be thou faithful unto death—Duty is thine, tho' the Power is God's, pray to him to give Thee a Heart to hate Sin more, uniting thy Heart in his Fear—Oh! magnify the Lord my Soul and my Spirit rejoyce in God my Saviour! his free Grace unbounded Mercy—Love unparalleld Goodness unlimited and Oh this Mercy this Love this goodness exerted for me, Lord God why me! When I consider and look into my Heart I doubt—I tremble! such a vile Creature Sin folly and imperfection in every action! oh dreadful thought a Body of sin and death I carry about me ever ready to depart from God and with all the dreadful Catalogue of Sins commited my Heart faints within me and almost despairs but yet oh my Soul why art thou cast down why art thou disquieted? hope in God! his free Grace in Jesus Christ! Lord I believe help my unbelief shall I limit the Grace of God! can I fathom his goodness! here on his Sacred Day I once more in the Dust before the Eternal God acknowledge my Sins heineous and agravated in his Sight I would have the deepest Sorrow and contrition of Heart and cast my guilty and poluted Soul on thy Sovereign Mercy in the Redeemer—Oh compassionate and divine Redeemer save me from the dreadful Guilt and power of Sin and accept of my Solemn free and I trust unreserved full surrender of my Soul my Spirit *my*

dear Child all I am and have into thy hands! unworthy of thy acceptance! yet oh Lord God of Mercy spurn me not from thy presence—accept of me vile as I am—I hope a repenting returning Prodigal—I glory in my choice, acknowledge my obligations as a Servant of the most high God and now may the Eternal God be my Refuge and Thou oh! my Soul faithful to that God that will never leave nor forsake Thee.

" Thus oh my Lord and my God is humbly bold even a *Worm* to covenant with Thee! do Thou ratify and confirm it and make me the everlasting Monument of thy unbounded Mercy—Amen, Amen, Amen.——Glory to God the Father God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost for ever and ever, Amen!——

" Hoping my Heart deceives me not and trusting in his Mercy for restraining and preventing Grace tho' rejoycing in returning what I have received of him into his hands yet with fear and trembling I sign my unworthy Name.

" John Howard.

" Naples 27th May 1770."

" N. B. This Solemn Covenant renewed at Moscow Sep^{r} 27th 1789——"

Whilst in Naples, he gratified at once his curiosity and his taste for meteorological researches, by ascending to the summit of Mount Vesuvius, and making an observation on the degree of heat at its highest point, and even in its very crater, into which he made a small descent for the purpose of being more accurate in his remarks. With this view he was often obliged to lay himself down upon the hard masses of lava, the heat of which was not so intolerable as to prevent his continuing upon them, whilst he accurately noticed the rise of the quicksilver in his thermometer when immersed in the hottest liquid in their interstices at the mouth of the volcano. The result of his observa-

tions was communicated to the Royal Society upon his return to England, and by them published in their Transactions.*

He arrived again, however, at Rome, as he had proposed, in time to witness the splendid pageant of superstition and of priestly pride, for which, in his letter to Mr. Symonds, he expressed his intention of returning. But how different its effects upon his mind, to that which it produced upon the ignorant crowd of devotees, who flocked from all parts of Italy to be present at this vain, but imposing ceremony of their most costly, vain, yet too imposing faith. From the abuse of the sabbath, and of all the most sacred rites of religion, which he witnessed here, and in other parts of the continent, he was most anxious to learn how to value them more highly than he had done, and to improve them as became a professor of the gospel, who enjoyed the inestimable privilege of being born in a Protestant land. From every thing, indeed, that he saw in the course of his travels he was desirous of deriving such useful instruction as should return him to his native country wiser and better than when he quitted it. To that country, and to the face of the dear boy he had left behind him there, his heart still fondly turned, amidst all the objects to gratify his curiosity, by which he was surrounded in this magnificent city. This will plainly appear from the following short reflections, entered in his memorandum book there, but two days after he had seen it glittering in all the pomp and pride of its gay, and all the mockery of its most solemn pageantry.

" Rome 17th June 1770. Almighty God my Preserver hoping I shall be carried safely to my native Country and Friends *and see the face of my dear Boy in Peace* remember then Oh my Soul to cultivate a more serious humble thankful and resigned Temper of Mind! as Thou hast seen more of the world by travelling than others more of the happiness of being born in a Protestant

* Philosophical Transactions, Vol. LXI. pp. 53, 4.

Country and the dreadful abuse of holy Sabbaths! so may thy walk thy Sabbaths thy conversation be more becoming the holy Gospel, let not pride and vanity fill up so much of thy Thoughts learn here the vanity and folly of all earthly grandeur—endeavor to be a wiser and better Man when thou returnest remember many Eyes will be upon you and above all the Eye of that God before whom thou wilt shortly appear! Oh Lord God put thy fear into my Heart and may I never depart from Thee!"

How long Mr. Howard remained in Italy, or by what precise route he left it, I am not informed. His stay there could not, however, have been very protracted; as upon the 29th of July, we find his thoughts occupied on the Sunday evening which he spent at Heilderberg, in the circle of Franconia, in Germany, by the serious subjects contained in the following reflections, which he seems to have considered in the nature of the more regular consecration of himself and his to God, which he so solemnly signed at Naples, two months before; having renewed them at Moscow, at the same time that he again set his hand to that engagement.

"Heilderberg Sun. Ev^{g} 29 July 1770. Through the goodness of my unwearied Father and God I am still a Monument of his unbounded Mercy. Thou my Soul record his Goodness but what are the returns for all this Mercy and goodness—How should it have led thee to a Life of exemplary Piety and holiness, but alas! how low art Thou! My God I take shame to myself lie low before Thee and cry earnestly for pardon Mercy and forgiveness for Christ's sake—would to God I had Wisdom given me to redeem the time lost to live a Life suitable to the Mercies I am receiving; and if Thou art spared to return acknowledge the goodness of God both Public and Private look into thine own Heart and beg of God to show thee the Evil of it and if thou bringest home a better Temper and art a wiser man then Thou wilt have cause to rejoyce that the great end of travelling is answered.

"Renewed Moscow 27th Sep. 1789."

Thus lamenting his own infirmities, and want of ability to reach that pure standard of Christian perfection, which was constantly before his eyes;—thus grateful to God for all the mercies he was daily and hourly receiving at his hands, in the course of his travels; and thus earnest in his desire that those travels should answer their proper end, by enabling him to return home with a better temper, and a wiser man; he proceeded to Rotterdam, where the feelings of his heart on the last Sabbath evening which he expected to spend before his return to his beloved native country, are thus recorded:—

"Rotterdam Sun Even^{g} 2 Sep 1770. This morning on the review of the Temper of my Mind how humbled I ought to be before God—an evil and wicked Heart ever ready to depart from him starting aside like a deceitful Bow, mourning yet trusting in my Lord and my God when by calm retired thoughts I would hope I am one step forward in my Christian Journey; yet alas! in company how many Steps backward! God give my Wisdom—Mercy and goodness compass my Paths yet how little sencible of it oh hard and obdurate Heart—with such an Heart how watchful how careful how earnest at the Throne of Grace that as Jesus Christ died for such as Thou! Thou mightest have an Interest in the glorious Salvation He has wrought out. The Review of the Temper of my Mind on probably the last Sabbath before I return to my happy native Country—I desire with profound veneration to bless and praise God for his merciful preservation of me in my long Journey no danger no accident has befallen me but I am among the living I trust ever to praise and as to my Soul among all its weakness and folly yet I have some hope it has not lost ground this year of travelling—very desirous of returning with a right Spirit not only wiser but better a cheerful humility a more general Love and benevolence to my fellow Creatures watchful of my thoughts my Words my Actions resigned to the will of God that I may walk with God and lead a more useful and honourable Life in this World."

That he returned to England, as he had anticipated, without spending

another sabbath on the continent, there is every reason to conclude. That he returned thither also as he had wished and prayed he might, with a more general love and benevolence toward his fellow-creatures, will be abundantly proved by the extraordinary efforts, public and private, to promote their happiness, and to alleviate their distress, which, in the succeeding Chapters of these memoirs of his life, it will be their author's pleasing task to detail; and he hopes his readers still more pleasing employment, not only to approve and to admire, but, as far as in them lies, to imitate—it is not possible to excel them.

CHAPTER V.

From Mr. Howard's return from his fourth journey of pleasure upon the continent, in 1770, *to his receiving the thanks of the House of Commons, for the information which he communicated to them respecting the state of prisons in England, in March,* 1774.

RETURNING to the shores of his native country, with so strong a disposition to render himself increasingly useful to his fellow-creatures, Mr. Howard did not continue many days in London, after his arrival in England; but set off, without delay, to Cardington; where, in the midst of his tenantry, and the dependants on his bounty, he could best reduce this disposition to practice. The sudden removal of his beloved wife, and the consequent destruction of his domestic happiness, seems, however, to have given a shock to his health and spirits, from which they never entirely recovered; and he had accordingly been but a very short time in Bedfordshire, before the state of his health compelled him to try the effects of a change of air, by an excursion to the more western parts of the kingdom, in strengthening his debilitated constitution. In the course of this journey, he took lodgings, for a short time, at Southampton; where he was introduced, in a somewhat singular manner, to the acquaintance of the Rev. William Kingsbury, M. A. at that time, and indeed until within these few years, pastor of the independent church at this place. The occasion of their meeting was briefly this: Mr. Howard having sent a note, requesting an interest in the prayers of his congregation, as a person detained by indis-

position from the house of God, the circumstance of receiving such an application from a stranger, induced this highly respectable minister to inquire whence it came; and, having learnt his temporary abode, to call, upon the following day, on the writer, with whose conversation and behaviour he was so much delighted, that he entreated him to return the call; which he accordingly did: and thus laid the foundation of an intimate friendship with Mr. Kingsbury and his family, ending but with his life. He did not, however, long remain stationary in any part of the country which he visited; but finding travelling from place to place better calculated to relieve his mental and bodily pain, than any thing to which he had yet had recourse, he made a short tour through some of the counties in the south of Ireland and part of Wales, whence he crossed over, by the New Passage, to Bristol Hot Wells. The day after his arrival there, he was unfortunately attacked by a fit of the gout, so severe as to confine him to his room for six months. It was upon this occasion, according to the account of Thomason,* the only servant who accompanied him upon this tour, that he made a resolution, if he got the better of this attack, never again to drink wine or spirituous liquors of any kind; a resolution, which I have the same authority for asserting, that he most scrupulously kept to the day of his death. Indeed, it was not the character of any of his determinations, that they were made to be broken; especially those of them on which he conceived the continuance of the invaluable blessing of health, even in the very moderate proportion in which he enjoyed it, in any measure, to depend. It is, perhaps, in a great degree, to the watchful and unwearied solicitude with which this man attended Mr. Howard, during his tedious and protracted illness, that we are to ascribe the high opinion he ever afterwards entertained of his firm attachment to his person, and zeal for his interests, and the peculiar kindness and confidence which consequently marked his future behavior towards him. So close, indeed, does he himself represent his attendance on the sick chamber of his master to have been, that when he

* M. S. Journal.

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was not willing, during the height of his disorder, to be waited on by any one else, he would often express his fears lest he should kill him with hard work. Thomason, however, was young and robust, and being blessed with a good constitution, was enabled to bear up under the exertion; for which, we may be assured, that his patient, on his recovery did not suffer him to go unrewarded.

As soon as Mr. Howard had gained sufficient strength to be removed without inconvenience, he returned to Cardington; where he continued for many months longer in but a very indifferent state of health; a severe ague, accompanied by a considerable degree of fever, which did not leave him for three quarters of a year, having brought him very low. But though thus rendered incapable of taking much bodily exercise, the powers of his mind were actively employed in devising plans for the amelioration of the condition of the poor, in the immediate neighbourhood of his own residence, and especially in the village, in the midst of which his house was situated; and there was then—I regret to add there still continues to be, much need for such charitable exertions of the more opulent inhabitants of this part of a county, in which, perhaps, of most others in England, the poor have the greatest difficulty in finding employment; especially in the immediate neighbourhood of Bedford, which from its isolated situation, and the total absence of all manufactures, except that of lace, fluctuating and uncertain at most times, and altogether inadequate to the providing a family with the means of support at the best, is unable to afford that assistance to the adjacent villagers, which is usually derived from proximity to a county, or large manufacturing town. The low, marshy situation of the village, was also much against the health of its inhabitants, rendering them particularly subject to the ague, from which, probably from the same cause, Mr. Howard himself was at this time suffering. With a view, therefore, to remedy this inconvenience, he at different times pulled down all the cottages on his estate, and rebuilt them in a neat, but

simple style; paying particular attention to their preservation, as much as possible, from the dampness of the soil. Others which were not his property before, he purchased, and re-erected upon the same plan; adding to the number of the whole, by building several new ones in different parts of the village. To each of these he allotted a piece of garden ground, sufficient to supply the family of its occupier with potatoes and other vegetables; and generally ornamented them in front with a small fore-court, fenced off from the road by neat white pailings, enclosing a bed or two of simple flowers, with here and there a shrub, or an evergreen, in the midst of them; thus imparting to these habitations of the poor, with their white fronts and thatched roofs,—uniform in their rustic simplicity, though purposely varied in external form and appearance,—that air of neatness and of comfort, so strikingly characteristic of every thing in which he engaged.

This project for improving the general condition of the village where he resided, no less creditable to his taste, than it is strongly illustrative of his benevolence, he had begun to carry into execution before he was deprived of the invaluable assistance of his beloved partner in life, of whose entire concurrence and active co-operation in this, as in every other plan of usefulness, we may be, as her husband was, most fully assured. "I remember," says Dr. Aikin, in his memoirs of that husband's life,* "his relating that once, having settled his accounts at the close of a year, and found a balance in his favor, he proposed to his wife to make use of it in a journey to London, or any other gratification she chose." "What a pretty cottage it would build," was her answer; and the money was so employed. "These comfortable habitations," continues his biographer,† on precisely the same information with my own, though, as I do not flatter myself that I can clothe it in better language, I gladly avail myself of that in which he first communicated it to the public, "he peopled with the most industrious and sober tenants he could find; and over them he exercised

* P. 28. † P. 29.

the superintendance of master and father combined. He was careful to furnish them with employment, to assist them in sickness and distress, and to educate their children. In order to preserve their morals, he made it a condition that they should regularly attend their several places of worship, and abstain from public-houses, and from such amusements as he thought pernicious; and he secured their compliance with his rules by making them tenants at will." The cottages which he thus improved so materially to the promotion of the health and comfort of their tenants, he always let at their original rent of from twenty to thirty shillings per annum; so that there was scarcely a poor person in the village, who was not anxious to have the privilege of residing in them. The care with which he selected the most deserving of the applicants for this favor, was, however, a source of dissatisfaction in those who were not the objects of his preference; to which might perhaps be traced most of the gossipping tales to his prejudice so industriously circulated in his neighbourhood, immediately after his decease.

When he had recovered from his severe indisposition, it was his principal, and most delightful employment, to superintend these useful improvements in his estate; the main object of which was—and if he may be said to have been particularly ambitious of any distinction it was of this—to render himself the landlord of a happy tenantry, than which there should not be found in the whole kingdom, any who were neater in their persons or habitations; more decent or orderly in their behavior; possessing and enjoying in a more becoming spirit, a greater portion of the comforts of this world; or more sedulously taught the grounds on which alone they might look forward with hope to those of a better. For the accomplishment of a purpose so desirable for them, and so honorable to himself, he spared no expense; and its advantages were soon extended beyond the limits of his own small property, by the cordial co-operation of his friend and relative Samuel Whitbread, Esq., father to the late member for Bedford, and himself one of the representatives for that

borough, in several successive parliaments. At the same time, and with the same benevolent intentions, this gentleman accordingly rebuilt, in a similar style of neatness, several of the cottages upon his estate, comprehending the greater part of the village in which Mr. Howard lived; "so that," as it is well observed by one of the anonymous biographers of the latter of these generous benefactors to the industrious poor,* "Cardington, which seemed at one time to contain the abodes of poverty and wretchedness *soon became* one of the neatest villages in the kingdom; exhibiting all the pleasing appearances of competence and content, the natural rewards of industry and virtue."

Whilst these alterations were making, and they were carried on upon a larger or a smaller scale during the whole of Mr. Howard's life, they were the means of finding employment for many of the inhabitants of the village; and as he always considered idleness to be the root of *all* evil, he was then, and at all other times, particularly careful to prevent its entrance into the cottages he had built, as an encouragement to those industrious habits, whose primary importance he was ever most anxious to impress upon his dependants, and his poorer neighbours; to whom indeed they came strongly recommended by the force of his own example, in occupying every moment of his time by some useful pursuit. With this view, whenever the female branches of any of the families in his vicinity could not get work elsewhere, he continued the highly commendable practice, adopted during the life of his second wife, of employing them in the making of linen for his household purposes; and he did this to so considerable an extent, as to supply himself with a stock, which, at the time of his decease, would, in all probability, have lasted him to the present period. But whilst thus teaching them to labor for the support of themselves, and of their families, and finding them when it was needed, whereon to labor, he was not neglectful of the improvement of their minds, which he well knew to be the best means of securing, as far as mortal foresight can secure, at once their

* Universal Mag. Vol. LXXXVI. p. 174, *note*.

independence and their happiness. This important point, in the case of the young, he effected by the establishment of schools, not only for those whose parents were his tenants, or with whom his property, in some other way, more immediately connected him,—the diffusive spirit of his philanthropy admitting of no such narrow limits—but for all who were within the circle of his neighbourhood. In these most useful institutions, some of them situated in Cardington, others at Cotton-end, and the adjoining hamlets, the most judicious plans of instruction were pursued, whilst their discipline would have reflected no discredit on the superior skill in the great work of education, to which—thanks to the discoveries of a Lancaster and a Bell, and to the persevering zeal of those enlightened individuals, who have already reduced, or are now reducing them to practice in every part of the kingdom, and every quarter of the globe—we in our days have happily attained. The girls were taught reading and plain needle-work, to fit them for servitude in respectable families, and to become useful and industrious wives to men in their own station of life, above which it was neither his object to elevate them, or to give them the dangerous wish to be elevated. The boys all learned to read, and those of them who seemed to have the best capacities, or who had conducted themselves with the greatest propriety, were also taught writing, and the first and most useful rules in arithmetic, but beyond these they never went, nor was it, perhaps, to their advantage that they should go. It was a duty most strictly required of them all, that they should attend divine service every sabbath; but the mind of their benefactor was cast in too liberal a mould to prescribe whether it should be in a meeting house, where his own principles led him, whenever he had the opportunity of making his election, regularly to attend, or in the established church; this was a matter left entirely to the choice of their parents; and the condition upon which alone they were suffered to continue in his schools, was most fully satisfied, if they went regularly to hear the gospel somewhere, both morning and afternoon. Might not, I would here just take the liberty to suggest, the conductors of some of our schools for the education of the poor, upon a much

larger scale, or be it National—or be it British—derive a most useful lesson from the conduct, in this respect, of the Philanthropist of the World,—the genuine Christian, who, remembering that we have one master even Christ, knew no distinction of party or of sect, but that of those who love the Lord Jesus in sincerity, and those who love him not. Some bishops, deans, and archdeacons; aye, and some stiff dissenters too, may, perhaps, answer No! But did they breathe the mild, the benignant spirit of a Howard—and who will say that spirit was not a proper one? they must answer to this question, Yes! The number of persons brought up in these schools of course varied at different times, but for such small country places, it was always considerable, and consequently productive of great advantage to the neighbourhood, the effects of which, are visible to the present hour, in the order, neatness, and regularity, which still distinguishes Cardington from most of the English villages that I have ever seen.

The spirit of active benevolence which was then about beginning to stir amongst the richer classes of society, in the same extraordinary manner, as of late years it has operated on the minds of all, had not as yet devised any remedy for the want of education in early life, similar to that which the institution of adult schools has, in these times, so happily provided. Leaving, therefore, in accordance with the general notions of the age, as a hopeless task, the furnishing the minds of those who had unfortunately grown up to man's estate in ignorance, and all the ills to which it leads, with lessons of piety and virtue, by enabling them to read for themselves the pages in which they are written, Mr. Howard endeavored by every means he could devise, to excite them to a constant attendance on the ordinances of religion, that they might thereby be instructed in the way in which they ought to walk. It was in execution of this purpose, that he made the stipulation with his tenants already noticed, that they should go to church or chapel every Sunday; and it was in the same spirit of Christian concern for the immortal interests of his poorer brethren,

that he had one of his cottages fitted up as a place for preaching in, whenever any of the ministers of the adjacent places could spare time for an occasional service there. By their kindness, or by that of some of the itinerant preachers in different parts of the county, the place was generally supplied at least once a week, and the group of attentive village auditors, upon these occasions, soon became so large, that the room, originally appropriated to their use, was far too small to hold them. Upon this Mr. Howard directed openings to be made into the adjoining room and the yard behind, which was often crowded, in order that no one anxious to hear the word of truth dispensed, though in so lowly an edifice, and often in as humble a manner, should be disappointed. But lowly as was this edifice, and humble as, at times, might be the preacher who proclaimed the glad tidings of salvation there, they could often boast the presence of a man, who, perhaps of all others of his fellow-mortals, since the apostolic ages, has the most closely followed the example of the divine teacher, who first published those tidings to a lost world, in going about to do good, on those very principles which his gospel has pointed out to our imitation; and which he himself, as judge of all, in the presence of an assembled universe, will hereafter recognize and approve. Never, indeed, was he absent from these meetings when at Cardington, except prevented by indisposition, or by unavoidable engagements; as it was not his disposition to expect from others the discharge of any duty, which he himself neglected regularly to perform.

But his concern for the welfare of the inhabitants of a village, which, though not the place of his birth, was the earliest in his recollection, stopped not here, nor with any of the more comprehensive schemes of benevolence, embracing in their extended arms, not only the whole of its inhabitants, but the wider circle of its immediate neighbourhood. With that minute attention to the wants and the comfort of every individual object of his bounty, which characterized all his philanthropic exertions for the good of his fellow-creatures, he entered into every habitation, and engaged in the most familiar converse with

every person, where he thought that his assistance could in any way be serviceable. "He would visit the farmers, his own tenants especially," says a letter from my kind and excellent friend, the Rev. Samuel Hillyard, now minister of the church and congregation which Mr. Howard first attended at Bedford, "and converse with them in the most affable manner. He also visited the poor; sat down in their cottages, and generally ate an apple while he talked with them. Even the schoolboys whenever they had an opportunity, would place themselves in his way; for he never failed to speak kindly to them, and to give each of them a halfpenny if he had enough in his pocket to supply them, invariably concluding his advice by telling them to be good children, and to wash their hands and faces. To the cottagers he was also very particular in requesting them to keep their houses clean; especially recommending that the rooms should be swilled (a provincial expression for washing the brick floors, by plentifully sluicing them with water), and he had sinks made in them for that purpose. He not only gave away the milk of his dairy, which was not used in the house; but sent it round to the poor, that they might not lose their time in coming for it." In fact, I may add, in the language of one who knew him well,* "his charity had no bounds, except those of prudence; and was not more commendable for the extent of it, than for the manner in which it was exercised. He gave not his bounty to countenance vice and idleness, but to encourage virtue and industry. He was singularly useful in furnishing employment for the labouring poor of both sexes, at those seasons when a scarcity of work rendered their situation most compassionable." "In a word," says one of his anonymous biographers,† in reference to that portion of his life which he passed at Cardington, before the extraordinary exertions of his philanthropic disposition for the public good, had fixed upon him so large a portion of the public attention as he afterwards attracted, "he hardly ever took one of his daily rides in the neighbourhood, without enjoying the delightful

* Rev. S. Palmer, in his Funeral Sermon on Mr. Howard's death.

† Univ. Mag. Vol. LXXXVI. p. 174.

satisfaction, on his return, that he had contributed to the relief, the welfare, or the consolation of a fellow-creature," for " whilst living in retirement," adds Mr. Palmer,* " it was his meat and drink to make his neighbours happy."

By these continued and unwearied efforts to promote the prosperity of his poorer neighbours, Mr. Howard secured to himself their love and veneration, to a much greater extent than is often bestowed upon their benefactors, whose bounty, though more munificent in amount, may be less gracious in the manner of its bestowment. To them his behaviour was uniformly kind, as it was beneficent; and though he, in many respects exercised a control over their conduct, it was constantly exerted for their good; and more nearly resembled that of a kind but prudent parent, over his children, than of a superior over his inferiors. And whilst thus beloved by the poor, whom he cherished and protected, he was no less respected by the rich with whom he associated, or to whom the excellencies of his character were known; for towards them his conduct and manners were invariably obliging and conciliatory; except, indeed, where the wanton, or deliberate invasion of his own just rights, or those of his tenants or dependants, compelled him, most reluctantly, to adopt a different line of conduct.

His mode of living, and personal habits at this period of his life, partook much of the peculiarities which distinguished them to its close. In the distribution of his time he was very exact; punctual in all his engagements with others, and expecting others in return to be punctual with him. His whole manner of conducting himself might, indeed, be described as precise and methodical; but it was so from principle and confirmed habit, not from any desire to be thought singular, and therefore, had nothing disgusting, or even unpleasant about it. On the contrary, the natural dignity of his deportment, combined with the general benevolence of his disposition, was well calculated to inspire the grateful veneration of his inferiors, while it ensured to him the

* Funeral Sermon on Mr. Howard.

esteem of all whose esteem was worth possessing. It was but the erroneous impression of those, who knew him not at all, or who knew him but imperfectly, to suppose that there was any thing stern or forbidding in his general behaviour —for in all his intercourse with others, whatever were their rank or circumstances in life, rich or poor, lowly or exalted, he united the politeness of the gentleman with the firmness of the man of principle, and the genuine humility of the Christian; carrying withal the air of this finished character in a very striking manner in his general appearance and deportment. He was at all times remarkably neat in his dress, but affected no singularity in it; being always attired in a manner suitable to his age and rank in life, without consulting the endless variations of fashion, in the cut, and shape, and colour of his garb;— alterations often without improvement, and changes but for the sake of changing. The same love of neatness and simplicity, characterised his taste in the furniture of his house, and the exterior appearance of every thing belonging to him; though I am rather inclined to think that it was the general morality of their conduct, and their love of peace and order, which rendered him an admirer of the Quakers as a body, and induced him to form a most intimate connection with many individual members of their society; rather than as has been supposed, this conformity of disposition in externals, which, as they respect modes of dress and matters of mere taste, when compared with the virtues of the heart, and the moral conduct of the life, he justly considered to be points of a very inferior importance. Though he never thought it right to indulge in the luxuries of life, he did not despise its comforts; and when they interfered with none of his schemes of usefulness, or plans of benevolence, he thought it allowable moderately to enjoy them. It does not appear that he had as yet entirely abandoned the use of animal food, though he partook of it very sparingly, and generally preferred pastry and vegetables, with which, in every variety the season or an ample stock of preserved fruit would afford, his table was most abundantly supplied, even when he dined alone. Wine, or fermented liquors of any kind, he himself never drank; but they were always

provided, and that too of the best quality, for his friends who chose to take them. To them—and the circle, though select, was by no means narrow—his house was at all times open; and on their visits, which were frequent, as he delighted to enjoy with them the pleasures of social converse, they were always entertained in a genteel and hospitable manner; though he thought it inconsistent with his Christian profession, to give sumptuous and expensive entertainments, considering himself, with respect to his property, but as the steward of God, to whom he must give an account of its disposition. In short, during the few years which he passed in retirement, after the loss of his wife, he pursued, with but little variation, the plan of living he had adopted during her life, which was that of a country gentleman, with a small estate, and a handsome, though not a splendid fortune. He always maintained an intercourse of civility with some of the most considerable persons in the county, who duly appreciated his unassuming worth; and was on visiting terms with the greater part of the country gentlemen around him, and with the most respectable inhabitants of the town of Bedford, churchmen and dissenters, several of whom, of both parties, were numbered with the more intimate of his friends. After Mrs. Howard's decease, he mingled less than he had done with general society; but his aversion to mix much with its promiscuous assemblies, was more the result of his religious principles and habits, which taught him that this was no very profitable method of spending his time, than, as Dr. Aikin represents it to have been, of the sobriety of his manners, and his peculiarities of living not fitting him for its enjoyment. "Yet, however uncomplying he might be," his biographer goes on with more correctness to observe,* "with the freedoms and irregularities of polite life, he was by no means negligent of its received forms; and though he might be denominated a man of scruples and singularities, no one would dispute his claim to the title of a *gentleman*."

But we must not forget, that in Mr. Howard's character there was a mark

* P. 26.

of distinction, higher than any which this world can bestow. He was a genuine and devoted Christian; and it is in this light that my readers are now entreated to spend a few minutes of their time, I hope not without profit, in contemplating the consistency of his conduct.

After his wife's death, whenever the ill state of his health did not confine him at home, he was a regular attendant and communicant with the church assembling in the old meeting-house at Bedford; which, from the earlier part of the year 1766, was under the pastoral care of the Reverend Joshua Symonds. On the repairing of that place of worship, in 1770, he gave a proof of his liberality, in addition to a handsome contribution towards the general expence of the repairs, by putting up, at his own cost, a neat pulpit, in lieu of that formerly occupied by John Bunyan, and coeval with the meeting itself; but which, on its removal, was cut to pieces, and distributed amongst the numerous admirers of that faithful minister, and excellent, but singular writer, in the town and neighbourhood which had been the principal scene, alike, of his labors and of his sufferings. On the same occasion, his friend and relative, the elder Mr. Whitbread, exhibited an example of christian kindness, well worthy of imitation: for, though himself a decided churchman, he presented this congregation of dissenters with a set of chandeliers, still suspended in the meeting-house, with the name of their generous donor inscribed upon them. In somewhat less than a year and a half after the re-opening of the meeting, on the completion of these repairs, the division of the church and congregation assembling within its walls, incidentally noticed in the second chapter of these memoirs, unhappily took place. The ostensible, and indeed a very principal cause of the separation of several of its members from their minister, and such of the congregation as still adhered to him, was a declaration made by Mr. Symonds, on the sabbath morning of the 9th of February 1772, that he could no longer practise infant baptism, because he had changed his sentiments on that subject. Hitherto the church had admitted of a free communion, and

the pastor had latterly been; as he still is, a pædobaptist. Mr. Symonds, however, when he had altered his own opinion, on the proper mode of administering the rite of baptism, used all his influence—and, in doing so, as he acted conscientiously, he was not to blame—to induce the people of his charge to follow him in his change. Several of them did so; and, together with those who had always adopted the mode of immersion at riper years, in preference to that of sprinkling in infancy, constituted the majority of the church, and remained with their pastor at the old meeting. Differences and dissatisfactions of a more personal nature, had, however, for some time, existed in the church and congregation; and though these were not serious enough, either in their nature or extent, to induce such a measure,—when coupled with this alteration in the manner of administering the ordinances, as well as in the actual government of the church, they were yet sufficient to lead many of its members entirely to withdraw themselves from its communion, and to form themselves into a new society. In this secession, Mr. Howard took a leading part; but he conducted himself throughout the business with so much moderation, delicacy, and christian tenderness for the feelings of every one concerned in the affair, as to please all parties, by the calmness of temper and true dignity of character which he exhibited, and to retain through life the unabated respect and esteem both of the minister and people, from whose communion, as a church, a regard to his own principles compelled him to separate. With the former, in particular, he ceased not to live on terms of the most familiar intercourse; and, long after the relation which had subsisted between them was dissolved, he was numbered with the few of the more intimate friends with whom he maintained an epistolary correspondence during his tours of benevolence upon the continent; as will appear from some of the letters inserted in the succeeding pages of this work. After Mr. Symonds's decease, and indeed until his own death, he also regularly continued his former subscription towards the support of the meeting, and his contribution for the relief of the poor of the church from which he had seceded.

I am aware that the very respectable body of dissenters, whose opinions and practice with regard to the external initiatory rite of the christian church, agree with those of the pastor, and such of the members of this society as approved of the change in his sentiments upon that point, have claimed the illustrious subject of these memoirs, as having belonged to their denomination. Nor am I surprised at such a claim having been preferred; for where is the sect that might not justly be proud of enrolling the name of Howard on the list of its distinguished members? The only proof, however, which can be adduced in support of this proposition is, I am bound to add, the circumstance of his having, when in London, pretty constantly attended the ministry of Dr. Stennet, well known to have been a distinguished preacher in that persuasion, with whom he also lived on terms of the closest intimacy. But, after having made the most diligent enquiries upon the subject, I am enabled most positively to state, and that upon the authority of one of the Doctor's successors, that Mr. Howard never was a member of this church, and, I believe I may add, never sat down to the Lord's table with it; as, if I am not greatly misinformed, the rule adopted there, was that of strict communion with those only who had been baptized by immersion; which, beyond all doubt, was not a qualification ever possessed by him, for a full and free participation in every ordinance of the church of Christ. As he himself had been baptized by sprinkling, so also, it will be recollected, was his only son; and that too by his own regular pastor, who, to the day of his death, had the ministerial charge of an independent and pædobaptist church. And if there could yet remain a doubt upon the subject, after the statement of these two convincing facts, surely that doubt must be removed from every candid and unprejudiced mind, by the detail just entered into, of the causes of that separation, in which, however mixed may have been the motives of some of his fellow seceders, he himself was compelled to join, by a public declaration of his pastor,—for whom as a man, a christian, and a friend, he still preserved the highest esteem,—of a change in his sentiments on the subject of baptism, and on the subject of

baptism alone. It has never been pretended that he afterwards altered his own views upon a point on which it is certain that he then maintained the opinions in which he had been educated, and in the belief of which he died. Whether he did so or not;—whether he was an independent or a baptist, are, I admit, questions of very trifling importance; except, indeed, that it is to the general interests of truth, that we never should suffer any misconception to go abroad into the world, however immaterial in itself, whilst we have the means of correcting it in our own hands.

Immediately on their secession, the separatists formed themselves into a new church, with which Mr. Howard regularly worshipped and communicated, whenever he was at Cardington, until his departure from that place upon a tour, from which it was decreed in the secret counsels of God that he never should return. And when once united with them in the bonds of christian fellowship, he entered so warmly into every thing likely to promote their interests, as a body, that he was looked upon in the country, and not without reason, as their principal support. When they had determined on building a new place of worship, he gave them 200*l.* towards it; and, besides other considerable sums, at various times, which he was repaid without interest, lent them two hundred more upon a bond, for the repayment of the principal only, which, some years after, he generously cancelled. He made them also, as he had done to the society he had left, a present of their pulpit, which is particularly neat. Until this edifice was completed, the congregation assembled at a temporary meeting-house, and were supplied by various ministers, amongst whom was the Reverend Josiah Townsend, son of the Reverend Meredith Townsend, the independent minister at Stoke Newington, and, strictly speaking, still Mr. Howard's pastor; who, having just finished his studies at the Daventry academy, was invited to Bedford, for four sabbaths. "It gratified him highly," says an account of this gentleman's recollections of this occasional service, communicated to me through the kindness of the Reverend

John Cockin, jun. of Holmfurth, "to find that he was appointed to sojourn at Mr. Howard's house during his visit to the people. He found him not disposed to talk much; and supposed that he talked to him less than he would otherwise have done, because he was young in years, and almost boyish in appearance: besides, that he sat but a short time at table, and was in motion during the whole day. On the sabbath, he ate little or no dinner, and spent the interval between the morning and the afternoon service, in a private room, alone. He had prayer in his family every day, morning and evening, and read the scriptures himself; but asked his guest to pray. He was very abstemious, lived chiefly upon vegetables, ate little animal food, and drank no wine or spirits. He hated praise; and when Mr. Townsend once mentioned to him his labors of benevolence"—those of a more private nature, in his own neighbourhood, it must have been, for he had not yet entered on the extraordinary exertions for the public good, which have since immortalized his name,—"he spoke of them slightingly, as a whim of his, and immediately changed the subject."

Mr. Howard always set a very high value upon the sabbaths which he spent in England; and we know from the extracts from his own diary already inserted in this work, that during his various journeys upon the continent, he had felt, and deeply deplored the loss of the religious privileges which he enjoyed upon these sacred days at home. After the new meeting-house was opened, and the Rev. Thomas Smith had accepted the pastoral charge of the church and congregation assembling beneath its roof,—that he might not increase the necessary labor of his domestics, or infringe upon their time for religious improvement, it was his constant practice, if the weather permitted, to walk from Cardington to Bedford, a distance of nearly three miles, before the morning service, and to return home in the same manner, directly after the conclusion of that in the afternoon. This, indeed, was a habit he so regularly pursued, that the only enemy he ever had—and it is a melancholy proof of the depravity of the human heart, that a man like him could

have even one—an idle and dissolute wretch, whom he had often, but in vain reproved for his vices, determined to avail himself of it, to carry into execution the diabolical purpose he had formed of way-laying and murdering him. "But Providence," says Mr. Palmer,* upon whose authority this anecdote is related, "remarkably interposed to preserve so valuable a life, by inclining him that morning to go on horseback a different road." For the purpose of securing a retirement for his devotions, he built a house within a few doors of the meeting, which he suffered a family to occupy without paying him any rent, upon condition that he should have the use of the parlour when he was at Bedford on a Sunday. There he spent the intermediate time between the two services in solitude; the woman of the house preparing for him some slight refreshment.

Considering himself to stand in a peculiar relation to the church and congregation with which he thus regularly worshipped, he was in the habit of giving annual donations to its poorer members, and of otherwise assisting them by every means in his power. To those of a higher rank, he was always ready to render any service which his own personal exertions, his influence, or his connections, would enable him to perform. His benevolence, was not however, confined within such narrow limits, but knowing no distinction of sect or party in the labors of love to which it prompted him, he was at all times as willing to do an act of kindness for those who were of a different persuasion to himself, as he would be for an individual whose religious sentiments were but the exact counterpart of his own. "In every way," says his intimate friend and biographer, Dr. Aikin, "in which a man thoroughly disposed to do good with the means providence has bestowed upon him, can exercise his liberality, Mr. *Howard* stood among the foremost. He was not only a subscriber to various public schemes of benevolence, but his private charities were largely diffused, and remarkably well directed."† "Though never inattentive to the tale of woe," adds another of his friends,‡ in illustration of this part of his character

* Funeral Sermon for Mr. Howard. † p. 36. ‡ Rev. S. Palmer's Funeral Sermon for Mr. Howard.

and of this period of his history, " he was not easily imposed upon by it, but made himself acquainted with the case. He had indeed a general acquaintance with the cases and characters of the poor around him, and made it his business to visit the abodes of affliction. In circumstances of bodily disorder, he often acted the part of a physician as well as a friend. But his kindness was not confined to the bodies of his fellow-creatures, it extended to their spiritual and immortal part. He carefully watched over the morals of his neighbourhood, and used his advice, his admonitions, and influence, to discountenance, immorality of all kinds, and to promote the knowledge and practice of religion.—In short, he was an universal blessing to the village where he resided, in every part of which are to be seen the pleasing monuments of his munificence and taste. His liberality extended also to adjacent places, in which there are many who will call him blessed. Nor was it confined to persons of his own religious persuasion, but comprehended the necessitous and deserving of all parties; while he was particularly useful in serving the interest of the Christian society to which he belonged. What wonder if such a man were universally beloved?"

And universally beloved, he most unquestionably was, in the neighbourhood in which he lived; happy in a private station, whilst diffusing happiness to all around him. From that neighbourhood, after having once returned to it, he does not appear to have been long absent, during the period of his private life, which this chapter of its history embraces; except that on his recovery from his illness so far as to enable him to bear the fatigue of a long journey, he endeavored to forward the complete re-establishment of his health, by taking, in the summer and autumn of the year 1772, a short tour through Guernsey, Jersey, and the smaller dependant islands of the English channel. The winter of that year he passed partly with his friends in London, but principally in retirement at Cardington. Nor from the privacy of the walk of life, which he, from choice, adopted there, would he, in all human probability, ever have emerged, or even have wished to emerge, had not the sphere of his benevolent

exertions for the good of his fellow-creatures, been providentially enlarged, by his being called to the office of high sheriff of the county of Bedford, at the annual appointment of persons to fill that high and important situation, for the various counties in the kingdom, in the year 1773. How he came to be nominated to such a post, I am utterly uninformed. There was, however, a very idle story formerly in circulation,* of his having declined taking its duties upon him, on the ground of his being a protestant dissenter, and therefore prevented by scruples of conscience from receiving the sacrament, according to the rites of the church of England, as he was required by law to do; and that upon stating these scruples to Earl Bathurst, then Lord Chancellor, he received from him, an assurance of indemnification from any prosecution that might be commenced against him for not having complied with the provisions of the act of parliament establishing this test of orthodoxy, in those who are permitted to take any, the smallest share, in the administration of the laws of their country. But this was an assurance, which Lord Bathurst was too well acquainted with the free constitution of that country, ever to have given; knowing, as a lawyer of his eminence must have known, that it was one he never could have redeemed: the power of dispensing with any law, however revolting to humanity, or opposed to the more enlightened sentiments of this age; no longer vesting, as he must have been well aware, in chancellor, or prince, or king, since the day on which the obstinate and infatuated maintenance of this very doctrine, lost the hereditary and legitimate monarch of these realms his throne, and transferred his sceptre to a family not in the direct order of lineal descent. Mr. Howard, therefore, took upon himself the office, whose duties he discharged in so exemplary a manner, at all hazards; trusting, no doubt, to the liberal opinions which began to prevail even in those days, to protect him from the pains and penalties of an act, which, in times as factious as they were intolerant, first found a place upon our statute books; which an unaccountable dread of innovation, producing an adherence alike to the folly, and the wisdom, the injustice,

* Univ. Mag. Vol. LXXXVI, p. 174.

and justice of our ancestors, has still permitted them to disgrace. At no period of his life did he indeed, suffer himself to be diverted from his duty, by the apprehension of any personal danger or difficulty, in which he might be involved by resolutely entering upon its discharge. Yet those which he ran the risk of incurring, upon the present occasion, were neither few, nor inconsiderable; the legislature having left it in the power of any bigotted, or mercenary individual, who might choose to sue for his own use and benefit, to subject him to a penalty of five hundred pounds; besides disqualifying him for ever from holding any, the lowest office in church or state;—from suing a person who should inflict the most grievous civil injury upon him;—from prosecuting the most just demands on those who wrongfully withheld from him his most acknowleged rights; from being guardian to any child; or executor or administrator to any person whatever, even though the ties of the nearest kindred, the bonds of the closest friendship, or a character for the highest ability and integrity, should point him out as the man of all others, upon whom these trusts should most fitly and most naturally devolve. And all this might be done too, without the judge before whom the suit for the recovery of this penalty was tried, or any other person or authority in the realm, an act of the legislature in its three estates alone excepted, having the power to mitigate these dreadful pains and penalties, which might be the while, as in the case before us they actually were, incurred in the pursuit of objects the most benevolent;—the discharge of duties the most honorable;—the correction of abuses the most flagrant;—the furtherance of public improvements, the most salutary that ingenuity could devise, or the purest patriotism, the most unbounded love for the whole brotherhood of man could prompt any one to undertake. Yet even to the present day, this is the established and acknowledged law of a land of liberty and toleration;—the deliberate enactment of a legislative code, professing to derive all its authority over the consciences of men from that benign system of religion, whose fundamental precept, whose distinguishing characteristic, whose peculiar test is the love exhibited by its followers, in all their actions

one towards another; knowing in the exercise of this Christian virtue neither distinction of sect or party, of name or denomination amongst men; "neither Greek nor Jew, circumcision nor uncircumcision, barbarian, Scythian, bond nor free." I will not, however, pause to examine the justice or propriety of these enactments—for my feeble, but public and decided testimony has some years since been borne against provisions of a similar nature, where they would, at first sight, seem to admit of a somewhat better justification;* and I have as yet seen no reason whatever for altering my opinion upon the subject. I shall therefore content myself with remarking, that, as it respects alike the arguments and the motives of the majority of those men—(some of them I know are cast in a more honorable mould)—who can contemplate with complacency, in all its extent, this rigorous proscription of so large a proportion of their countrymen and fellow Christians, merely for differing from them in some of the outward forms and ceremonies of their religion, whilst they are fully agreed upon all its most essential doctrines;—who view too with horror, the most distant approaches of a more liberal and a more scriptural system of legislation —the conviction of my judgment, as well as the language of my heart may be briefly expressed in the words of the patriarch, "O my soul come not thou into their secret; unto their assembly mine honor be not thou united."†

No sooner had Mr. Howard entered upon his new office, than with the zeal and promptitude which characterized all his proceedings, he applied himself to the active discharge of its duties, which he resolved not to leave, as they generally are left, to an under sheriff, whose chief object is but too often to put as much money as he can into his pocket, by performing all the drudgery, and taking upon himself all the responsibility of a station, the honor and expense of which, and the honor and expense alone, belong to his principal. Nor would either

* In "An Historical Account of the Laws enacted against the Catholics in England and Ireland, with copious notes, tending to illustrate the views and conduct of the Church of England, the Presbyterians and Sectarians, with regard to Toleration when in the enjoyment of power." † Genesis, XLIX. 6.

his temperament or his principles permit him, indeed, to rest satisfied that he had done all that could be required of a high sheriff, when, preceded by his javelin men, and followed by a long retinue of the principal gentlemen of the county, he had, twice a year, paraded in his carriage to meet the judges on their entrance into the circuit town, and to escort them to their lodgings, amidst the merry pealing of the bells, which in a few short days might toll the knell of some unhappy wretch, then immured within the walls of a prison, and whose righteous, but dreadful doom it would be a part of their fearful commission to pronounce. He had no wife whose vanity could be gratified by reigning the unrivalled queen of an assize ball, at which all the belles and beaux of the neighbourhood, and many a gay Lothario from more distant parts, trip it merrily on the light fantastic toe—it may be on the very eve of a public execution, which ere their jocund dance has well ended, and the gay assembly have separated to their various homes, may launch some miserable fellow-creature to the dread confines of an eternal world. His Henrietta was not:—and had she been spared to witness the elevation of her beloved husband to a post which she would have known him to be so well qualified to fill, there can be little doubt but that she would have joined with him in opinion that these rejoicings and gay amusements did not altogether accord with the solemnity that should prevail at such a season, and might, therefore, easily have been better timed. Such, however, has been the practice established for a long series of years; but whether Mr. Howard, as far as he had a discretionary power upon the subject, complied with it or not, I have no means of ascertaining. In either case we may be assured, that he was deficient in no proper mark of respect for those, who charged with the king's commission to administer justice in the various parts of his dominions, at a distance from the capital, where it is ordinarily dispensed, came into the county of which he was then the chief civil officer of the crown, as the representatives of the sovereign in his courts, and who upon this account, as well as from the veneration due to their own characters as judges of the land, were most justly entitled to every attention in the discharge of their

arduous and most responsible office that could possibly be shewn to them. His wand, therefore, was regularly to be seen in the court; but, without the insignia of his office, he was as regularly to be met with in the prison, examining into the condition and government of its every part, even to its inmost cell. The consequence of this minute inspection of the gaol, which was then nominally under his official keeping and jurisdiction, was that devotion of every faculty of his existence to the correction of the abuses existing in similar institutions, and to the promotion of the comfort and reformation of the prisoners confined within their walls, which has immortalized his name, as the friend of those who had no friend;—the Philanthropist of the World. The origin of such a devotion to this singular and untrodden path of benevolence, and the first steps taken in its pursuit, are thus recorded in the introduction to the work which gave to the public its results;—and when we compare the account of those first steps with what was afterwards accomplished, it surely affords another useful lesson in addition to those which the page of history has often read to us, never to despise the day of small things. "The distress of prisoners, of which there are few," says Mr. Howard, in the prefatory remarks to his State of Prisons,* "who have not some imperfect idea, came more immediately under my notice when I was Sheriff of the county of Bedford; and the circumstance which excited me to activity in their behalf was, the seeing some, who by the verdict of juries were declared *not guilty;* some, on whom the grand jury did not find such an appearance of guilt as subjected them to trial; and some whose prosecutors did not appear against them; after having been confined for months, dragged back to gaol, and locked up again till they should pay *sundry fees* to the gaoler, the clerk of assize, &c. In order to redress this hardship, I applied to the justices of the county for a salary to the *gaoler* in lieu of his fees. The bench were properly affected with the grievance, and willing to grant the relief desired: but they wanted a precedent for charging the county with the expence. I therefore rode into several neighbouring counties in search of a precedent; but I soon learned that

* P. 1, 2.

the same injustice was practised in them; and looking into the prisons, I beheld scenes of calamity, which I grew daily more and more anxious to alleviate."

The principal local defects which he noticed in the construction of the gaol at Bedford, were that the two dungeons for felons, from their being eleven feet under ground, were often very damp; that the court yard was common to prisoners of both sexes—a most improper circumstance, but before he first pointed the public attention to its incorrectness, one of too frequent occurrence; the want of apartments for the gaoler, and of an infirmary.* Every prisoner, whether debtor or felon, whatever might be the circumstances under which he was committed, or however justly he might be entitled to his discharge out of custody, by the clearest establishment of his innocence, or the payment of the debt for which he was confined, was compelled to pay fifteen shillings and four pence to the gaoler, and two shillings to the turnkey, before he could obtain his liberty. An extortion this, which gross, and manifestly unjust as it is upon the very face of it, had been so generally sanctioned by long continued, and uninterrupted usage, that on his visits to the different places of confinement in England, Mr. Howard scarcely met with a solitary exception to its universal prevalence; so that in tracing the progress of his inquiries into the extent of this, and other abuses in the regulation of prisons, it must be taken for granted, that fees of this description were every where regularly demanded; and that the only difference he noticed, was some slight variation in their amount, except, indeed, where any of the circumstances of their payment shall seem to require more particular notice. The clauses of the act against the sale of spiritous liquors were not hung up in this gaol as they ought to have been, an omission also of very general occurrence. "When I was Sheriff," says our Philanthropist, "I was culpably ignorant of that act;"† so ready was he to acknowledge his own faults, whilst reluctantly compelled, for the good of his fellow-creatures, to expose the faults of others.

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 243, 4.

† Ib. p. 244.

It would seem to have been on, or about the 4th of November, 1773, that he took the first of his shorter excursions for the purpose of visiting the gaols of some of the counties, either immediately adjoining to, or not very remote from his own; since on that, and the following day, we find him inspecting those at Cambridge and Huntingdon, the places nearest to his abode. In neither of these did he meet with any thing remarkable. The first was not very secure, and besides the gaoler, the sheriff himself was entitled to a small fee on the discharge of every prisoner.* It was also without a chaplain. In the latter, the gaoler had no salary except as keeper of the Bridewell and Town Gaol, which were united with the county prison. The two dungeons for men and women felons were both under ground, the one descending by nine, and the other by seven steps. The prison was too small, but on the whole, he found it remarkably clean.—It had no infirmary.†

From the 15th to the 27th of this month, both inclusive, he was occupied in visiting the gaols for the counties of Northampton, Leicester, Nottingham, Derby, Stafford, Warwick, Worcester, Gloucester, Oxford, and Buckingham. At Northampton, the gaoler, instead of having a salary, paid 40*l.* a year to the county for his place; though as keeper of the Bridewell, which was united with the gaol, he had 36*l.* 10*s.* a year. The felons court-yard was close and confined; they had no straw allowed them; and though some commodious rooms had recently been built for their use, there was still a dungeon eleven steps under ground, in which some of them were confined.‡ The chapel was the upper room in the gaoler's house; a circumstance, upon which Mr. Howard,§ with his characteristic humanity, and minute attention to the comfort of those unfortunate people, as far as may consist with their proper restraint, observes—"it is painful for Prisoners loaded with irons to go up and down stairs." The next stage in this philanthropic tour was Leicester; and there the situation of the gaol was most miserable;—so confined, indeed,

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 248, 9. † Ib. p. 245, 6. ‡ Ib. p. 308, 9. § Ib. p. 309.

that it could not be made either convenient or healthy. The free ward for debtors who could not afford to pay for better accommodation, was a long dungeon called the cellar, down seven steps; damp, as might naturally be expected, and having but two windows in it, the largest about a foot square. From a tract printed in 1691, under the title of the "Cry of the Oppressed," to which Mr. Howard refers in one of the notes to his State of Prisons, it appears that this very dungeon was then in existence, and was complained of by a debtor confined in it, as damp and unwholesome; from which, and from some other facts there related, it would appear, as he justly remarks, that some of the inconveniences which he observed in gaols had been of long standing. They would, however, have been of much longer, we may add to this modest and unassuming statement, had it not been for his unwearied exertions to correct and remove them. But this was not all; the rooms in which the felons were confined night and day, were also dungeons from five to seven steps under ground In these they slept upon thick mats, which with the addition of coverlids would have been better than straw, but without these, even of the thinnest description, they must have been cold and comfortless indeed. The whole prison we cannot, after this, be surprized to learn was close and offensive; —the court-yard small,—with no chapel for the prisoners;—no salary for the gaoler.* The gaol at Nottingham is situated on the side of a hill: down about twenty-five steps were three rooms for criminals who could pay for them; but those who could not, were compelled to descend by twelve more, into some deep dungeons cut in the sandy rock for their reception. Only one of them, however, was used, and that was twenty-one feet long, thirteen broad, and seven feet high;†—a fit place truly for the abode of human beings for days, and weeks, and months—it may be years! To these two wretched places of confinement, that at Derby presented a striking, and a pleasing contrast. It had been erected about fifteen years in a very healthy situation;—the court-yards of the debtors and of the felons were properly separated;—it had a neat chapel,

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 276, 7. † Ib. p. 288.

an infirmary, and a bath, in which the prisoners were compelled to wash before the assizes and quarter sessions. The keeper had a salary, which in comparison with those allowed in other places, was liberal in its amount, as was also the allowance to the prisoners, which was half as much again as that of some of the places already mentioned, with this further advantage that it was given alike to the debtor and the felon, whereas in many of the other prisons the poor wretches of the former class confined within their walls, were for any provision made for their support, very quietly left to starve. Here, on the contrary, in addition to the prison allowance, a person went round the county about Christmas, collecting for these debtors, at the houses of the different gentlemen, who entered their names and the amount of their donations in a book presented to them for the purpose. The county also allowed eight guineas a year for straw, and annually gave two hundred weight of coals in common between the prisoners of both descriptions. There were yet some few defects even here, the debtor's court required to be further separated from the Bridewell;—their floors were tarras, not easily washed;—the night room of the men felons was a dungeon, though but three steps under ground, whilst those of the women were too close to be wholesome.* At Stafford, Mr. Howard found both the felon's court-yard, and the whole gaol much too small for the number of prisoners which the place contained. The dungeon too, though but two steps lower than the passage, was close; there was no infirmary, and the gaoler had no salary. The allowance both to debtors and felons, was, however, even more liberal than at Derby, and he was gratified at seeing plenty of clean straw in the dungeon, owing to what he denominates "the generous and exemplary practice of not farming it, but allowing the gaoler to order it whenever wanted, and the county paying for it themselves."† The gaoler also, very much to his credit, had abolished the garnish usually demanded of the felons. Of Litchfield city gaol, the defects are thus briefly stated, "rooms too small and close; no yard; no water; no straw;—might be improved upon the ground behind it."‡

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. 282, 3. † Ib. p. 326, 7. ‡ Ib. p. 329.

Nor was the county gaol at Warwick in a much better condition; the night room of the men felons being an octagonal dungeon, about twenty-one feet in diameter, down thirty-one steps, close, damp, and offensive. The gaoler had no salary; the sick prisoners no infirmary. The custom which had formerly prevailed of loading even the women felons with irons, was then, however, discontinued; and the judicious practice of fixing the allowance of the prisoners by weight, and not by the ever varying price of the loaf, was also adopted here.* The castle at Worcester, seems, on the whole, not to have been so ill-adapted to the purposes it was intended to answer, as were some of the places of confinement which this active inspector of their condition had recently visited. The dungeon for the male felons was twenty-six steps under ground, but it had over it an aperture into the yard, covered with an iron grate, and was also cooled and freshened, to a very considerable degree, by a hand-ventilator, which the prisoners cheerfully worked a quarter of an hour before they went in, and after they had come out of it. Yet, notwithstanding these prudent precautions, the surgeon, who had some years before caught the gaol fever here, was so fearful of descending into it, that whenever any person confined there was sick, he ordered him to be brought out for his inspection. There was, moreover, no infirmary here;—the gaoler had no salary—the debtors no allowance. As was the case at Warwick, a considerable portion of the adjoining land belonged to the county, and might easily have been appropriated to improvements, some of which were much wanted.† The condition in which Mr. Howard found the castle at Gloucester was wretched in the extreme. The night room, or main, for the male felons, though up many stone steps, was close and dark; the floor so ruinous that it could not be washed, and the whole prison, indeed, much out of repair. Many prisoners died there in the course of the year, a circumstance which he attributes in part to the large dung-hill, which was constantly to be seen opposite to the steps leading to the sleeping rooms of the prisoners; though it cannot be doubted that the singular refinement in

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 269, 270. † Ib. p. 321, 2.

economy which prevented the attendance of any medical man in this prison, however emergent might be the case requiring his assistance, without the direction of a magistrate, must have greatly contributed to this mortality. The gaoler, as usual, had no salary—the debtors no allowance.* The city gaol was too small for the prisoners often confined within its walls; the natural consequences of which was a state of discipline, or rather of indiscipline, totally subversive of all the effects such places were destined to produce. Debtors, felons, and petty offenders,—young and old,—penitent and hardened,—all huddled together in one confined room; the women separated from the men but during the night, and all of them without any court-yard to walk in—such was the miserable scene that here presented itself.† Nor was the prospect much improved at Oxford, the city which our benevolent traveller next visited in the course of his journey. The debtor's apartments in the castle were small, and not enough in number for the prisoners generally confined there. They had no free ward, but even those who slept in the tower upon their own beds, were obliged to pay eighteen pence a week for the privilege of being kept there against their will, because they had no money to pay their just debts; yet were they obliged to find it to pay their gaoler. At Aylesbury, he found but one court-yard for prisoners of all descriptions; no free ward for debtors; no infirmary. The gaoler had no salary, but contracted with the county to supply both debtors and felons with a pound of bread a day each, and two hot dinners a week, besides conveying transports to London,—at 70*l.* a year.‡

From Aylesbury Mr. Howard returned home to Cardington, having witnessed, in the course of his journey, enough of the misery existing in our prisons, to induce him to form the benevolent resolution to obtain a more perfect knowledge of the particulars and extent of it, by enlarging the sphere of his observations to most of the county gaols in England. Ten days had accordingly scarcely elapsed, from the completion of his former tour, ere he

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 343, 4. † Ib. p. 350. ‡ Ib. p. 241, 2.

set off upon a third, in the course of which he visited the gaols for the counties of Hertford, Berks, Wilts, Dorset, Hants, and Sussex, being out from the 9th to the 17th of December inclusive. The first of these, since pulled down, contained two small day-rooms for men felons, in which they were always locked up, without fire in winter, or exercise at any time, being moreover as closely confined at night in their dungeons, the one of which was eighteen, the other nineteen steps under-ground. The court-yard, which was small, was entirely appropriated to the use of debtors and of women felons. There was neither infirmary or chapel attached to the gaol; and the keeper, instead of a salary, had the improper advantage of farming the felons from the county.* At Reading, the court-yards of the debtors and felons were separated by iron rails. The former, however, had no free ward, or allowance; nor had any of the prisoners straw. A very good custom prevailed here of stripping all the felons when they first came into the prison, washing them, and putting on them cloaths provided by the county, which they wore until called to appear upon their trial, when their own cloaths, which were ticketed and hung up for the purpose, were restored to them; and those belonging to the county were washed, mended, and purified in an oven, for the use of future criminals.† The gaol at Salisbury had but one yard, and no day-room for either felons or debtors, each of whom had their fire on a brick hearth raised in their respective lodging-rooms, without chimneys. The women felons had a separate and more commodious room. Just without the prison-gate was a chain passed through a round staple fixed in the wall, at each end of which a debtor, padlocked by the leg, stood offering to those who passed by, nets, laces, purses, &c. made in the prison. Mr. Howard was told also of a still more singular custom which prevailed here, of permitting felons chained together to go about the city at Christmas, one of them carrying a sack or basket for food, another a box for money. That part of the prison which was meant for the county bridewell

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 211, 212. † Ib. p. 311, 312.

not being secure, petty offenders were at this time confined in the gaol. As keeper of the former, the county very properly allowed the gaoler 10*l.* a year in lieu of the fees of prisoners acquitted at Quarter Sessions. Those demanded at the assizes before any man whom a jury of his country had declared not to be guilty of the crime laid to his charge, could avail himself of his acquittal so as to be released from his confinement, were still most exorbitant, amounting to a fine of 1*l.* 6*s.* 8*d.* for being innocent of any crime of which the law takes cognizance. The gaoler had no salary; but, instead of it, made what he could of farming the diet of his prisoners.* Only one yard, out of repair, and dirty; such is the short account of the state in which Mr. Howard found the gaol at Dorchester,† whence he passed on to Winchester, where he saw a destructive dungeon for felons, eleven steps under ground, dark, damp, and close. In it the surgeon to the gaol informed him that twenty prisoners had died of the gaol fever in one year, his predecessor himself having also fallen a victim to the malignancy of the same distemper. The felons confined here had the advantage of a very liberal benefaction, in meat, bread, and beer, regularly distributed by the college in this city every week, as it would seem, from time immemorial. The gaoler was allowed two guineas a year for keeping a bread account, to check the baker; the justices themselves also seeing into this matter, by which means a very considerable saving to the county was annually produced.‡ In the gaol at Horsham, the rooms were too small, except the free ward for debtors. It had no yard, though there was ground enough behind the gaol to make one; no straw; no chaplain, but a clergyman to attend condemned criminals, and who for his trouble had 5*l.* a year.§ The last place which our traveller inspected in the course of this journey was the bridewell for the county of Surrey, at Guildford, in which he found neither bedding, straw, nor work for the prisoners, who, upon their entrance into the prison, were yet compelled to pay a shilling each for the use of the court-yard, which was

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 360, 361. † Ib. p. 367. ‡ Ib. p. 354. § Ib. p. 228.

rendered very disagreeable by the want of a sewer. Two of the rooms had an iron grated lattice in the roof, about five feet by four, with an open turret above,—a very useful contrivance for freshening them.*

From Guildford it is probable that Mr. Howard proceeded to London, and, after spending the sabbath there, went on to Pinner to take his son home to Cardington for the Christmas holidays, he having been removed from Cheshunt to a school at this place, kept by a very respectable dissenting minister of the name of Madgwic, somewhere, as I should think, about a year, or a year and a half prior to this period. My reason for conjecturing that he did so, is, that from the 17th of December, 1774, to the 23d of January in the following year, a period which would embrace the time usually allowed for their vacation at this season of the year in academies of the description of that in which his son was placed,—he seems to have laid aside his philanthropic tours, which he resumed the very day upon which, according to the best calculation that can now be made, his child would leave him to return to school. His first visit was at that time to Okeham, in Rutlandshire, where he found the small prison which answered the triple purpose of county and town gaol, and of county bridewell, empty. One of the felons' night rooms being small and close, the gaoler, by whose family the office had been held in a direct line for four generations, had very considerately made apertures in the door, both at top and bottom to let in the air. In two rooms up stairs, strongly planked with oaks, were beds for the debtors, and there was also a large work room on the ground floor.† From this prison, for the smallest, he passed on to that belonging to the largest county in the kingdom, the castle at York; where he found the felons' court-yard small and without water, the pump being just withoutside the palisades; the prison, therefore, was dirty: "indeed," as he justly remarks, "a clean prison is scarcely ever seen, where the water is to be brought in by the gaoler's servants." The felons' cells were in general about seven feet and a half by six and a half, and eight

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 240. † Ib. p. 307.

and a half high; close and dark, having only a hole about four inches by eight over the door, or a few perforations of about an inch in diameter in it, to let in what little air could find its way through the passages and entries into which they opened. Yet in most of these confined places, three prisoners were generally locked up for the night, which in winter lasted from fourteen to sixteen hours, with nothing but straw spread on the stone floor of their dungeon to lie upon. To add to the loathsomeness of their confinement, a sewer in one of the passages often made them very offensive. The infirmary, near the gate of the prison, was but a single room, so that when prisoners of the one sex were there, those of the other were excluded, as happened to be the case with a sick man at the time of this visit. In the spacious area of the castle, Mr. Howard was, however, much gratified by finding a noble prison for debtors, which he truly says "does honour to the county." The rooms were airy and healthy; those on the ground floor for masters'-side debtors full sixteen feet square, and near twelve feet high; whilst of those above, as large in size, though not quite so high, one or two were for the use of the debtors on the common side. The county paid a man ten pounds a year to inspect and weigh the bread, and to deliver it out to the prisoners, as he constantly attended the gaol to do every Tuesday and Friday.* The gaol for this city, and for its jurisdiction as a county in itself, was, at this time in such a situation, that its visitor declares it were in vain to offer any hints for its improvement, as it never could be made a good one. The debtors' wards were on one side of the Ouse bridge, the felons' on the other; the former convenient, and their accommodation attainable at the cheap rate of six-pence a-week; but all the latter close and offensive. The wooden door of this part of the prison was left open in the day time, to give its inhabitants a little air; whilst at its inner one, which was of grated iron, Mr. Howard himself saw liquors handed in to those, who seemed to have had enough before. The prison had no water, except when it had too much; that is, in a high flood, when it overflowed the rooms.†

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 396, 7. † Ib. p. 404, 5.

Turning his steps towards home, he visited the castle at Lincoln, which he found to be out of repair; probably, as he suggests, because the county intended to build a new prison. Its floors were of tarras, and could not be cleaned; the passages but six feet wide; and their windows close glazed. The free ward for debtors, was but a room at the end of the building, serving as a thoroughfare to sundry places: for, first, by a trap-door in its pavement of small stones, you went, down ten steps, to two vaulted dungeons for criminals, the first called "the pit," and within it, the condemned cell, both dirty and offensive;—secondly, you passed through it to the women felons' ward;—thirdly, to the men felons' sizeable day room;—fourthly, to the small court, without water or sewer;—and, fifthly, to a room for the closer confinement of debtors who did not behave themselves well. The gaoler had no salary; but farmed the victualling of his prisoners.* The city gaol was better constructed, and better regulated. The felons' dungeons, which were but a little underground, were furnished with bedsteads, that their wretched inmates might not be compelled to sleep upon the damp earth floor: yet it had neither court-yard, water accessible to the prisoners, nor straw.† The state of the gaol at Huntingdon, which Mr. Howard visited in his way to Ely, has already been described: that at the latter place, was in a somewhat better condition. It is the property of the Bishop, as lord of the franchise of the isle, and had been partly rebuilt, about two years previous to this visit, by the then prelate of the see, "upon complaint of the cruel method, which, for want of a safe gaol, the keeper took to secure his prisoners. This was by chaining them down on their backs upon a floor, across which were several iron bars; with an iron collar with spikes about their necks, and a heavy iron bar over their legs. An excellent magistrate, *James Collyer, Esq.* presented an account of the case, accompanied with a drawing, to the King; with which his Majesty was much affected, and gave immediate orders for a proper inquiry and redress." But though this savage practice, more characteristic of the familiars of the inqui-

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 295, 6.

† Ibid. p. 303, 4.

sition than of an English gaoler, the servant of an English bishop, was thus happily abolished, by the direct interference of a prince, to whose generous spirit such cruelty could not but be abhorrent,—the prison might yet have been materially improved, had its right reverend owner condescended to have included it even in his triennial visitations of his diocese. The only window in the cell, or night room of the felons, was but a foot square; their court-yard had an offensive sewer in it, but no water; the debtors were without a free ward; the prison without either straw, or an infirmary.* In the gaol for the city and county of the city of Norwich, Mr. Howard found but one court-yard; many rooms for masters'-side debtors, and one for those on the common side, who were freemen of the city; but for those who did not enjoy this privilege, no place to sit in but the felons' day room, which was thirteen steps under ground—their dungeons, or night rooms, descending eleven steps lower, and one of them being quite dark, the other almost so; the womens' dungeon, ten steps under ground, was, however, furnished with a fire-place; but they had no separate day room, though the keeper's stable would have made them a very good one. Instead of having any salary, the gaoler of this prison paid the under sheriff of the city forty pounds a year for his place. Gaol delivery but once a year; allowance for straw, for the whole prison, only a guinea annually.† In the castle in this city, the gaol for the county of Norfolk, he descended into a dungeon for men felons, down a ladder of eight steps, in which there would often be an inch or two of water. There was also a small room for women, "which *kept* them," he tells us, "always separate from the men, except when delicacy would most of all require it." There were, however, two airy rooms for the sick, so distinct from the rest of the prison, that there could be no danger of spreading any infection thence. These had a nurse, or matron, to attend, and to provide for them, when the surgeon ordered it, both gruel, milk pottage, and extra firing: it was also her business to see that the prisoners were duly served with their bread, which was remark-

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 252, 3. † Ib. p. 257, 8.

ably good, and she too ordered the straw, which was not farmed, but paid for per load by the county. The gaoler had no salary; but, on the other hand, as in the city, paid to the under sheriff thirty guineas annually for his office; but, notwithstanding such a temptation to abuse his trust, he was a humane man, and much respected by his prisoners. Here felons, as well as debtors, were permitted to sell, at the grates of their separate day rooms, laces, purses, nets, &c. of their own manufacture;* as was also the case at Ipswich, where many other good regulations prevailed. The night room, for instance, was furnished with beds, described "as excellently contrived for cleanliness and health;" each prisoner being moreover furnished with a crib bedstead, for which the county provided a straw bed and a blanket. The women, however, had no separate day room, and the gaol but one court yard.†

From Ipswich Mr. Howard proceeded to London, where he continued about a fortnight, with the exception of a short excursion to Colchester, for the purpose of inspecting the castle there, which had formerly been the gaol for the county of Essex. The portion of it then occupied as a bridewell, he found to be tolerably commodious, except that the court yard, which was but little used by prisoners, had no water. The gaoler had no fees, and his prisoners no employment.‡ During his stay in the metropolis, he also visited the new gaol for the county of Surrey, then recently erected in Horsemonger-lane, in which the rooms for debtors were very convenient, the gaoler taking proper care to prevent their being crowded with the wives and children of his prisoners. For these prisoners there was a court yard, into which felons were not admitted, except in the instance of a few, whom the gaoler had reasons—of what description we are not informed, but may readily guess—for indulging with that distinction:—but both the men and women felons had a separate court yard of their own. The prison consisted of nineteen rooms, some of them large, yet were they not sufficient for the number of prisoners which it

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 251, 5. † Ib. p. 264. ‡ Ib. p. 219, 220.

contained; so that some of the men felons were obliged occasionally to be put into rooms in the women's ward. No bedding; no straw; no infirmary; no chapel, divine service being performed in a parlour, too small for the purpose, being but about 16 feet square:* such is the list of some other of the principal defects in a gaol, recently erected by a populous and opulent county, immediately adjoining to the metropolis—a great part of which, with many of its largest suburbs, is indeed embraced in its own limits. And if such abuses were suffered to prevail in the very heart of the kingdom, the seat of government itself, we cannot surely be surprised, that, at its western extremity, towards which our Philanthropist next bent his benevolent course, these mischiefs should exist to a similar, or even to a greater extent. At Exeter, therefore, the first place which he stopped at, in the course of his journey, he found the felons' gaol for the large county of Devon, to be the property of an individual, whose family had long held it by grant from the dutchy of Cornwall, and who, at this time, received for it, from the gaoler, a rent of twenty-two pounds *per annum*, which he had no means of raising, but out of the fees extorted from felons on their discharge, and the profit arising from the sale of small beer in the gaol. The yard and the prison itself were too confined; and the three night dungeons, though but three steps under ground, were close and unhealthy, their windows being too small. An infirmary had lately been built; but the stairs which led up to it, were intolerably bad. The surgeon told Mr. Howard, that he was excused, by contract, from attending, in the dungeons, any prisoners who should have the gaol fever;—a strange perversion of the duties of an office, whose exertions ought to increase with increasing danger; striving, in all its stages, to arrest the march of pestilence to its dreadful height, instead of fearfully shrinking from its very first approach. This gaol also afforded a striking proof of the cruelty and injustice of compelling felons, before their discharge, to pay the fees of the gaol; since two sailors, whose crimes had appeared to the court, before whom they were tried, to be

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 233.

of so slight a nature, as to be adequately punished by the infliction of a fine of but one shilling, were detained in prison until they had paid their fees of 1*l.* 1*s.* 4*d.* each to the clerk of the peace, and of 14*s.* 4*d.* to the gaoler. The prisoners in general were properly occupied in making cabbage nets, at two pence, and purses, of different sorts, at from four pence to seven pence a dozen, the turnkey finding the twine and thread. Garnish too was here abolished; and "it was commendable and exemplary in the justices of this county," says our author, "to fix the felons' allowance, by a *certain weight* of good bread, not variable with the price:" the quantity, at this time being two-and-twenty ounces a-day.* In the sheriff's ward, in this city, which was the prison for the county debtors, the rooms were large and convenient, but out of repair; the court-yard spacious; the rules for the economy of the prison good. The keeper was a humane man, and kept, at his own cost, a comfortable fire for common-side debtors. He said, that he would gladly relinquish his fee of fourteen shillings and four pence, on the discharge of each prisoner, for a salary of one hundred pounds; and told his visitor, that, during his time (about twelve years), no more than four or five debtors had been able to obtain from their creditors, their aliment of the groats. There was neither surgeon to this gaol, nor chaplain; but, on a Sunday, one of the prisoners read prayers, and, as a reward for so doing, dined with his worthy keeper.† The gaol for the city and county of the city of Exeter, contained, in the keeper's house, convenient apartments for debtors; but those for felons, on the other side of the street, were very close and offensive; with neither chimney, court-yard, water, or sewer.‡ Between the Friday and the Sunday, on which these visits to the gaols in the city of Exeter were paid, our Philanthropist made an excursion to Launceston, to inspect the gaol for the neighbouring county of Cornwall, which, though built in a large court belonging to the old ruinous castle there, was very small. The prison for this extensive county was, in fact, but a room, or passage, twenty-three feet and a half, by seven and a half, with only one small

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 371, 2. † Ib. p. 373. ‡ Ib. p. 377, 8.

window in it: opposite to that window there were, however, three dungeons, or cages, about six and a half feet deep; one nine feet long; another about eight; the third not five; the last for women. They were all, as we may naturally suppose, very offensive. No chimney; no drains; no water; damp earth floors; no infirmary; the yard not secure, and prisoners seldom permitted to go into it; the whole prison out of repair, yet the gaoler living at a distance: here we have a short, but a melancholy description of the wretched state of this wretched prison. No wonder then, that the benevolent being, who so accurately and so dauntlessly examined its condition, in the hope of procuring its improvement, should find the gaol fever raging here with such virulence, that the keeper, his assistant, and all the prisoners but one, were sick of it. But a few years since, indeed, and many prisoners had died of this malignant distemper;—the gaoler and his wife in one night. The provision of the prisoners confined in these pestilential abodes, was at all times conveyed to them through a hole in the floor of the room above, which was used as a chapel; and when the fever was making its ravages amongst the wretched inhabitants of the gloomy cells beneath, those who served them often caught the dreadful contagion, which rapidly hurried them to their graves. Yet, in such a loathsome and unhealthy place, had a woman, discharged but just before this visit, by the grand jury making a collection for her fees, been confined for three years, in consequence of proceedings instituted against her "*pro salute animæ*," in an ecclesiastical court. The King, of his royal bounty, had offered two thousand pounds towards the erection of a new gaol, in lieu of one which reflected so much disgrace upon the inhabitants of this populous county; but nothing had as yet been done, upon their parts, to second his gracious intentions, for the relief of his suffering subjects.* The gaol at Ilchester reflected somewhat more credit upon the county at whose expence it was erected; for its apartments were roomy, and it had no offensive sewers. The court yards were, however, too little, though there was room to

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 382.

enlarge them; and the men felons had no day room; one which was fit, and that seemed, indeed, to have been designed for the purpose, being taken possession of by the gaoler for his own stable. The assizes never being held in this town, though the only gaol for the county was there, prisoners were removed for trial alternately to the bridewell at Taunton; to Bridgwater, where the prison was but one room; or to Wells, where there was no prison at all; yet in the latter city they were sometimes kept for eight days.* The gaol for the city and county of the city of Bristol, called Newgate, was too small for the number of prisoners generally confined there; its passages too were very narrow, and it consequently required the utmost attention to keep it healthy. Its visitor did not, however, find it sickly, but, on the contrary, clean, considering that it was so crowded, and so close. There was no free ward for debtors, the poorest of whom were obliged each of them to pay tenpence halfpenny a week, for being kept in confinement on account of their poverty not permitting them to pay their just and lawful debts. The dungeon or night room for the male felons was eighteen steps under ground, close and offensive; its only furniture barrack bedsteads, without either bedding or straw. An excellent minister of this city, the Rev. James Rouquet, officiated as chaplain to this prison, and had done so for near twenty years without a salary, or any other reward for his services than a solitary gratuity of twenty pounds; yet was he, as we are informed, "unwearied in attention to the spiritual and temporal interests of the prisoners," whose eternal welfare was doubtless the sole recompence he sought.† At Hereford the county gaol contained no free ward for debtors, though the apartments and court yard for those upon the masters'-side were spacious, as was also the felons' court behind the gaol. Their night room was, however, too close, and the chapel belonging to the prison very damp. During the time that the gaoler had held his office, a space of forty years, not a single debtor had ever, as he assured his visitor, obtained his groats,‡ yet had they no allowance from the county. This was the case also at Monmouth, where their

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 388. † Ib. p. 392. ‡ Ib. p. 335, 6.

rooms too were small. The night room of the felons was in this prison at the top of the house, which was certainly a very improper situation for it, when we consider the difficulty of going up and down stairs in irons, as were the prisoners here compelled every day to do, the staircase being moreover narrow and inconvenient, which was also a great obstacle to keeping the rooms clean and healthy. So widely different indeed was the state of the prison at this time to what it ought to have been, that the gaol fever had broken out in some of its confined cells, and swept away, in its destructive progress, the keeper, several of his prisoners, and some of their friends. There was, nevertheless, neither infirmary, nor chaplain to the prison; and the gaoler had no salary, but contracted with the county for twenty pounds a year, to find each of the felons with a pennyworth of bread a day,* a bargain by which, if he honestly performed his part of it, he could not gain more than a pound or two at the utmost; whilst, on the other hand, he ran the risque of losing a much larger sum.

From Monmouth this indefatigable man, most probably, proceeded direct to London, where he could scarcely have been above a day or two, before we find him visiting, for the first time, the Wood-street compter, which was then so crowded with debtors, that those on the common-side were sleeping on beds placed upon broad shelves, in three rows or galleries one above the other, in the same close apartment, at once their day room, night room, and kitchen; and which then contained thirty-nine debtors, seven of them with their wives and children. The room withal was dark and dirty; we need not, therefore, be surprised to learn that it swarmed with bugs. Of the rooms in which felons were confined one was a dark cell, and the whole were without bed or bedding, except for those who were able and willing to pay a shilling a night for the use of them. The prison was greatly out of repair, the main wall on one side being propped and shored up;—it had no infirmary, though there was a chapel with a tap-room directly under it. In the beginning of the year 1773, eleven

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 339, 40.

of the prisoners had died; but since that period the gaol had been much more healthy, from its being regularly visited by the common friend of Mr. Howard and of his present biographer, the friend too of all the sons and daughters of affliction, the late Dr. Lettsom; who, as physician to the General Dispensary, was requested by the governors of that charitable institution to give the prisoners confined in this compter the advantage of his professional attendance; in the course of which it is almost needless to add, on the testimony of Mr. Howard, that he secured their respect and esteem.*

The wretched state of our gaols, and the still more wretched condition of their inhabitants, would never, perhaps, have been known in all extent even to this day, had it not been for the persevering exertions of the singularly humane individual, whose progress in his extraordinary tours of benevolence, from one extremity of the kingdom to the other, has just been traced. One of the principal abuses in their regulation of which he complains; that too, indeed, by which his own attention was first directed to the subject, had not, however, escaped the notice of others, even before it had attracted his. I allude to the shameful, but universal practice of detaining in custody for the payment of their fees, persons who had been acquitted by a jury of their country of the crimes laid to their charge, or otherwise discharged by proclamation of the court before which they were brought for trial; for the abolition of which fees, or rather for their payment out of the county rates, a bill was introduced into the House of Commons by Mr. Popham, the member for Taunton, on the 18th of February, 1773. That bill, after having been read a first and second time was dropt in the committee to whom it was referred,† probably from the perseverance of one of its members (Sir Thomas Clavering), in an opinion he had expressed in the House, when the motion for leave to bring in the bill was

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 174—6.

† Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. XXXIV, p. 138, 142, 288: Index.

originally made, that, if its provisions did not extend to the reimbursing to the persons it was meant partially to relieve, the whole of the expence they had been, or should be put to, in their conveyance to, and from the places of their confinement, it ought to be entirely rejected.* The subject was, therefore, dropped until the next sessions of parliament, when Mr. Popham renewed his motion, adding to the object of his bill the more effectually securing the health of prisoners in gaols during their confinement there. That he did so in consequence of the melancholy proofs of the want of some legislative enactments upon this point, which Mr. Howard had collected in the course of that minute inspection of the state of our English prisons, for the completion of which he left the metropolis, most probably on the very day that this motion was made, for the western extremity of the kingdom, there surely can be but little doubt; especially when we find upon the list of the members appointed to prepare and bring in the bill then moved for, the names of his friend and neighbour Mr. St. John, and of his relative Mr. Whitbread; neither of whom was at all concerned in the preparation of that introduced to the house upon the former occasion. Soon after his return from his western journey, which he performed in the short space of a single week, he was also himself examined before a committee of the whole house; when he gave such full and satisfactory answers to the questions proposed to him, as to the unhealthy condition of many of the English gaols at this time, the cause of this alarming evil, and the best modes of removing it, that upon the house being resumed, the chairman (Sir Thomas Clavering) reported, that "he was directed by the committee to move the house, that *John Howard*, Esquire, be called in to the bar, and that Mr. Speaker do acquaint him that the house are very sensible of the humanity and zeal which have led him to visit the several gaols of this kingdom, and to communicate to the house the interesting observations he has made upon that subject."† And the house having been moved accordingly, and the motion carried *nemine*

* Almon's Debates and Proceedings of the House of Commons. Vol. VIII. p. 215.

† Journals of the House of Commons, *Veneris*, 4° *die Martii*, 1774. Vol. XXXIV, p. 535.

contradicente, our illustrious countryman had the honor of receiving, in the midst of an assembled senate, the meed of praise which he so richly merited from those, who now conveyed to him his country's grateful thanks for his benevolent exertions in behalf of the most destitute and outcast members of her community. So little, however, were the principles by which he had been actuated in making those exertions understood, even by some of those whose voices mingled in the general murmur of applause, which the simple narrative of the dangers he had been exposed to in the execution of this singular plan of benevolence excited, that one of the members of the house asked him, in the course of his examination before the committee—at whose expence he travelled? "a question," says one of his biographers,* "which Mr. Howard could scarcely answer without some indignant emotions." But those emotions must have soon been subdued by the flattering testimony borne to his philanthropy and his patriotism, when he was called upon to receive an honor rarely conferred upon an individual in a private station, yet never more properly than now, that it reflected no less credit on those who bestowed it, than it did upon him on whom it was bestowed.

* Aikin, p. 57.

CHAPTER VI.

Continuation of Mr. Howard's first general inspection of English prisons;—his standing as a candidate to represent the borough of Bedford in Parliament, 1774—5.

COULD the subject of these memoirs have required a stimulus to perseverance, in the extraordinary career of benevolence which he had marked out to himself, it would readily have been afforded him in the approbation of his conduct, which had been so unequivocally expressed by the representatives of the people, in the senate of his country, whose vote of thanks is, in fact, the meed of a whole nation's praise. But he needed no other inducement to continue in his course, than those which the kindness of his own heart would abundantly furnish, and the destitute condition of a large proportion of his fellow-creatures, would spontaneously educe. Scarcely, therefore, had he received the highest honor which the free-born spirit of an Englishman could covet, than we find him resuming his labors, in detecting the abuses, and pointing out the defects, but too general in our prisons, with a view to suggest to those who had the power, the best methods of removing them. On the 16th of March, he paid his first visit to the Marshalsea, a prison in the borough of Southwark, in which pirates, and persons arrested for the lowest sums for which an arrest can be made, any where within twelve miles of the king's palace at St. James's, except in the city of London, are confined. The number then in custody was 167; but though there were near sixty rooms in the gaol, only six of them

were left for common-side debtors; *i. e.* for those who either could not, or would not, purchase better accommodations from a rapacious gaoler, at the expence of their creditors who had placed them in his custody, in the hope of getting satisfaction for their just demands. Even of those who did so,—so small and incommodious was the gaol, that many prisoners on the masters'-side had neither bed, nor place to sleep in, but the chapel, or the tap room; yet, with all this want of room, so shamefully were the purposes for which this prison was erected abused, that five of the apartments were let to a man who was not amongst the prisoners, two of which he re-let to those who were; keeping a chandler's shop, and living, with his wife and family, in the others. There were but four rooms for women; the more modest of whom complained, and with great reason, of the bad company in which they were confined. The whole prison, indeed, was too small, and greatly out of repair;* as I believe it continues to be, even to this day.

Within four days after his visit to this miserable place of confinement for debtors in the metropolis,—such was the ardor of his spirit, and the rapidity of his movements,—we find him at the northern extremity of the kingdom, inspecting the high gaol at Durham; which, though the property of the Bishop, as lord of the palatinate, was the abode of wretchedness and want, at the bare recital of which, the blood freezes with horror in our veins. The court yard, even for the privileged debtors on the masters'-side, was only twenty-four feet by ten; whilst those on the common side had none at all, but were immured in the low gaol, two damp unhealthy rooms, sadly misnomered *free* wards, whence they were never suffered to go out, unless to the chapel, on a Sunday, and not always there; as was the case when Mr. Howard paid them his first visit. Yet this was an episcopal prison, and had a regular chaplain attached to it. There were no sewers in the place, a very common defect; and upon this, and other occasions, its careful inspector learned, that the dirt, ashes, and filth of the gaol had

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 205, 6.

lain in the places in which they had accumulated, for many months. The common side debtors, whom he himself saw eating boiled bread and water, assured him that this was the only nourishment some of them had taken for nearly twelve months; as they had no allowance, and, from two of the legacies bequeathed for their support, by the humanity of former bishops of the diocese, they had received, as he afterwards learnt from the gaoler, no benefit for some years past. Such being the miserable state of the debtors confined here, and of their accommodations, we cannot expect that the felons should have been in any better condition. In the "great hole," or dungeon, in which the men were put at night, he saw six prisoners, most of them transports, chained to the floor; in which situation they had been for many weeks, and were consequently very sickly. Their straw, upon the bare stones, was almost worn to dust; and long confinement in such a wretched state, unjustly deprived of the king's allowance of 2*s.* 6*d.* a week, had induced them to attempt an escape; for which the gaoler had chained them to their prison-hold in the manner here described.*

During the course of the following week, our Philanthropist visited the gaols for the counties of Northumberland, Cumberland, Westmoreland, and Lancaster; in the former of which, situate at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, he met with an honorable exception to the general remissness of those who are officially charged with the inspection of prisons, in the execution of their important trust. The gaoler *had* a salary; and the debtors an allowance, which, on comparison with those at other places of a similar description, was extremely liberal. The rooms were airy; and Mr. Howard, at all his visits, found them remarkably clean, and strewed with sand, &c. The corporation, much to its honor, allowed both debtors and felons firing and candle in plenty, and provided every prisoner with a chaff bed, two blankets, and a coverlid. "Debtors," says our author, "are not thus accommodated in any other prison

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 416—418.

in England.". Brooms, mops, and all such necessaries, were also provided by the generosity of the same body; who, in these articles alone, liberally expended between forty and fifty pounds *per annum*. In the same praiseworthy spirit, the fees of those prisoners who were acquitted of the crimes laid to their charge, and who, for some years past, had very properly been discharged in open court, were paid out of its funds, whenever they were too poor to pay them for themselves. What an example is here held out to the imitation of other, and richer corporations, even in the days in which we live! Would that, for their own credit's sake, and the comfort of those miserable beings who are subjected to their control, they may hasten to follow it! Nor was such a benevolent attention to their wretched condition here confined to the corporate body, for it actuated Dr. Rotheram, a physician in the town, very assiduously to visit the prisoners in the gaol, without fee or reward. "This," says Mr. Howard, "is the only instance of the kind I have met with." One other circumstance in the management of this well-regulated prison is also worthy of notice; no prisoner was ever put in fetters unless he was riotous.* But twelve miles further north, and how changed, alas! the scene which this solitary instance of the diffusion of a humane and generous spirit into the regulations of a prison, like the momentary irradiation of the sun breaking through a clouded sky, renders but more gloomy than it was before! At Morpeth, in a gaol for the same county, were three transports, chained to the floor, in an offensive dungeon, merely on suspicion of intending to escape, when deprived of the king's allowance for their support.† This last act of injustice prevailed also at Carlisle; though there the prospect was upon the whole somewhat, though not much, improved. The wards for felons were down a step or two, dark and dirty; their night room small and close. Few gaols, however, had so many convenient rooms for common side debtors, which rendered more inexcusable the too general practice of not separating the male from the female prisoners. The court yard was spacious, but it was common to

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 421, 2. † Ib. p. 426.

all.* At Appleby, the situation of the gaol was so ill chosen, that its walls were marked to the height of three feet by floods. The Earl of Thanet, as hereditary sheriff of the county, paid the gaoler his pittance of a salary of ten pounds a year; "but happily for the prisoners in a gaol so circumstanced," as Mr. Howard justly remarks, the person who then filled this office, was "a man of temper and humanity." The debtors had no allowance, though that of the felons was comparatively liberal.† The gaol wanted alike a chaplain to attend to the spiritual concerns, and a surgeon to administer to the bodily diseases of its wretched inhabitants. The castle at Lancaster, with much in it to condemn, was, even at this time, in many respects, worthy of commendation. The free ward for the debtors was large, though dark; and persons confined in it, as well as those on the masters' side, were allowed to walk and work at spinning, knitting, &c. in the crown and nisi-prius courts. The petty offenders sent hither on account of the distance of some of the bridewells in this large county, were kept, as they ought to be, separate from felons: both these and the debtors had an allowance. On the other hand, one of the night rooms for the men, called "the low dungeon," was ten steps under ground, extremely close, dark, and unwholesome; being, moreover, so very hot, even in winter, that coming from it in the morning into the cold air could not be otherwise than pernicious. Their other cell, called "the high dungeon," was larger, but still close and offensive, though not under ground.‡ From Lancaster, Mr. Howard, most probably, proceeded to Liverpool, but in his way inspected the county bridewell at Preston, all the rooms of which he found to be in a very dirty state, and the whole prison out of repair.§ Since that period, it has undergone very great alterations, and it is now perhaps as convenient a place as most of its kind in England. I cannot indeed avoid suspending the progress of my narrative for a moment, when arrived at the detail of the former state of the prisons in the county, with which my professional avocations have, in some measure, connected me, without bearing my

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 431 † Ib. p. 433. ‡ Ib. p. 435, 6. § Ib. p. 439.

cheerful testimony to the extraordinary attention which is now bestowed upon their proper regulation, by as active, judicious, and humane a bench of magistrates as are to be found in any part of the kingdom. Through their careful and anxious selection of proper persons to fill this important office, I have also the satisfaction of stating, that whether we look to Lancaster, to Preston, to Manchester, or Liverpool, the gaols and bridewells of this populous county are under the care of gaolers no where to be excelled in humanity, or in proper attention to the prisoners committed to their custody, rough and disorderly as those prisoners are generally disposed to be.

From Liverpool, Mr. Howard crossed over the Mersey to Chester, where he found the county gaol in the old castle in a very miserable condition. Under the pope's kitchen, used as a free ward for debtors, descending from the yard by twenty-one steps, was a dark room, or passage, twenty-four feet in length, and ten in breadth, having, on one side of it, six cells, each about seven feet and a half, by three and a half, within which narrow space three or four felons would sometimes be confined all night. With no window in them, except a small aperture over the door, and another with a grate over it in the ceiling of the passage, opening into the pope's kitchen above, not a breath of fresh air could ever find its way into these pestilential abodes. They were pitched three or four times a year, and from their colour and intolerable closeness combined, might well bring, as, when he had caused the door of one of them tō be shut upon him, he assures us that his situation actually brought to the recollection of their benevolent visitor, the shocking accounts he had heard of the black hole at Calcutta. The day room of the felons was as insecure as these dungeons in which they were confined at night were dreary and unwholesome.* The city gaol, in the latter respect, was but little preferable to that belonging to the county, though in many others it was far superior, and comparatively well regulated and commodious.† The keeper of the castle, instead of receiving a salary, actually

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p 443. † Ib. p. 449.

paid to its constable a rent of forty pounds a year for the prison, looking of course for the reimbursement of this expence, as well as for the maintenance of himself and of his family, entirely to his fees. In his way from this place to Shrewsbury, our traveller passed through Wrexham, one of the largest towns in the principality of Wales, where he found the county bridewell occupying a small part only of a house, the remainder of which was then appropriated to the use of the parish poor. The two rooms in which prisoners were confined were dark and offensive, without any window, and having a wall within six feet of their doors; no wonder then that their wretched inmates should at times have complained of being almost suffocated, and have begged to be let out for a breath of air into the keeper's garden. The whole place was out of repair, dirty, and without water. The keeper was a sheriff's officer, who had rooms of a somewhat better description up stairs for those who could pay for the use of them.* In the gaol at Shrewsbury, considerable improvements were at this time going on for the separation of the men from the women felons, and for rendering it in other respects more commodious. Between two and three months previous to this visit, the justices of the county had also been so considerate and humane, as strictly to prohibit the requiring from any prisoner received into this gaol, or into the county bridewell, any money for drink, which, under the name of garnish, was at this time regularly demanded, and paid with the knowledge and connivance of their keepers, in most of the prisons in the kingdom.† The county bridewell was still, however, in a state to admit of much improvement. The men were not separated from the women during the day time, and in one of the two night rooms of the latter, Mr. Howard saw a poor young creature, too ill to come down stairs, languishing on the floor in a consumption. The night room for the men was, as usual in those days, a dungeon ten steps under ground. By means of a door which opened a communication between the two court yards, prisoners confined in this bridewell had the privilege, very unusual in such places, of attending public worship on

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 458. † Ib. p. 331, 2.

a Sunday in the chapel of the county gaol. In his way home our Philanthropist re-visited the gaols at Stafford, Derby, Nottingham, Leicester, and Northampton. In the borough gaol at Leicester, which he had not visited before, he found that even the women felons and the common side debtors were confined in dungeons five steps under ground.*

Scarcely, however, had he enjoyed a week's repose at Cardington after his return from this long journey, which, notwithstanding the distance he travelled, and the number of places he visited, he had performed in little more than a fortnight, than he made a short tour for a couple of days into the county of Kent, for the purpose of inspecting some of the principal prisons there. On the 13th of April he was at Maidstone, where he found the county gaol in a far better condition than most of those which he had lately visited. The felons' yards, though very properly separated the men's from the women's, were yet far too small, and for want of a chapel, divine service was performed upon the prison stairs: but both these inconveniencies were, however, likely to be removed on the pulling down of the bridewell, as soon as the new one then erecting could be completed. The county, with a liberality highly praiseworthy, had for some years past voluntarily paid the fees of poor prisoners who were acquitted, and of convicts sentenced to be transported. To the latter the allowance which they had before conviction was also generously continued, in addition to that granted by the king, which was faithfully paid to them. In the same spirit a salary of sixty pounds a year was allowed to the keeper, instead of the privilege he had formerly enjoyed of keeping a tap, which was very prudently put down. Mr. Howard, on examining two of the sick prisoners, was pleased also to find that they had no irons on; and he learnt from the surgeon, that the gaoler was always ready to take them off whenever he requested him to do so.† The only wish expressed by the prisoners was for a larger allowance of bread, and they said, that if they could

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 281. † Ib. p. 222, 3.

have this, they would willingly do with less beer, of which each felon had a quart a day; the debtors having no allowance at all, except the thirteenth loaf given by the baker who supplied the prison, with every dozen that he sent in. On the same day he visited one of the bridewells for this well regulated county at Canterbury, which he found to be remarkably clean, though there was no water within reach of the male prisoners, who had only a hall or kitchen toward the street, in place of a court yard, which might easily have been taken out of the keeper's garden.* The city gaol was neither so well constructed, nor so well managed. It contained but one day room both for men and women, with a small night room in each of its two towers. There was no court yard, and it was but seldom that prisoners were permitted to walk even on the leads. The keeper of the gaol was also keeper of an adjoining public house, in which were two or three rooms for masters'-side debtors.† The city gaol at Rochester was in much the same condition, but dirtier, and having no water accessible to the prisoners.‡

The latter part of this month, and the few first days of the next, our good Samaritan spent in inspecting some of the prisons in London, which he had not before visited, and in going again over others which he had already carefully gone through. Amongst the former was the bridewell at Clerkenwell, which was out of repair, and had not been so much as whitewashed for years. The night rooms for the women were dark and unwholesome, with beds for such only as could pay for them, the others not being allowed so much as a little straw to lie upon. One of those for the men was so crowded, that some of the prisoners were obliged to sleep in hammocks slung to the ceiling. There was no infirmary to this prison, and the county allowance was but a penny loaf a day. Few or none of the prisoners were at work, though sentenced to hard labour here;§ but this, even to the present day, is too much the case in all our places of confinement of a similar description, the majority of which, instead of

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 225. † Ib. p. 226. ‡ Ib. p. 227. § Ib. p. 185—187.

houses of correction, would be more properly named houses of corruption, for such they undoubtedly are, at least to the younger offenders confined within their walls. The bridewell in Tothill Fields was, on the whole, much better regulated; but this was principally owing to the exemplary conduct of its keeper, of whom Mr. Howard makes very honourable mention. Besides their penny loaf, the prisoners were allowed a penny a day;—they were, however, quarrelsome, and many of them idle, for want of sufficient room to keep them properly separated, and to set them at work. There being no chaplain, Mr. Smith, the keeper of the bridewell, very much to his credit, read a chapter and a portion of the Bible to his prisoners every day; whilst by his directions no person was admitted into the prison on a Sunday between the hours of nine in the morning, and five in the afternoon.* In the Fleet, its vigilant inspector discovered many very flagrant abuses; one of which was that the whole of the rooms on the cellar floor of the prison, and a part of the one above it, were in the hands of the tapster, who had bought the remainder of the lease of them at a public auction, and now let them out to the debtors confined in the prison at the exorbitant rent of from four to eight shillings a week; whilst the highest rent of the other and better rooms, in which the right of succession by seniority, totally excluded here, prevailed, was but fifteen-pence. This ill-regulated prison, but too ill regulated still, I fear, presented every possible temptation to dishonesty, riot, and dissipation, in those who here could have no property of their own to spend. There was the billiard table, the fives and the tennis court, the skittle ground, for the gambler to continue the baneful practice which had brought him here, and to qualify him for leaving, as a finished sharper, the place of confinement which he had entered as a ruined dupe. Wine clubs and beer clubs, each lasting until one or two o'clock in the morning, contributed too, their ready and powerful aid to drown in the intoxicating bowl every feeling of regret for the past, every purpose of amendment for the future, which a place like this ought

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 193, 4.

to awaken in each inmate's breast. To join them in their revels and their gaming, and to give fresh spirit to their ill-timed mirth; butchers from the adjoining market, and other idle visitors, were also as regularly admitted into the tapster's room as they would be into any other public house. "Besides the inconvenience of this to prisoners," as Mr. Howard justly remarks, "the frequenting a prison lessens the dread of being confined in one;" it is, however, too general a consequence of a gaoler being allowed to keep or let a tap within his prison. To crown the scene of iniquity and fraud, there had been printed, in the very year in which our Philanthropist first visited this prison, a code of laws enacted by the masters'-side debtors for the internal economy of its various parts. These invested a committee elected monthly, with powers to raise contributions by assessment, to hear complaints, determine disputes, levy fines, and seize goods for the payment of them. Some of their rules were good in themselves, though most highly objectionable as it respects the authority by which they were enacted, and the mode of enforcing obedience to their requisitions. Others were immoral and iniquitous on the very face of them; such, for instance, was that which required from every new comer, of all days in the week, upon the first *Sunday* of his matriculation into this honourable society, in addition to two shillings to be spent in wine, one shilling and sixpence to be appropriated to the use of the house, as these self-constituted lawgivers stiled their own body; having, in the plenitude of their power, issued a decree enacting, that the common side debtors, the most honest, as well, perhaps, as the most unfortunate in the prison, should be kept to their own apartments, and never be permitted to associate with their arrogant legislators, or to intrude themselves into any place which they might have occasion to frequent.* The King's Bench, though, from any thing which appears in Mr. Howard's work, free from the tyranny of such rules as these, in other respects presented to the observation of its inspector, defects and abuses of the same nature with those he had noticed in the Fleet, though not

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 157—161.

carried perhaps to quite so great a height. As it is, therefore, needless to enter into particulars, I pass on to the Poultry compter, which he visited on the same day with the two prisons just named. This, like all other places of confinement in the metropolis, whether for debtors, for felons, or for both, he found excessively over crowded, as excessively over crowded it still continues to be. In each of the debtors' wards, for want of sufficient room, men were sleeping on broad shelves or cabins over those on the lower beds, neither straw nor bedding being allowed them. There was here, however, a separate ward for the Jews, "a just and generous indulgence," as Mr. Howard very properly stiles it, "which it were to be wished that in other prisons these people enjoyed." The keeper purchased his place of the City of London for life, and sometimes let it to others; he paid besides into its chamber a rent of 30 *l.* a year, which was charitably refunded to him in discharge of the fees of his poorer prisoners.* The new Ludgate, like the Poultry compter, was found to be much out of repair; though, being plentifully supplied with water, the floors of the rooms were kept clean by the debtors confined in them.† To both of these prisons, and, in fact, to every prison in the city of London, Messrs. Calvert, of the Peacock brewhouse, Whitecross-street, were, at this time, in the regular habit of sending gratuitously, every week, two barrels of table beer;‡ an example which it would be well if some of the more opulent tradesmen in London had the disposition, as they certainly have the ability to follow. In the course of this peregrination of the streets of the metropolis, on the errand of mercy, which now engrossed the attention and time of this extraordinarily active man, there was no place too obscure to escape his notice, though but a solitary prisoner should be confined within its walls. Hence we read in his pages, of prisons belonging to liberties, manors, and petty courts, possessing an exclusive jurisdiction in trifling cases, within certain narrow limits, of whose very existence few had ever heard, until he penetrated into their secluded cells, to report to the public, with a view to their correction, the abuses practised there. Of this description is

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 170—172. † Ib. p. 165—171. ‡ Ib. p. 166, 172.

a prison in Whitechapel for debtors, sued in the manor courts of Stepney and of Hackney, for debts above two, and under five pounds. For these paltry sums, he found, no less than five and twenty of his fellow-mortals incarcerated, in a prison out of repair, and possessing but miserable accommodations even for those who could satisfy the exhorbitant demands of a gaoler, who paid twenty pounds a year rent for his prison to the lady of the manor, of whose court he was also an officer, a sum which he reimbursed himself by keeping a tap there, and, by his legalized extortions from his miserable captives. Though committed to his custody for debts which none but the poorest class of people could not pay, they were yet compelled to find two shillings and ten pence halfpenny for liquor, to be drank from the keeper's tap, as garnish, upon their entrance into this miserable abode. Even of the few daily pence which were the produce of their begging box, none were allowed to partake, but those who, on first coming into the prison, had paid the gaoler half-a-crown, and treated their fellow-prisoners with half a gallon of beer: yet so poor were the persons confined here, that, at one of Mr. Howard's visits, he found only three prisoners who had purchased this privilege. Those who lay on the masters' side—the only tolerable rooms in the place—paid, moreover, two shillings and six pence a week for half a bed. "As debtors here," says our author, "are generally very poor, I was surprised to see ten or twelve noisy men at skittles; but the turnkey said, they were only visitants. I found they were admitted here, as at another public house, *but* no prisoners were at play with them."* A few days after his visit to this prison, we find him inspecting that belonging to the Tower-hamlets, at a public house, of which an honest Swede was at once the landlord and gaoler. It was out of repair and insecure; but at none of his visits to it, did it contain more than one prisoner.† He did not however, on this account, pass it by in his regular rounds of inspection through the metropolis, no more than he did a prison for the liberty of St. Catharine's, at which, on his first visit, he saw a gaoler with-

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 189, 190. † Ib. p. 191.

out prisoners; and, having called since, two or three times, he always found the house uninhabited.* The last place he visited, during his present stay in London, was the Borough compter; in which felons and debtors were huddled together, both day and night. Among the latter, were many poor creatures, sent here from the court of conscience, to lie in gaol until their debts, which could never exceed five pounds, were paid.†

From the 4th of May, when this visit was paid, to the 24th of June, Mr. Howard seems to have rested from his labors; probably in the circle of his friends at Cardington, whose society, at all times welcome, was peculiarly so, when fatigued by his incessant exertions, in pursuit of the great object to which his every energy was directed, he snatched a short period of repose in the shades of his favorite walk, in which that object had first presented itself to his mind, with a power increasing with time, and gaining strength with every difficulty which he encountered in its attainment. But even in this peaceful seclusion, he had not, for a moment, lost sight of the distressed condition of the miserable beings, whose sufferings he had undergone so much fatigue and personal inconvenience to relieve; and having the gratification to learn, that the legislature had given effect to some of his suggestions for the amelioration of their wretched condition, by passing, though not without some difficulty and opposition, two bills, formed out of the original one of Mr. Popham:‡ the first for paying the fees of felons, when discharged out of prison, from the county rate; and the other for better providing for the health of prisoners whilst confined in gaol, he caused both of these acts to be printed at his own expence, in a large character, and sent a copy of them to the keeper of every prison in the kingdom.§ But, in about six weeks' time, he again quitted his retirement, and the personal inspection of the improvements which were still

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 191. † Ib. p. 208, 9.

‡ 14 Geo. III. cap. xx. lix. The one passed on the 31st of March, the other on the 2d of June, 1774.—See Note I. § Aikin, p. 58.

carrying on upon his estate, for promoting the comfort of his tenantry, and bettering the condition of the poor of his neighbourhood. His absence was not, however, above a fortnight; though he made such good use of his time, as, in that space, to have visited the gaols in the different counties of North, and one in South Wales, besides re-visiting in his way those of Chester, Worcester, and Oxford. The Welch gaols contained little that is remarkable; except that they were generally in as bad a condition as those in England. At Flint, felons and petty offenders were confined in two dark closets, five feet by four, very properly called "black holes;" and these had been the only receptacles for criminals until a few years previous to Mr. Howard's visit, when a dungeon had been built in the yard, eight steps under ground, through which the rain already made its way into the barrack beds of its inhabitants.* Such was the mode of performing county contracts in those days; and I have known instances of their being but little better executed in these. At Ruthin, a new gaol was then building—but two of its cells were only three feet wide.† The gaol for the island of Anglesey, at Beaumaris, he found to be dirty; but its rooms for felons were convenient, though but seldom occupied.‡ In the Welch gaols, to the credit of the people be it spoken, this is even now frequently the case. Those at Caernarvon and Dolgelly were both dirty; and the former otherwise incommodious. Neither of them had the clauses of the act against the sale of spirituous liquors in prisons hung up; an omission very general throughout the principality, as it was also in many of the English counties. At the latter place, our benevolent tourist was gratified by another proof of the honesty and general morality of the Welch; in the circumstance of there having been but two executions in the county of Merioneth for the last fifty years.§ The gaol at Montgomery is finely situated, on a rising ground; the apartments for debtors, and the wards for felons, Mr. Howard found to be convenient and kept clean, though the yard was common to prisoners of all descriptions, and of both sexes.‖ That at Presteign, the only

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 454. † Ib. p. 456, 7. ‡ Ib. p. 461. § Ib. 462, 3. ‖ Ib. p. 460.

place in South Wales which he visited during this tour, was out of repair: with but one court-yard; the felons' night-room down three steps, and not secure; with an earth floor, and no straw to cover it. The keeper's house was at a distance from the gaol; which had neither surgeon, nor chaplain.* His return home was through Ludlow, Worcester, and Oxford; at the latter of which places he found the small-pox still raging in the gaol: and, though eleven had died of this disease, in the preceding year, it was yet without an infirmary.†

In the course of this vigilant and minute inspection of the county gaols in England and Wales, the circuit of which he had now nearly completed, a new subject of investigation presented itself to the ever active mind of our illustrious Philanthropist, the origin and principal results of which, are thus stated in his own unassuming language. "Seeing in two or three of *the county gaols*, some poor creatures whose aspect was singularly deplorable, and asking the cause of it, I was answered, 'they were lately brought from the *bridewells*.' This started a fresh subject of inquiry. I resolved to inspect the bridewells: and for that purpose I travelled again into the counties where I had been; and indeed into all the rest, examining *houses of correction, city and town gaols*. I beheld in many of them, as well as in the *county gaols*, a complication of distress: but my attention was principally fixed by the *gaol-fever*, and the *small-pox*, which I saw prevailing, to the destruction of multitudes, not only of *felons* in their dungeons, but of *debtors* also."‡ It was on or about the 28th of July, 1774, that, after having returned home from his former journey but little more than three weeks, Mr. Howard set out upon the completion of his tour through all the counties of England and Wales, by a journey into the southern parts both of the kingdom and the principality. Re-visiting the gaols for the counties of Berks and Somerset, at Reading and Ilchester, he passed on to the inspection of the bridewells of the latter county, at Taunton and Shepton Mallet; the last of which only he had before incidentally visited. The apartments and accommodations of the first of these

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 470. † Ib. p. 316. ‡ Ib. p. 2.

houses of correction, he found to be convenient;—those of the second, too small and close, the keeper seeming to have appropriated to his own use, as a malt-loft, a part of the women's night-room. It had no infirmary, though the gaoler informed his visitor, that but a few years ago, the prison had been so unhealthy, that he had buried three or four of its inmates in a week. Here, as at Taunton, and in the gaol at Ilchester, the county had generously gone to the full extent of the act, authorizing the providing for a chaplain for such places out of the county-rate, by allowing them each a salary of 50*l.** In many of the county gaols it was at this time but 30*l.* in others only 20*l.* In the county bridewell at Devizes, which was also the town gaol, the day-room and court-yard were common to debtors and felons—to men and to women; and the gaoler kept a public house. All the occupied rooms of the other bridewell at Marlborough, were upon the ground floor, and rendered very offensive by a sewer within doors, especially the men's night-room, in which a man was at this time dying upon the floor, of the gaol fever; a distemper of which another prisoner had died there just before; and a third soon after his discharge from it. Up stairs were some healthier rooms; but they were only for those who paid for the use of them. Mr. Howard learnt that the justices had visited the *outside* of this prison; and it is to be hoped for the credit of their humanity, though not for that of the faithful discharge of their duty, that they had never been *within* its walls, or they would have seen amongst the many sad defects, alike in its construction and its regulation, that it had neither court-yard, water accessible to prisoners, or straw; and that there was no allowance at all for petty offenders.† In the city gaol at Bath, then recently built in a meadow, occasionally overflowed with water, the sewers in the court-yard were offensive, and too near the house. Debtors had no allowance;—offenders, no straw. "The city," says our author, "will perhaps appoint a chaplain and a surgeon;"‡ a very gentle hint to persons who were so well able to afford a liberal salary to those who should hold these very necessary appointments. After inspecting the county gaols of

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 389, 390. † Ib. p. 365. ‡ Ib. p. 394, 5.

Gloucester and Hereford, our Philanthropist visited, for the first time, the county bridewell in the latter of these cities, which exhibited as wretched a picture of desolation and distress as any he had met with in the course of his travels. It was so completely out of repair, as not only to be ruinous but dangerous, a cross-wall having actually parted from that against which it abutted; whilst the day-room contained a large quantity of water, which had poured in through the roof. No fire-place; offensive sewers; no yard; no water; no stated allowance; no employment:—such is the short, but melancholy catalogue of the defects of this miserable place. Six of the prisoners who had been sent here from the assizes, but a few days before this visit, to hard labour as the sentence usually, but uselessly runs, for six months, already complained of being almost famished; for though the justices had ordered the keeper to supply each of them daily with a two-penny loaf, he had shamefully neglected to do so. No wonder then that they took the earliest opportunity of escaping from their confinement, as upon his next visit to this wretched prison, Mr. Howard was informed that they had done.* After revisiting the county gaol at Monmouth, our traveller began his inspection of the places of confinement in South Wales, at Brecon, where he found the gaol to be out of repair; felons and debtors lodged together, and almost starved by the gaoler, to whom the former description of prisoners were farmed for thirty guineas a-year, for which he was to provide them with necessary food. "Two gentlemen of the county, who were then in the gaol with me," says our author, "seemed to resent the abuse."† At Cardigan, a new gaol and bridewell was just finished, though not inhabited; its rooms were, however, too low, close glazed, without casements, and it had no water in the court-yard; so little were the health and comfort of prisoners attended to, even in the new buildings which were at this time erecting for their accommodation; and safe custody.‡ The two lowest of the six rooms, of which the gaol and house of correction for the county of Pembroke, at Haverfordwest consisted, Mr. Howard found to be very damp dungeons, in one of

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 338. † Ib. p. 471. ‡ Ib. p. 464.

which he was informed that a prisoner lost, first the use of his limbs, and then his life; in consequence of which no person had since been confined in either of them. But even the upper rooms were dirty and offensive, with small windows; the gaol too being without sewers or court-yard.* The rooms in the town gaol at this place were convenient and kept clean, but it had neither court nor water.† This was also the case in the borough gaol at Carmarthen, the keeper of which, one of the town sheriffs, lived at a distance. The food, &c. of the prisoners was put in at an aperture in the bottom of the door, through which a little girl, the daughter of the only felon or debtor the gaol contained, could just contrive to creep to fetch water, or whatever else might be wanted, by its solitary occupant.‡ The castle at this place, which is both the county gaol and bridewell, in its new, as in its old apartments, except those for the master-side debtors, which were convenient, was too close and confined;—the condemned dungeon damp, with but one small window in it. It was also without water, its well being useless; and the whole prison was offensive. A house had lately been built for the gaoler in the prison yard, but he was still permitted to reside at a distance.§ At Cardiff, a new gaol for the county of Glamorgan, was building, but not finished. The gaoler informed Mr. Howard, that an exchequer debtor confined in the old prison for ten years, for a debt of seven pounds, had died but a short time before his visit.‖ Had he survived but a few weeks longer, there can be no doubt but that he would soon have been set at liberty by the generous commiserator of the prisoners' woes, who could now but look with a sigh upon the dungeon, in which he had so long been immured. In the bridewell for this county, at Cowbridge, the keeper told him that many had died of the gaol fever; a man and a woman but a year before, when he himself and his daughter were ill of it; and this principally from the want of a proper circulation of air; of sewers; and of water to keep the prison clean. It contained no court-yard, though one might easily have been enclosed from the ground adjacent; fortunately, however, a place so

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p 465. † Ib. p. 466. ‡ Ib. 467. § Ib. p. 469. ‖ Ib. p. 474.

ill fitted for their reception, did not at this time contain any prisoners.* Returning into England, by Monmouthshire, Mr. Howard's attention was first directed to the bridewell, for the use of that county, at Usk; where he was told by the keeper's wife, that many years ago the prison was so crowded, that herself, her father, who was then keeper, and many others of the family, had the gaol fever, of which, three of them, and several of the prisoners died. "The danger of such a calamity, for the future," says he, "would be much lessened, if an additional room or two were built in the garden."† At Berkley, which was his next stage, he met with a keeper of a bridewell of a very different description to those with whom it was usually his lot to converse. This sensible old man "lamented," as he tells us, "the bad effects of close confinement in idleness upon the health of even young strong prisoners. Many such, he said, he had known quite incapable of working some weeks after their discharge. He told me, that some years ago, his prisoners used to grind malt for a penny a bushel; and the justices would not licence any victualler whose malt was not ground here: but that of late years they had done no work at all." It is a pity, perhaps, that this custom, when once established, was ever discontinued; at least, it should not have been so, until some other mode of employment was substituted in its place. This prison was quite out of repair, and consisted but of one room for men and women, without a chimney; the yard not secure; no water; no straw.‡ In another of the bridewells of this county (Gloucester), situated in Lawford's-gate, Bristol, the rooms were also without chimneys, and though there was a small court-yard, with a pump in it, the prisoners were closely confined to their rooms, because it was not secure. "It *might* be enlarged," says Mr. Howard, "from the keeper's garden; and should be made secure, that prisoners may use it, and have access to the pump. The keeper readily agreed with me in that opinion."‡ The city bridewell was in pretty much the same condition; for part of it, with the keeper's house, in which master-side debtors were confined, being on one side of the way, and part on the other; and the

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 475. † Ib. p. 342. ‡ Ib. p. 347.

court in the latter being quite out of sight of the keeper's residence, he did not suffer the prisoners confined there, to use either it, or the pump which it contained, so that they had no water but what was handed to them, the necessary consequence of which was, that all the rooms were very dirty. The keeper regularly received the money for bread allowance to each of the prisoners, at two-pence a-day, but those for whose use it was received, assured their visitant, that what he gave them from his own loaf, was far short of two-penny worth.*

From the benefit which his health at all times derived from the hot-wells in this city, I am induced to suppose that Mr. Howard spent rather better than a fortnight here, in the course of this journey; as from the 23d of August, on which day, besides visiting the bridewell, he revisited the gaol for the city and county of the city of Bristol, we do not meet with him again in pursuit of the benevolent object of his tour, until the 10th of September, when we find him revisiting the bridewell at Taunton, and inspecting, for the first time, the gaol of the town of Bridgewater, both in the county of Somerset. The latter, he found to consist of a single middle-sized room, with one of its two windows stopped up; yet in this miserably close place, at the Midsummer quarter sessions of 1774, twenty-seven, and at the summer assizes in the same year, thirteen prisoners, two of them women, were shut up, in the last case for nearly a week.† The next county visited in the course of this journey was Devonshire, the bridewell belonging to which, at Exeter, was spacious, but out of repair; the windows small, and glazed, yet without casements. The keeper had a salary of 60*l.* instead of fees, and being himself a woollen-manufacturer, he employed some of his prisoners in his own business; others of them might have been easily set to work in the large yard and garden at rope and packthread making, &c. but they were not.‡ That for the county of Cornwall, at Bodmin, he found, as usual, to be much out of repair; the walls round the yard being moreover not safe enough to suffer the prisoners to use it. The night-rooms were two garrets, with small sky

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 394. † Ib. p. 395. ‡ Ib. p. 376.

lights, seventeen inches by twelve, and close glazed; he could not, therefore, be at all surprised at learning that the gaol fever had some years since been very fatal, not only in this prison, but in the town to which it spread.* The sheriff's ward at this place, the prison for the debtors of the county, was like its bridewell out of repair. The keeper, who had been in that situation above twenty years, assured his visitor that during that time only four prisoners had obtained from their creditors the allowance commonly called their groats;† so difficult was it for persons in their situation, to enforce obedience to the humane provisions of the law in their behalf. At Lostwithiel, where there is a gaol for debtors belonging to the Prince of Wales as Duke of Cornwall, and Lord of the Stannaries, he was told however, by the keeper, "that he had lately had a prisoner who was arrested for 6*l.*: the man had a large family, and not a bad character, yet the plaintiff paid him his groats for two years; and dying then, bound his estate for the continual payment of them: but the insolvent act freed the prisoner and the estate."‡ In the town gaol at Plymouth, one of the rooms for felons, called the Clink, seventeen feet by eight, and about five feet and a half high, had neither light nor air, but what was admitted through a wicket in the door, seven inches by five in its dimensions, to which Mr. Howard was informed that three men who were confined here near two months, under sentence of transportation, came by turns for breath. At the period of his visit the door had not been opened for five weeks, when he himself with difficulty entered, to see a pale inhabitant of this living grave, of which for ten long weeks he had been the solitary and wretched inmate. He too was confined there under sentence of transportation, but he declared to the benevolent being who ventured at such imminent hazard of his health to explore the misery of his drear abode, that he would rather have been hanged than confined in this loathsome cell—nor can we wonder at his choice. The gaol had no yard; no water; no sewer; no straw: and its keepers, who were the three serjeants at mace, lived at a distance from their charge.§

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 383. † Ib. p. 384. ‡ Ib. p. 386. § Ib. p. 359.

After losing sight of him for a week, we trace this indefatigable man pursuing the objects of his philanthropic enquiry, by visiting the county gaol at Dorchester, where two debtors assured him that they had lived for five or six weeks upon nothing but the county bread and water.* The bridewell at Sherborne, in the same county, he found to be too small; the ceilings low; the prisoners without employment, and without straw. The justices had however recently passed some very humane resolutions providing for the conveyance of the prisoners to be tried at the different quarter sessions, on horseback, or in carts or other convenient carriages, instead of on foot, loaded as they hitherto had been with very heavy irons.† After revisiting the gaol for the county of Wilts, at Salisbury; and that for Hampshire, at Winchester; he inspected the county bridewell at the latter place, the rooms of which were too close, and the yard too small for the prisoners frequently confined in it, to vast numbers of whom it had often been fatal. The misery which they endured had excited the compassion of the Duke of Chandos, who much to his honor, had for some years past sent them thirty pounds of beef and two gallon loaves, the county allowance being but a three-penny loaf in two days. At Gosport, the apartments of another of the county bridewells were convenient, but not kept clean. There was an oven to purify the clothes of the prisoners, but it was rendered useless by the county penuriously withholding the fuel that should heat it.‡ In the bridewell for the town of Southampton, as in those of the county, of which in general acceptation, though not in legal strictness it forms a part, there was as usual no straw and no employment; to which were added two other grounds of complaint not very uncommon,—no yard; and no water. These equally applied also to the sheriff's ward for debtors, and to the gaol for felons in this town.§ No bedding; no straw; debtors and felons lodging together; such is the short summary of the condition of the town gaol at Portsmouth; which with the complaint of no yard, no water, in the bridewell of Newport, in the Isle of Wight, one of its two

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 367. † Ib. p. 369. ‡ Ib. p. 380. § Ib. p. 358, 9.

rooms quite dark, and the farming of the prisoners to the keeper and owner of the prison; and of no yard, no water, in its borough gaol, concludes the catalogue of abuses and defects observed by their accurate inspector in the prisons of this county.* In the county of Sussex, the next and last which he visited in the course of this tour, he found the bridewell at Petworth too small for the number of prisoners which it generally contained; with no chimney; no yard; no water; no employment. The allowance to each prisoner a penny loaf a day, weighing but seven ounces and a half. The keeper told him that all his prisoners were, upon discharge, much weakened by close confinement and small allowance. At Chichester city gaol, and at the other bridewell for the county, at Horsham, the allowance was double, and it was not at all too large; at that belonging to the town of Portsmouth, it was four times as much.† At Horsham the prisoners were always kept locked up in one room,—for the prison consisted of no more,—about ten feet and a half by six and a half in length and breadth, and not six feet and a half in height. At this time it had no inmates except the keeper, the widow of the former gaoler, who had died of the fever.‡ From this place Mr. Howard returned to his home, from which he had been absent somewhat more than two months, in which time he had traversed fifteen counties, and carefully inspected fifty prisons, all of them the abodes of wretchedness, and some the tainted walks of pestilence and death.

The unwearied perseverance with which he had now, for nearly a twelvemonth, pursued this singular object of a philanthropy, as unbounded in its extent, as it was pure in its source, coupled with the proofs he had so unceasingly given of being actuated by the same liberal spirit in the more private walks of life, could not fail to procure for this benevolent being, in the neighbourhood in which the excellence of his character was the best appreciated, as it had been the longest known, the esteem of men of every party, who had sufficient liberality about them to be lovers of genuine worth wherever that worth was

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 358, 9. † Ib. p. 230, 231, 359. ‡ Ib. p. 230.

to be found, whether in their own, or in any other body of men. A striking proof of the truth of this remark was afforded within a few days of his return to Cardington, by a solicitation from the very respectable body of burgesses of the borough of Bedford in the independent interest, that he would become a candidate to represent them in parliament at the election, then on the eve of taking place. With the same illiberality which characterises the whole of his libellous memoir of this great and good man's life, the anonymous author of the short biographical account of Mr. Howard, inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine soon after his death, pretty broadly insinuates, indeed, that it was to the factious spirit of the sectaries of the town that he was alone indebted for the honor of this invitation.* But the calumny is groundless as it is false; for amongst the most active supporters of his interests at the election, were not only many of the staunchest members, but several of the most orthodox ministers of the established church in Bedford and its neighbourhood; the grounds of the severe contest, which then took place in the borough, being perfectly distinct from any difference that might prevail amongst the electors as to their religious opinions. In the year 1769 the corporation of this town had a very serious dispute with the grandfather of the present Duke of Bedford, whose ancestors have long possessed an influence here, the natural consequence of the vicinity of their princely residence, and of the very large property which they possess in this part of the county, and even within the limits of the borough itself. During the height, therefore, of the popular mania for Wilkes and liberty, and the consequent unpopularity of the duke, who was at that time in the ministry, they determined upon destroying this influence, by resorting to the singular expedient of making five hundred honorary freemen of the borough in one day, at the head of whom were Aldermen Townshend and Sawbridge, John Horne Tooke (then parson Horne), and other self-bedubbed patriots of the day. Six years after this extraordinary exertion of a power so extremely questionable, and so obviously open to the grossest abuse; and in the minority

* Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LX. Part I. p. 277.

of the last lamented duke of the house of Russel, the members of this corporation determined to make use of these mere nominal freemen to serve their own purposes in the representation of the borough, which it was then said, and very generally believed, that they unblushingly offered for sale to the highest bidder. After various unsuccessful negotiations to procure persons of property to stand upon such an interest, Sir William Wake, Bart. and Robert Sparrow, Esq. both alike strangers to the great body of electors, were announced as the corporation candidates for the suffrages of the people of Bedford. The resident burgesses who were not linked in with the faction, determined however to resist, with all their might, what they justly considered a direct attempt at the complete subversion of their rights, and very naturally looked to their neighbours Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Howard, men with whose worth and public spirit they had long been acquainted, and of whose independence they might well be assured, as the most proper persons to maintain them inviolate. To the latter of these gentlemen, at least, the application to stand forward in their support was altogether unexpected, and took him, indeed, so completely by surprise, upon his return to Cardington, within at the furthest, twelve days before the election began, that he was actually forced to the hustings without time to deliberate upon the propriety of the step his friends were about to take. Of the circumstances of the contest into which he was thus hurried, the only one that survives in the recollection of the older inhabitants of Bedford, to whom I have applied for information upon the subject, except that party spirit at this time run very high in the borough, is, that a clergyman of the established church, a warm supporter of the patriotic candidates, one sabbath morning, during the heat of the election, took for his text that passage of St. Matthew's gospel, in which the question is proposed by our Lord to his disciples, "Are not two *sparrows* sold for a farthing?" whence this encouragement to their perseverance and their faith is deduced, "fear ye not, therefore, ye are of more value than many *sparrows*." He did not, however, carry the allusion further in his discourse; and certainly

he would have better consulted the dignity of his own character, and the sacredness of his office, had he not made it at all; but his having done so, proves, at least, that Mr. Howard was not upon this occasion left, as it has been more than insinuated that he was, entirely to the support "of the Presbyterians, Moravians, and other sectaries," with which that borough abounds, whose representative in parliament he had very nearly become. That he was not returned as such, was openly asserted at the time, and afterwards, to a certain extent, proved, before a committee of the House of Commons, to have been owing to the gross partiality of the returning officers, in improperly rejecting an immense number of votes which had never before been disputed, when tendered on behalf of himself and of his relative; and in receiving many others which ought not to have been received, when tendered for the opposing candidates. In consequence of these unjust and arbitrary proceedings in those who, being officers of the corporation, were naturally inclined to favor the candidates set up by their own junto, whom they are accused, and it is to be feared not without reason, of having determined, at all events, to return—the numbers upon the poll-book were, for Sir William Wake, 527; Mr. Sparrow, 517; Mr. Whitbread, 429; Mr. Howard, 402.* The two former gentlemen were accordingly declared to be duly elected; whilst the latter were left to the only remedy they could have; that of petitioning the House of Commons against this return, which both their friends and themselves instantly determined to do.

But in the meanwhile, Mr. Howard was so far from suffering this unexpected call to a more public station than any he yet had filled, to draw him aside from the benevolent purposes which, as a private individual, he had formed for the public good, that ere the bustle of the election could well be over, and when he had been but a month at home, he resumed the work he had set himself to perform; and, in the space of a fortnight, had

* Douglas's Reports of Controverted Elections, Vol. II. p. 71.

completed his survey of the large manufacturing counties of York, Lancaster, and Warwick, besides taking two of the bridewells belonging to the counties of Huntingdon and Lincoln in his way, and re-inspecting the gaol at Aylesbury in his return. His account of the bridewell at Fokingham is short, but most affecting: "Damp rooms: no chimney: small yard: no pump: no sewer. Yet the keeper said, a woman, with a child at her breast, was sent hither for a year and a day: the child died."* That at Peterborough, for the soke of the same name, which comprises thirty-two towns, had a very small court, not secure, on which account the prisoners were always kept within doors: they were also without water. In the gaol belonging to the same soke, and used likewise as the prison of the dean and chapter of the cathedral, the prisoners had no allowance.† From this city he proceeded to Kingston-upon-Hull, where he, for the first time, inspected both the gaol and bridewell for this town and county in itself. The ground room of the former was a damp dungeon; but the gaoler, who had a character for humanity, assured him that no one had been confined in it for many years. There was no court yard to the prison, though the debtors were allowed to walk on the leads; no water accessible to prisoners; no sewer; and the felons' rooms were offensive; yet in them might some unhappy being be confined for three years, as the assizes here were not, at this time, held oftener, and then be acquitted of the crime laid to his charge by the verdict of a jury of his country. The bridewell consisted of but four rooms, about twelve feet square, without fire places and very offensive; the court yard but twenty-two feet by ten, and not secure enough even to permit the prisoners to go to the pump in the middle of it; no sewer; no allowance; no straw. The prison had not been white-washed since it was built, which was then above seven years: its inmates were employed in pounding tile-sherds, to mix in mortar—among them was a poor raving lunatic.‡ At Beverley, the bridewell for the east riding of the county of York, contained three small night rooms, with four others above for those who could pay:—the court yard

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 301. † Ib. p. 310. ‡ Ib. p. 411, 2.

had not only a pump, but a cistern for rain water. The prisoners, however, had neither straw nor employment, though a new work room had lately been erected.* From this place our Philanthropist proceeded to York, where he re-visited both the city and the county gaol, and also inspected, for the first time, the bridewell of the former, every part of which he found to be dirty and offensive. The women's day room was very damp, and both their night rooms, and those of the men, were four steps under ground, the former furnished with barrack bedsteads; no court yard; no water; no sewer; no bread allowance; little or no employment. The gaol for the liberty of St. Peter, comprehending certain parishes in the city, and in various counties in the kingdom, was out of repair; dirty and offensive; no court yard; no sewer; no allowance:—the gaoler, a bailiff, with no salary, yet paying rent.† The bridewell for the west riding of the county, at Wakefield, was showy, but unfortunately built upon such low ground that it was damp and exposed to floods. Some of the wards were spacious, but all of them dark, and made very offensive by sewers. The court yard, and indeed the whole prison, was out of sight of the gaoler's house, though adjoining to it, in consequence of which some of the criminals had escaped. There was little or no employment for the prisoners, who had no allowance of food but by order of a justice.‡ The catalogue of defects in the town gaol at Leeds is short, no court yard; no water; no sewer; keeper living at a distance.§ At Rothwell, in the same county, was a prison for the manor of Wakefield, in the honor of Pontefract, which belongs to the duchy of Lancaster, much out of repair. In it was a weaver, who had been imprisoned since the month of May, for having given a bad name to a woman who was said not to deserve a very good one, but who cited him to the ecclesiastical court for the licence he had imprudently given to his tongue, in consequence of which he was here incarcerated "until he had made satisfaction to the holy church;" in default of which he was imprisoned in this gaol until released by the insolvent act, in July, 1776, which was

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 403. † Ib. p. 407, 8. ‡ Ib. p. 402. § Ib. p. 411.

more than two years after his commitment.* In Lancashire a new county bridewell had just been erected at Manchester, containing separate court yards and apartments for men and women. The night rooms of the former were close, eleven steps below the yard, but not properly under ground, being situated on the declivity of a hill: there was a dungeon built for the women, but they were never put into it.† The prisoners, at that time, had no allowance; at this they have, perhaps, too liberal an one. The gaol for the borough of Liverpool, principally for debtors, was out of repair; its apartments close and dirty; seven confined dungeons, ten steps under ground, six feet and a half by five feet nine inches, and six feet high; had three prisoners locked up in each of them at night, a larger dungeon which the prison contained not being secure. The gaoler was one of the serjeants at mace, who put in a deputy, from whom he received sixty-five pounds a year for his sinecure. From the offensiveness of the dungeons, and the number of his prisoners, Mr. Howard told this man that there was great danger of the gaol fever breaking out here, as in fact it did very shortly after his visit, when twenty-eight were ill at one time.‡ In the bridewell belonging to the adjoining county of Chester, at Middlewich, some of the rooms were without windows, having no air admitted into them but through some small perforations in the door.§ That at Warwick, though the only one for the county, was too small, close, and offensive. It had no water accessible to the prisoners, the handle of the pump having been most sagaciously placed, by the wiseacres under whose direction it was built, on the outside of the wall of the court yard. Like the county gaol, which Mr. Howard at this time re-visited, this prison might easily have been enlarged on the ground adjacent. The prisoners had no employment.‖ The gaol for the populous town of Birmingham, very properly called the dungeon, was small and extremely inconvenient; the day room, common alike to men and women, having no windows in it; and the court yard, which was also far too small, containing (besides the litter from the gaoler's stable) a stagnant puddle

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 413. † Ib. p. 439, 440. ‡ Ib. p. 440. § Ib. p. 447 ‖ Ib. p. 272.

for the gaoler's ducks; a nuisance of very frequent occurrence, but in so scanty a place intolerably offensive, as indeed was the whole prison.* The last place which he visited, before he reached his home, was Aylesbury, where he found that six or seven prisoners had died of the gaol distemper, in the county prison, since his former visit, in the latter end of November, 1773, a space short of a twelvemonth by about fifteen days.†

It was not until the 6th of December that this indefatigable man resumed his labors, by a short tour of ten days, in which he visited the county, and some other of the principal towns of Essex, Suffolk, Norfolk, Cambridgeshire, and Hertfordshire. The bridewell for the former county at Chelmsford he found to have a court yard, small, and not secure, so that the prisoners were always kept within doors: the rooms, therefore, were offensive, though the water was properly laid on. The keeper informed him that many of his prisoners had been ill of the gaol fever brought from the county gaol, so that the mischief of transferring this pestilential disease from one species of prison to another was in some cases reciprocal. Fees were very properly abolished here, and there was an allowance both for coals and straw, and one also of three halfpence a day to sick prisoners beyond the prison diet.‡ In the bridewell at Ipswich, neither were any of the rooms, nor the court yard secure; no fees were, however, allowed to be taken from the prisoners, who, instead of any allowance, had half the price of their labor for their support.§ That at Bury St. Edmunds in the same county, formerly, it is said, a Jewish synagogue, had neither court yard nor water.‖ In the gaol and bridewell for the town of Thetford in the adjoining county of Norfolk, the dungeon for the felons, descending by a ladder of ten steps, was but eighteen feet by nine and a half in length and breadth, and nine feet high, with one solitary window in it, about eighteen inches by twelve in diameter. Yet in this miserable hole from sixteen to twenty persons, men and women together, were regularly confined

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 274, 5. † Ib. p. 212. ‡ Ib. p. 219. § Ib. p. 265, 6. ‖ Ib. p. 268.

for four or five nights during the assizes, which are always held in this town in the summer season.* With just about eight square feet for each prisoner to move, or lie him down in, what must have been their dreadful situation during the raging heat of the dog days, in some of which they might not unfrequently be the miserable tenants of this miserable dungeon? The court yard of the prison, according to custom, was not secure; and it had no water. Without either salary or fees, having only the house to live in for his trouble, it is difficult to conceive how the keeper of this gaol made shift to get his living, unless he had some other mode of fleecing his prisoners. At Norwich, Mr. Howard re-visited both the city and county gaol, and also inspected the city bridewell, which he found to be both convenient and clean;† as, except, that the court yard was small, was the case also with the town gaol at Lynn,‡ but not with the county bridewell at Swaffham, the sewers there being offensive; its court yard confined, and without water; its prisoners, amongst whom was a lunatic, always locked up. At Cambridge, the county bridewell, in the castle yard, had nothing particular in its construction or regulation: in that belonging to the town the prisoners slept upon the ground; the womens' work room was without a fire-place; the court yard of no use to the prisoners, because it was not secure; the prison itself being also without water, or sewer, and altogether much out of repair. The keeper had a salary in lieu of fees, and as he was himself a clothier, he employed many of his prisoners in working for him. The town gaol had neither court yard, nor water accessible to prisoners: the gaoler no salary.§ At Ely, and afterwards at Hertford, he re-visited the county gaol; and inspected the bridewell at both places, in which he found that the prisoners were always locked up within doors, though there was a yard to each of them.‖

With the inspection of the latter of these bridewells, Mr. Howard's labors for the year ended on the 14th of December; but on the very first day of the

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 261. † Ib. p. 260. ‡ Ib. p. 262. § Ib. p. 250, 1. ‖ Ib. p. 213, 253.

ensuing January he set out upon a tour to Scotland and Ireland, re-inspecting the gaols of those towns in England, through which he passed on his way. In the bridewell for the county of Nottingham, at Southwell, which he had not before visited, he found a dungeon but fourteen feet square, ten steps under ground:—seven prisoners had died here of the gaol fever, as well indeed they might, in the space of two years.* That at Durham was left to the care of a woman, the keeper residing at the high-gaol in a distant part of the city.† In Scotland, the only place of his visit to which, upon the present occasion, any account seems to be preserved is Glasgow, where the magistrates had expressly ordered, "that the gaoler every morning and evening, at the opening of, and before the shutting up the prison, *should* personally visit every room and place therein." Those magistrates were so early sensible of the public utility of that general investigation of the abuses and defects of prisons in which our illustrious countryman was then engaged, that upon his very first visit to their city on this merciful errand, they made him a present of its freedom; an honor for which he has left upon record his grateful acknowledgments, as well as for their general politeness and civility during his short continuance amongst them.‡ Of the result of his visit to the sister kingdom no memorials exist, except a few short notices in the first edition of his work on Prisons,§ in one of which he expresses his surprise at finding that no liquors were sold in any of the prisons which he saw in Ireland, in consequence of an act of the parliament of that country, which prohibited so improper a practice. By another statute the clergyman of the parish, in which any gaol was situated, was empowered to order the felons' bread, for which he was allowed a salary of 10*l.* a year. A third provided for the separation of men and women felons; and a fourth prohibited the gaolers keeping any cows, &c. in yards appropriated to the use of prisoners, which a fifth authorized grand juries to provide, where there were none already. But notwithstanding these salutary provisions of the statute books for the due regulation of the Irish gaols, it would appear that their practical

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 293. † Ib. p. 420. ‡ Ib. p. 53. § Ib. 14, 44, 52, 60, 62.

arrangements were to the full as faulty as were those of our own country; for Mr. Howard speaks of the shocking intercourse of the sexes which took place in the old Newgate at Dublin, in terms of strong reprobation.* On his return to England, he re-visited the gaols at Chester, and on his first inspection of the city bridewell there, found it to contain two new dungeons, about nine feet under ground, in which he told the keeper he hoped that their contrivers might be the first to lodge.†

From Chester he probably proceeded direct to Cardington, to prepare for supporting by evidence the two petitions which had been presented to the House of Commons, on the 6th of December, 1774, the one by himself nd Mr. Whitbread, the other by certain burgesses of the borough of Bedford, complaining of the undue return of Sir William Wake and Mr. Sparrow as their representatives, and imputing to the returning officers the being influenced by motives the most corrupt and partial in making it. These petitions were originally ordered to be taken into consideration on the 10th, but were afterwards deferred until the 14th of March, on which day—the petitioners, Mr. Whitbread and Mr. Howard, their counsel and agents being present,—the committee to try the merits of this election was appointed, Lord George Germaine being their nominee.‡ The great point for the sitting members to establish was the legality of the votes of the honorary freemen already mentioned; whilst the attention of the petitioners was principally directed to restoring to the right of suffrage which they had enjoyed at all former elections, a very large proportion of the resident burgesses of Bedford, who partook of the benefits of a noble charity distributed, in various ways, to the inhabitants of the town, from the munificent bequest of one of its natives, Sir William Harpur, who more than a century ago had attained to the dignity of Lord Mayor of the city of London. Both of these points were somewhat

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, p. 108. † State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 451.

‡ Journals of the House of Commons. Vol. XXXV. p. 22, 179, 194.

singularly decided in favor of the party to whom their establishment was of the greater importance; and though as the poll stood when thus corrected, the material alterations introduced into its numbers, seemed to be decidedly advantageous to the petitioners,—in a letter written to his friend the Reverend Joshua Symmonds, immediately after a determination of the committee which promised him his seat, we find Mr. Howard expressing his willingness to renounce all the benefit which he himself could derive from it, could he, by so doing, have preserved to the freemen and resident burgesses of the borough, that protection for their rights which a contrary decision of the other, and as it respected them, the more vital question would have afforded.

" DEAR SIR,

" I would beg to acquaint you that the great question relative to Honorary freemen was determined in favour of them. The Certificate Voters are allowed and this day at three o'clock the recipients of Harpur's bounty were declared not disqualified, which determination, most probably, will give us our seats, yet as our opponents declare they shall object against other votes, the contest still continues. I would have the deepest sense of that hand which ruleth the hearts of men, and turneth them which way soever he pleaseth. We are in the hopes that the Committee will report to the house that great abuse of power in the Corporation, by which influx your liberties are destroyed. Could I have gained the first question at the expense of the seat, with pleasure I would have embraced it.

" I desire my sincere compliments to Mrs. Symmonds, with my best thanks for your assistance care and concern; a grateful sense I hope I shall ever retain, being with much esteem

" Sir,

" Your affect. friend &

" obliged hum: servant

" JOHN HOWARD."

" Beaufort buildings,

" March 18, 1775."

The committee, after having decided that persons resident in Bedford under certificates from other parishes, or receiving there the advantages of Sir William Harpur's, and of some other charities, were not thereby disqualified from voting, drew, however, a very nice distinction, the correctness of which we have no means of examining, to the exclusion of the partakers of another gift, the greater part of whom had voted for the petitioning candidates. But notwithstanding this reduction, they had now the majority of voices, which at this stage of the proceedings were for Whitbread 574; Howard 542; Wake 541; Sparrow 530.* But a further, and as it respected Mr. Howard's claim to be declared the sitting member, a fatal diminution in this number was made, by striking off the poll all those persons who, within six months previous to the election, had received parochial relief, and it then stood for Whitbread 568; Wake 541; Howard 537; Sparrow 529;† leaving him in a minority of but four votes, when at the close of the poll upon which the return was made, he was 125 behind his successful, and 115 below his unsuccessful opponent, whom he now outstripped by eight votes: so well founded was the complaint of the corruption and partiality which, upon this occasion, had been displayed against him. It were almost needless to add, that, upon the close of this parliamentary scrutiny, on the 23d of March, the chairman of the committee reported to the house that Sir William Wake was duly elected, but that instead of Mr. Sparrow, Mr. Whitbread ought to have been returned, and that the return was amended accordingly.‡ With what feelings our Philanthropist viewed this defeat of expectations which he appeared to be so justly entitled to cherish, we may learn from the following letter to his friend Mr. Symmonds, written but four days after the final decision of the committee had been pronounced.

"DEAR SIR,

"Accept of my best thanks for your kind assistance and zealous attachment in an affair in which it has pleased God to rebuke us, I may say us Dissenters;

* Douglas's Reports of Controverted Elections, Vol. I. p. 122. † Ib. p. 121.

‡ Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. XXXV. p. 220—2.

for having the honour of being supported by them and a Dissenter, I was a victim of the Ministry. Most surely I should not have fallen in with all their severe measures relative to the Americans, and my constant declaration that not one emolument of 5 shillings, were I in Parliament, would I ever accept of, marked me out as an object of their aversion. Two or three of the members told me of it on Monday, but I insisted as the Committee were on oath that they must be consistent in their resolutions as to the Charities and as ancient usage was the line, they went on, the free men they never would disqualify in the town, as we knew many non-residents who were Paupers, but we never objected to them. Yet, alas! when one would not do, both must be brought, even resolutions tortured sooner than one private independent person have his seat.

"I sensibly feel for an injured people, their affection and esteem I shall ever reflect on with pleasure and gratitude. As to myself, I calmly retire. It may be promotive of my best interest. My large and extensive acquaintance, the very kind part the Protestant Dissenters of all denominations took in the affair hurts me not a little, yet in the firm belief of an over-ruling Providence I would say—It is the Lord let him do what seemeth right. He maketh light arise out of darkness.

"I had begun this letter before I received the late fresh instance of your affection and esteem. I sincerely thank you for it. My ardent wishes will ever be for your happiness and success in that great and good cause you are engaged in: And permit me to say I shall ever remain

"Rev. and dear Sir

"Your affect. friend and Servt.

"John Howard."

"London March 27th, 1775.

Whether the suspicion here expressed, of his not having been fairly treated by the committee to whom the merits of his petition were referred, was well

founded, it is, of course, at this distance of time, impossible to determine; but that, by the ministry of that day, a man of Mr. Howard's inflexible integrity—of his determined character—of his religious principles (still more unpopular in those days, in the higher ranks of life, than in ours), and, above all, of the sentiments he entertained, and which, when particularly questioned upon the subject, he had openly avowed,* on a point that, *coute qui coute,* they were madly determined to carry,—would not have been held as a most desirable person to fill a seat in parliament, may readily be conceived. In the wish which they would, therefore, very naturally entertain for his exclusion from this distinction, whether they took any active part in its accomplishment or not, they were most amply gratified; though the object of their aversion retired at the close of a contest which he had pursued, as far as it could be pursued,—in a spirit that did honor to himself and to his numerous supporters. In the disappointment of their hopes, and of their hopes alone, did he feel the mortification which he here expresses in stronger terms than it was usual with him to adopt. The dissenters of every denomination had been, as it was reasonable to expect they should be, most warmly engaged in his interest during the struggle; *his* defeat he therefore regarded as *theirs;* yet was he of too public a spirit to confine his commiseration within such narrow bounds; for, looking beyond every consideration of sect or of party, he felt extremely indignant that a decision of the House of Commons, manifestly unjust upon the very face of it, should have put the elective franchise of the great body of burgesses, with whom he was so nearly connected by vicinity and friendly intercourse, at the disposal of an arbitrary, a mercenary, and a time-serving corporation. Habitually referring every circumstance of his life to the wise ordering of an unerring, though, at times, a seemingly mysterious, providence, he did not, however, as far as it respected himself, in any measure regret the issue of this event; but, as we learn from the journal of his confidential attendant, seemed rather to rejoice that it left him at liberty to pursue, without interruption, his investigation of the accumulated sufferings of the prisoner and the captive, in foreign climes,

* Rev. S. Palmer's Letter to the Editor of the Universal Magazine, Vol. LXXXVI. p. 318.

as well as in his native country. Of that first object of his benevolent regard he was not, indeed, unmindful whilst detained in London for the purpose of establishing his right to a seat in parliament, as on the fourth, fifth, and sixth of March, we find him re-visiting some of the prisons in the metropolis, and, amongst others, the Marshalsea; which, yielding in its incommodiousness to none in the kingdom, besides one hundred and seventy-five persons confined there as prisoners, contained at this time no less than six and forty others, in the shape of their wives and children.* These and many other defects in the regulation of our gaols, as common as they were flagrant, there can be no doubt but that as a legislator he would have used his best endeavours to correct; and by the patient perseverance with which he was so eminently gifted—like the unwearied champions of the abolition of the slave trade, the followers in his footsteps—and the companions of his fame, he might, to a certain degree, have succeeded in his attempt. But the faithful discharge of the important and multifarious duties of that high office would have permitted to a man, whose views of the solemn obligation to their performance under which he would have been laid, were so proper as were his, but little, if any, leisure for collecting that valuable stock of information which has left for future correctors of the abuses and defects of our prisons little but a disposition to adopt the improvements which the extent of his enquiries on that subject enabled him to suggest. In this, therefore, as in numberless other instances, an event, which the short-sightedness of a mortal prudence would lead us to deplore as singularly unfortunate, was over-ruled, for the benefit of thousands yet unborn, by his irresistible decree, whose ways are not as our ways, but whose wisdom cannot err.

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 206.

CHAPTER VII.

Mr. Howard's first and second journey on the continent, for the purpose of inspecting the state of the prisons of France, Holland, a part of Flanders, Germany, and Switzerland;—his second general inspection of English gaols, and the publication of his State of Prisons:—1775—7;—*with the history of his private life to the close of the latter year.*

ON Mr. Howard's return from his tour in Scotland and Ireland, early in the year 1775, it was his intention to have given to the world the result of his enquiries as to the state of the prisons of those countries, and of their sister kingdom; but, in the modest and unassuming language of the work in which that valuable information was afterwards communicated to the public, with some very interesting additions, "conjecturing that something useful to *his* purpose might be collected abroad, *he* laid aside *his* papers, and travelled into France, Flanders, Holland, and Germany.* The precise route which he pursued in this journey, neither does his own printed account of its results, nor any information in my possession, enable me to trace. But it is of infinitely less importance to follow his footsteps from stage to stage, as he rapidly proceeded on his way, than it is to collect the few scattered fragments that the low estimation in which he always held his own exertions has suffered to remain upon record, of the difficulties he had to contend with, in penetrating the gloomy recesses of the dungeon, whilst his fellow countrymen on their travels, often

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 78.

the companions of his journies from town to town in the public conveyances, were eager in the chase of pleasure, from the palace to the theatre, from the theatre to the public walks, and from the public walks to the ball room, or to the fashionable party;—of the firmness, the courage, and the address with which those difficulties were surmounted, if surmountable at all, that cannot fail to give an additional interest to the sedulous anxiety with which he drew from the management of those abodes of wretchedness abroad, every hint they could furnish for the improvement of similar receptacles for the guilty and the unfortunate at home.

He most probably left England, on this tour, about the middle of April, 1775, and proceeded directly to Paris, where he visited most of the prisons and houses of correction, and some of the principal hospitals. It was not, however, without much difficulty that he got admission to the chief places of confinement, for different descriptions of offenders, in this populous city, such was the strictness of its police, and the jealousy of its government, especially with regard to all its state prisoners, even to those whose rank, or the political magnitude of whose offences, did not entitle them to the unenviable distinction of being shut up for life in the dungeons, or iron cages of the Bastille. But even to the gloomiest of those dungeons did the deep commiseration which he felt for the distresses of the most wretched and forlorn of his fellow creatures induce him to wish to penetrate; and in the hope of being able to draw from these abodes of hopeless misery some information for the completion of his great design, he would not have hesitated to trust himself in the power of strangers, and those strangers the keepers of a state prison like this, in the strongest of these cages, surrounded, as they were, by an insurmountable wall and an impassable ditch, which prevented the possibility of escape when once their massive doors had grated on their iron hinges, and the long draw-bridge had been lifted up, to shut their prisoners in. With this

view, and I am here adopting the unassuming account which he himself has given of so bold, and so dangerous an enterprize:* "*he* knocked hard at the outer gate, and immediately went forward, through the guard, to the draw-bridge before the entrance of the castle; but while *he* was contemplating this gloomy mansion, an officer came out of the castle, much surprised, and *he* was forced to retreat through the mute guard, and thus regained that freedom which for one locked up within those walls it *would be* next to impossible to obtain." "In the space of four centuries from the foundation to the destruction of the Bastille, perhaps," observes one of his biographers upon this singular, but characteristic, adventure, "Mr. Howard was the only person that was ever compelled to quit it reluctantly."† It was, however, in all probability most fortunate for himself, and for the cause of humanity which he had so nobly espoused at all personal risks, and through all personal privations, that he quitted it as he did, for had he advanced but a few steps further, his laudable curiosity might have cost him dear. He would scarcely have been more successful in gaining admission to the other prisons of the city, had he not, with equal address and humanity, availed himself of one of the articles of the very judicious *arrêt* of parliament of the 18th of June, 1717, for the regulation of the several prisons in the city of Paris, which directs their gaolers to admit to the places of confinement under their superintendance, all persons desirous of bestowing any charitable donations on the prisoners in their custody, and to permit them to distribute their alms with their own hands, except in the instance of persons confined in the dungeons, to whom they are to be given by the gaoler in the donor's presence. Pleading this humane provision before the commissary of police, to whom he had been referred by the keeper of the *Grand Châtelet*, one of the principal prisons in Paris, which he was anxious to inspect, he not only succeeded in obtaining admittance there, but, by its means, was permitted to visit the *Petit Châtelet* and *For l'Eveque*, and to have an opportunity of

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 93. † Universal Magazine, Vol. LXXXVI. p. 256.

seeing almost every individual confined within their walls. The two latter prisons he describes as some of the worst of the numerous places of confinement in Paris and its suburbs.* The dungeons in which the more hardened description of felons were confined were under ground, damp, gloomy, and, as places of dwelling for a human being, to the last degree revolting to every kindlier feeling of our nature. In the *Bicetre*, a police establishment upon a very large scale, serving the double purpose of a prison, and a hospital for the poor, he also found eight such dreadful places of confinement, descending beneath the level of the earth by sixteen steps, in size about thirteen feet by nine, with two strong doors, three chains fastened to the wall, and a stone funnel in one corner for air, to each cell. From the situation of these dreary caverns, and the difficulty he found in procuring admittance to them, he concluded that hardly any other stranger had ever seen them, and therefore thought it his duty to give the more particular account of them.† The use of these subterraneous abodes, which he describes as "totally dark, and beyond imagination horrid and dreadful,"‡ in most of the French prisons, forms indeed the principal drawback from the commendation he justly bestows upon the general humanity of the legislative provisions of that kingdom for the regulation of its gaols and other places of confinement. In their gloomy recesses, "poor creatures," he tells us, "*were* confined night and day for weeks, for months together."

From France and French Flanders Mr. Howard proceeded to the Austrian Netherlands, arriving at Brussels on the 16th of May, whence he addressed the following account of his journey, and of the avidity with which he was pursuing its great object, allowing himself, but with much unwillingness, even the relaxation which he found to be necessary for his health, in a letter to his friend, the Rev. Thomas Smith, of Bedford.

* State of Prisons, 3d Edit. p. 165. † Ib. 1st Edit. p. 87. ‡ Ib. p. 90, 91.

" Dear Sir, " Bruxelles May 17, 1775.

" The very kind part you take in my Affairs makes me flatter myself that a line will not be disagreeable,—Since I left England I have visited several Gaols in french Flanders, as almost every one in Paris, and indeed with no little trouble or Resolution did I get admittance into those Seats of Woe, as at this time both at Paris, Versailles and in many Provinces there has been the greatest Riots and Confusion. The Military patrole the streets of Paris Night and Day, daily executions, one of which with pain I attended last Thursday; I came late last Night to this City; the day I have employed in Visiting the Gaols and collecting all the Criminals Laws as I have got those of France; however rigorous they may be, yet Their great care and attention to their Prisons is worthy of commendation, all fresh and Clean no Gaol Distemper, no Prisoners Ironed, the Bread allowance far exceeds that of any of our Gaols e. g. every Prisoner here has Two Pound of Bread a day, once (a day) soup, and a Sunday 1^{lb} of meat. But I write to my friend for a relaxation from what so much engrosses my thoughts. And indeed I force myself to the public Dinners and Suppers for that purpose, tho' I shew so little respect to a sett of Men who are so highly esteemed (the french Cooks) as I have not tasted fish flesh or fowl since I have been *this side* the Water. Thro' a kind Providence I am very well, calm easy Spirits, the public Voitures has not been crowded, and I have met in general with agreeable Company: I hope to be in Holland the beginning of next week: the Country especially Flanders affords the pleasing prospect of the greatest Plenty, this dry weather affects them less than in other Countries. I beg my best Comp^{s}. to Mrs. Smith, remember me to Mrs. Belsham and any of our Friends who may be so kind to think of me; Permit me to remain With Affect^{n}. & Esteem

" To

" The Rev^{d}. Mr. Smith

" at Bedford

" Par la Poste de Londre."

" D^{r} Sir

" Y^{r} obliged friend & serv^{t}.

" Jn^{o} Howard."

At Brussels he met with nothing remarkable in the prisons then in existence. A house of correction upon the largest scale of any structure of the kind he had yet seen was, however, erecting for all the provinces of Brabant at Vilvorde, upon the banks of the canal, leading to this city, and at no great distance from it. From this place he most probably proceeded to Ghent, where he found a house of correction for the provinces of Austrian Flanders on a very similar plan, about half completed. It was already inhabited by 159 male prisoners, each of whom had a separate bed room, furnished with a bedstead, a straw bed, a mattrass, a pillow, a pair of sheets, and two blankets in winter, and one in summer. Their food was equally good and sufficient; their linen and sheets regularly changed; and the attention paid to the preservation of their health in every respect most exemplary. The number of women confined there was fifty-nine, whose treatment was similar to that of the men, except that they had not separate bed rooms. There were distinct work-rooms for each of the sexes, who were carefully kept from all communication with each other. The women were employed in combing and spinning wool, in washing and mending the cloathes, and in the other domestic arrangements of the house; the men principally in weaving. An exact account of the work daily performed by each individual, who was regularly paid for what he did beyond the task allotted, was kept in a book methodically ruled for the purpose, a column being left blank for the magistrates, who visited the prison at stated, and at short intervals, to write the punishment of those who had neglected, or badly performed it. This Mr. Howard particularly examined, and found that their directions were judicious, but not severe; varying according to the different circumstances of each particular case. Sometimes they had written "make up in next piece;" sometimes "to work alone;" "to bread and water;" seldom "to rasping log wood," the hardest work at which they could be set; but often "excuse," on account, no doubt, of the offence not having been frequently repeated, and it may fairly be presumed in consideration also of the offenders being reprimanded. With every other part of

the internal arrangement of the place, he seems to have been equally satisfied. Spirituous liquors, and gaming of every kind were strictly prohibited, and the most excellent rules were established for preventing all quarrelling, for correcting the morals of the prisoners, and for making them, for the future, useful in society.* No wonder, therefore, that with so much in it to commend, and so little to censure, he should style this "a noble institution." The house of correction for the city, though not so commodiously built, or kept quite so clean as some other Flemish prisons, he found, in other respects, to be under similarly excellent regulations. The magistrates met there once a week to inspect it, and to appoint the sort and quantity of provision for every day of the ensuing week. The prisoners were kept close to task-work of different descriptions, but the profit of their extra labor was their own.† Their diet was good and sufficient; but at another prison adjoining the superb *Maison de Ville*, it was even more; for there the allowance for food was so ample that the prisoners were able to save something out of it, after paying for the weekly washing of their linen. But Ghent contained one striking contrast to the general excellence of its prisons, and the humanity of their regulations. The church has generally provided the strictest gaolers; and the prison belonging to the rich monastery of the Benedictines, in the abbey of St. Peter, which had many lordships, and a part of the city itself in its jurisdiction, formed no exception to the rule. It contained three dreary dungeons, down nineteen steps, with a little window in each; but at the time Mr. Howard visited them, there were happily no prisoners immured in these living graves. With his usual perseverance in investigating every thing to the bottom, he himself descended into their gloomy caverns; but his noting the dimensions of the windows, and the number of the steps, so enraged the worthy keeper of these abodes of wretchedness, that he would not indulge his laudable curiosity any further.‡ To atone, however, in some measure for such a scandal to the ministers of religion, he had the gratification of visiting the Hospitable Mansion, a religious house for females,

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 135, 140—145. † Ib. p. 139, 140. ‡ Ib. p. 139.

but open for the reception of insane persons of the other sex, and for aged women. The lunatics, if necessary, had male attendants; but the tenderness with which both these and the poor women were treated by the sisters gave no little pleasure to their philanthropic visitor.* At Bruges, he noticed two things in the prison as remarkable, and well worthy of imitation; the care taken of the sick, and of the legacies and donations for the relief of the prisoners. The physicians were required to write all their prescriptions in a book left at the gaol for the inspection of the magistrates, who liberally allowed fourteen-pence a day to the gaoler for every person on the sick list, to provide them with white bread, soup, &c. until countermanded by the medical attendant. These books Mr. Howard spent several hours in looking over, and probably gained from them some valuable additions to his knowledge on infectious diseases, and the best means of preventing their contagion, to which it would seem that their prescriptions had a particular reference. A regular list of the benefactions to the prison, for more than four hundred years past, and of the time at which they were severally to be distributed, was printed and hung up in the council chamber.† In Antwerp, which seems to have been his next stage, he met with nothing remarkable in the state of the prisons, except that the allowance of food to the criminals was scanty, though the deficiency was fully made up by supplies from the monasteries, and other charitable institutions for their relief.‡ From the very slight notice that is taken of the places of confinement in this city, in the account which he himself gave to the public, of his two first visits of benevolence to the continent, it is, however, highly probable, that, from some cause or other no longer to be explained, he was not able to pay that minute attention to their regulations which he afterwards bestowed upon them.

This might too, in some measure, be the case at Rotterdam, which would be the first town he came to upon his arrival in Holland, of which he has given

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 140. † Ib. p. 137, 8. ‡ Ib. p. 134.

us any account. What little he had the opportunity of observing, or has thought it necessary to report, is, however, very favorable to the police of the place, and to the wisdom and humanity of the laws of the country in which it is situated. In the prison under the stadt-house were neither felons nor debtors: in the rasp and spin-house, about forty men, and a hundred women. The former were employed, three or four in a room, in making fishing-nets, carding wool, sorting coffee, &c.; the latter principally in a worsted manufacture, spinning, and working at a great wheel similar to those which, in the silk mills at Derby, are turned by water. He also visited the pest-house across the Maes, and nearly opposite to the town, and has noticed it in his book, not only because it occurred to him that it would be a good plan for a house of correction, being airy, and built round a court communicating with the river; but on account of the sentiments of veneration it inspired when he trod upon the ground under which such piles of his brave countrymen lie buried, as had died in this place when it was used as a military hospital for our soldiers, after the siege of Bergen-op-Zoom.* So mingled in his generous heart were the feelings of the patriot, with those of the citizen of the world; and thus carefully did he treasure up the slightest hint he could derive from the institutions of other countries for the benefit of his own. At Delft, as in fact in every place he visited in Holland, he found the criminals confined in the prisons hard at work, chiefly on woollen manufactures. Their task was not, however, so heavy, but that they were able, if they chose to exert themselves, to do somewhat beyond it, though here they had but half the profit of the overplus; a narrow policy, which must in the end lose more to the public than it could save. Not more than eight or ten men were allowed to work in one room, a regulation of which Mr. Howard most cordially approved; "for when," as he justly observes, "large numbers are together, one idle person corrupts more; and there is not generally so much work done." A rule, no less politic than it is humane, was also adopted by the magistrates for the encourage-

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 133.

ment of good behaviour, that when a prisoner had conducted himself well for a few years, they began to abridge the time for which he was sentenced.* From Delft our illustrious countryman proceeded onward to the Hague, where he mentions, in terms of grateful recollection, having been honored with the polite assistance of Sir Joseph Yorke, afterwards Lord Dover, at that time his Britannic Majesty's Envoy Extraordinary at the Hague, in forwarding the objects of his research.† It was most probably through so high an introduction, that one of the magistrates of the town accompanied him to the prison, where all was quiet and in order. The same gentleman presented him with copies of the instructions to the Sheriff of the Court, and the officers of the Attorney-General, and with a MS. copy of forty-four rules for the management of the prison. The whole of these seem to have been admirably adapted for the purposes they were intended to answer. One of the rules for the safe custody of prisoners is, however, very revolting to our ideas of justice and equity, for it directed, that if any one of them escaped, whether by his own immediate fault, or the fault of his servants, the keeper should suffer the punishment due to the felon's crime. The other rules for the regulation of his conduct, which prohibited him to keep either a tavern or alehouse, to game with his prisoners, or directly or indirectly to accept any treat or present from them, whether it be during, or after the expiration of their confinement, are not only unexceptionable, but well deserving to be adopted and most strictly enforced in all places of a similar description. He was further required to keep the prison neat and clean; to supply the prisoners with good bread, soup, and beer; with fresh straw once a week; and in winter with coverlids. The whole arrangements of the gaol were under the immediate superintendance of the Attorney-General, who by himself, or by his deputy, was expected to see that all the rules established for its regulation were duly complied with. The rules for officers of the Attorney-General, and of the Sheriff, Mr. Howard informs us, had such an admirable effect in preserving peace and order,

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 132, 3. † Ib. p. 128.

that he could not forbear abstracting a few of them; a temptation which Mr. Howard's present biographer finds it equally difficult to resist, and he therefore follows his example, in the hope that his so doing may be the means of recalling the attention of those who have the power of correcting them, to the abuses which still exist in that department of the administration of justice, which is entrusted to officers of a similar description in England; where, though he freely admits that much has already been done in the way of improvement in this respect, much, very much indeed—yet remains to do. Neglect of their duty, through drunkenness, was then, by these admirable regulations, punished by their being compelled to live in the prison upon bread and water, at their own expense, for three days, eight days, and, if the offence was a third time repeated, by being discharged from their office. They were not to keep company with any persons in public-houses, or other places of idle resort. Giving abusive language to any one was punished by a fine; quarrelling with them, at the discretion of the magistrates; and not giving information of other defaulters, with the loss of the situation which they themselves held. They were also further directed to guard against being guilty of ill behaviour of any sort, that no dishonor might be cast upon the court of judicature, whose ministers they were; a consideration this, which, even by the infliction of the severest penalties on those who lost sight of it, could not the object be otherwise effected, it would be extremely desirable to impress upon the minds of the inferior officers of justice charged with the execution of process from the various courts of our own country. Each officer was to have a copy of these rules ready to shew upon demand, on pain of being fined, and the whole of them were to be read over to them when assembled together, once in every month, by the sheriff.* How different the whole of this system to that pursued with us! but our judges and our legislators are not yet too old to learn; and they often more highly prize the wisdom collected from foreign lands than that originally suggested by the natives of their own.

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 128—130.

In the prison at Amsterdam, which is under the stadt-house or town-hall, Mr. Howard found that the rooms for criminals were down fifteen steps, a situation one would imagine, in so damp a country, not very conducive to their health. It was in this place that one of the magistrates, conversing on the subject of our English prisons, said, "nourish your prisoners well, and keep them in dry rooms, and they will be healthy." This advice is certainly good, but it is much better than the example set in the particular prison in which it was given, the allowance for food not being regulated there upon a very liberal scale. It was, however, highly honorable to the police of this populous city, and to the morals of the country, that there were but six delinquents confined here. The number of debtors was but eighteen in the whole city, though its population amounted to 250,000 souls, which is about one-third of that of London; a circumstance no less creditable to the honesty and industry of its inhabitants. But with respect to this class of prisoners a very bad practice seems to have prevailed, of permitting them to buy an anker of wine each, which they deposited with the keeper, who allowed them to call for a bottle a day, on paying him ten stivers for the privilege of drinking it. The attention paid to condemned criminals is also worthy not merely of commendation, but of imitation. After sentence of death had been passed upon them, they were never left alone, but two prisoners from the rasp-house were constantly with them to prevent their destroying themselves, to evade the execution of their sentence, which was generally performed within forty-eight hours after it had been passed. The persons thus properly appointed to watch their movements, we are told, were well pleased with their office, for if they performed it faithfully they were rewarded by a diminution of their own period of confinement. Mr. Howard was credibly informed that there had not been a single execution in the city of Amsterdam during the ten years immediately preceding his visit; and that, for a hundred years past, there had not been, *communibus annis*, more than one in each year.* How striking,

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 124, 5.

how disgraceful the contrast, when we consider that in less than one-fourth of that period, namely from the year 1749 to 1771, the number of persons actually executed within the city of London alone amounted to 678, averaging nearly thirty a year. Yet what difference, we may safely ask the advocates for the continuance of this sanguinary system, can there possibly exist in the circumstances of these two great commercial cities to call for this marked distinction in the nature and the administration of their punishments for crime? It cannot surely be contended that it is in a superior temptation to those frauds against which, from the facility of their commission, and the extent of the mischief they may accomplish, it is most undoubtedly necessary to guard a commercial community, by the infliction of the severest pains and penalties that can be devised, short of the death of the offender; and it may even be by that, provided it can be shewn that none can be so effectual in deterring others from following his example. If it should be, the answer is obvious;—during the greater part of the period which this calculation embraces the superior temptation existed, where the milder punishment prevailed, and therefore the reasoning built upon this consideration falls to the ground. Is it said, that the stricter morals of the people of Holland renders capital punishment less necessary there than in England? That is the strongest possible argument to shew, that hanging with us is not the way to mend them. Surely, surely, the time will at length arrive, though we see not as yet the dawn of its approach, when our legislators will remove this stain from a code of laws which might otherwise be a model for the world; and learn, though late, that it is not by a prodigal waste of the blood of offenders that offences are to be checked, but, that it is only by the adoption of a mode of discipline suited to reclaim evil doers from the error of their ways, that this object may be accomplished, and that the injury they do to society can in any measure be repaired. To this correctional discipline the greatest attention is paid in every part of Holland. At Amsterdam, as in the other great towns of this commercial country, there is a rasp-house, in which the men convicts are employed in the laborious occupation

of rasping logwood, whence the name of the place is derived. In the particular species of labor in which they were engaged, regard was however had, not only to their strength, but to the various degrees of their criminality, some being employed in winding silk and thread, and others in sorting and weighing the wood which the stronger and more hardened offenders were compelled to cut. If they were idle, or refractory, they were shut up in closer confinement under ground; but on careful inquiry, Mr. Howard found that the general report of persons of this description being put into a cellar, in which they were obliged to pump out the water, or be drowned in it, was not true. The prisoners confined here were kept to hard work for nine hours a day, being permitted to employ the remainder in making tobacco boxes, and other fancy articles, for sale to visitors, who were suffered to go into the prison on paying two stivers, which is nearly equal to two pence farthing of our money. They were daily visited by the medical attendants of the establishment, and had generally a healthy appearance. Mr. Howard was anxious to obtain some further particulars of the regulations of this celebrated prison, but he could scarcely ever get from its old cautious keeper, a direct answer to any one question which he put, in the course of five visits paid to him for that purpose. It was not until the last of these occasions, that he was even permitted to go into the rooms, and then only because he was accompanied by a magistrate, whose presence did not, however, dispel a particle of the provoking reserve of the Dutch gaoler; his conduct being still marked by all the taciturnity and suspicion so strikingly characteristic of most of his countrymen. Without asking him the question, his visitor saw that his prison was dirty.* On nearly the same plan with the rasp-house, for the men, there was here, as in most of the larger cities and towns in Holland, a *Spin-huis*, or spinning-house for the women. Some of these, formerly of characters the most abandoned, our philanthropic tourist had the pleasure to find sitting in the presence of their mistress, pursuing their different employments, spinning,

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 126, 7.

plain work, &c. in a quiet and orderly manner; such is the effect of the wholesome discipline judiciously adopted in these admirable institutions. Under proper and vigilant inspection, they were thus kept to work, chiefly for persons who sent it in from the city, for thirteen hours a day. From their work Mr. Howard saw them go to their dinner, and could not but be most highly delighted at the order and regularity with which that meal was conducted. It was indeed, a sight but seldom witnessed within the walls of a prison. The keeper, whom they call father, presided; and after leaving off their work at his command, they sang a psalm before they left the room, and descended into a neat dining-room, where they seated themselves at two tables, and had several dishes of boiled barley, agreeably sweetened, set before them. On the father's striking his desk with a hammer, they all stood up, when one of them read, with great propriety, a short prayer of four or five minutes length. Their fare was humble, but it was wholesome; and after having thus supplicated the blessing of heaven upon its enjoyment, they sat down cheerfully to it, each filling her own bowl from a large dish that held enough for four, when one of them brought on a waiter slices of bread and butter, which she served out to her fellow prisoners. "As I staid longer than a common visitant," adds our author at the close of his description of this pleasing scene, "one of the prisoners went up to the mistress with the timid modesty of a suppliant, and asked leave to offer me the plate. The leave was granted. The mistress keeps what is given, till it amounts to a sum sufficient to purchase a little tea or coffee, for all to partake." But besides these two admirable institutions for the punishment and reformation of criminals of both sexes, there was in Amsterdam, as in some other of the towns of Holland, a prison, or workhouse, for slighter offenders, who were employed in spinning, weaving coarse carpets, picking oakum, &c.* From Amsterdam our traveller proceeded to Utrecht, bearing with him letters of introduction, most probably from our ambassador at the Hague, to Dr. Robert Brown, at this time

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 127, 8.

minister of the English church, and his Britannic Majesty's agent in that city; but who being confined to his bed by indisposition, sent his nephew, the Rev. William Laurence Brown, D.D. now principal of the Marischal College, Aberdeen, but then a student in divinity, residing in his uncle's house, to apologise for not waiting on him in person, and shewing him those attentions which he was so desirous he should receive at his hands. In this circumstance originated an intimate friendship, to which, through the kind communications of the survivor, the subsequent parts of these memoirs will be indebted for much of whatever interest they may possess. There was nothing very particular in the prison in the stadt-house here, except that there were no prisoners in it. The keeper told Mr. Howard, that their allowance was twelve stivers a day, "for," said he, "confinement here is not meant as punishment; but only as safe custody till trial. After which, some who are to be punished by a short imprisonment, are sent to another prison, where they live on bread and water only." Of this, however, they had a sufficient quantity, and if ill, their food was altered.* At Groningen, Mr. Howard found the rasp and spin-house together, the ground floor being appropriated to the use of the men, who worked and slept in the same rooms, on which account they were somewhat offensive. The work, and lodging rooms of the women were quite separate, and both of them very clean. All the prisoners were occupied on a woollen manufacture.† In the rasp-house at Lewarden, a few of the men were employed in rasping logwood, with an instrument composed of ten saws united; others in combing and spinning wool, spinning twine, weaving sacks, coarse linen cloth, &c. In the spin-house adjoining, were thirty women all at work, preparing thread, &c. except one, whom the mistress, on going up with her visitor from her breakfast, found idle in a warehouse, for which she not only rated her sufficiently, but entertained him with her murmurs upon the offence for a considerable while after, whence he naturally concluded that it was one of not very frequent occurrence.‡ "All at work" seems indeed to be the grand secret of the orderly state of the Dutch

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 131, 2. † Ib. p. 130, 131. ‡ Ib. p. 131.

prisons; as all at play, or something worse, is most undoubtedly one of the principal causes of the vice and immorality so generally prevalent in those of our own country. It was impossible, therefore, for Mr. Howard to leave Holland,—and Lewarden would seem to have been the last place he visited in it, during the present journey—without being deeply impressed by a contrast which cannot fail to strike every one who peruses the account here given of the observations which he made there.

At Bremen, the first town in Germany of which he gives us any account, the prison for debtors contained four rooms, but the magistrate who accompanied him in his visit to them, assured him, that they had not had an occupant for above thirty years, until one had been fitted up but a short time since, for a debtor who was confined in it for a few weeks. Over its outer gate was this appropriate inscription, "*Hic fraudum terminus esto.*" Mr. Howard found, also, that there were but few debtors, or none at all, in such towns as Mentz, Coblentz, Manheim, &c.; a circumstance which he ascribes to their being places of but little trade. "In such large trading cities as Hamburgh, and Bremen," he goes on with equal justice to observe, "it seems owing to the little credit that is given—the expence of aliment, &c. falling on the creditor—the being deprived of every kind of amusement and diversion while in prison—and the disgrace of being there."* It would be well, perhaps, could we import some of these feelings into another great commercial city, or rather commercial country through its wide extent, where imprisonment for debt is so far from being a disgrace, that it is considered to be one of the mere every day occurrences of life; certificated bankrupts riding the while unblushingly in their carriages, and mingling with the first circles of fashion and of taste, whilst the honest and industrious creditor to whom they may have paid five shillings in the pound, is left with his wife and family to rot in gaol. It might, too, be advisable to adopt in England, as a general rule, the practice which at this time prevailed,

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 117.

and I believe still prevails, in most of the German cities, not to permit the wives and children of debtors to live with them in prison,* though some cases might possibly arise, and that which has just been put for another purpose, would seem to be one of them, in which a special exception might justly be allowed. The house of correction in this city, Mr. Howard found to be " indeed a house of industry ;" yet was it clean, and very quiet. The prisoners were all at work, except one woman, who had broke her leg; their employment being pretty much the same as in Holland. The keeper, contrary to our then general practice in England, had a salary, and was not allowed to sell any thing to his prisoners.† In the city of Hamburgh, supposed at that time to contain ninety thousand inhabitants, there were but three debtors; in the neighbouring town of Altena but two. Here Mr. Howard spent a week in visiting the prisons; which he did with every possible advantage, through the kindness of his friend Senator Voght. One of these is a place of confinement for slight offences, an establishment of a very useful description, by no means unfrequently met with in Holland and Germany, though very much wanted, even to the present day, in our own country. The principal house of correction is a sort of workhouse, in which it is not reckoned infamous to be confined. It contains many hundreds, and at this time about three hundred women and girls were all busily employed in its great room. Their work was chiefly knitting and spinning; that of the men weaving linen, hair, and wool; and rasping logwood and hartshorn. A regular account was kept of their earnings, one-fourth of which was given to them for their own use. The whole establishment was under the government of eight directors, who were required to be married men, as on their visits to the prison, two and two in rotation, every Saturday, they were attended by their ladies, who delivered out the women's work in a room appropriated to that purpose: but besides this they themselves regularly visited it every Wednesday. In the spin-house, which *was* considered infamous, and therefore contained, of course, the more hardened offenders, it was somewhat singularly ordered, that

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 118. † Ibid. 118.

the work should be of a less laborious description than in the institution just described, for even the most robust of the men were employed in spinning in rooms lighter, and therefore more cheerful than those of the work-house. But with all these pleasing indications of a more enlightened and liberal, whilst it was unquestionably a more politic method of punishing offenders, which Mr. Howard witnessed in this great and nominally free city, there were circumstances of severity, and even of cruelty, connected with other parts of its administration of justice, from which, as his heart sickens at the recital, the free-born spirit of an Englishman will naturally revolt. "Among the various engines of torture, or the question," says our author, in speaking of the Bütteley, the chief prison for felons in Hamburgh, "which I have seen in France and other places, the most excruciating is kept and used in a deep cellar of this prison. It ought to be buried ten thousand fathoms deeper. It is said the inventor was the first who suffered by it: the last was a woman not two years ago." The felons here were also all in irons, a circumstance not very usual in the continental prisons.*

Entering the electoral dominions of the King of England, at Lunenburgh, our traveller found that the criminals were here employed in a different manner to any he had yet witnessed: that of digging stone from a large chalk hill, preparing it for the kiln, grinding, sifting, and packing it in casks in the warehouses, whence it was sent to Hamburgh, and other places where it is made into a most excellent cement. In this work they were not employed alone, but were injudiciously, it might perhaps though be unavoidably, associated in their labor with many honest persons, from whom they were, however, distinguished by having a chain of about four pounds weight fastened to the leg. Their allowance was liberal; a pound and a half of bread, and three-halfpence in money every day; provisions there being much cheaper than in England.† At Zell, there was a large house of correction, of which we find nothing par-

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 115—117. † Ib. 114—115.

ticular recorded, except that, like most of the German prisons, it was judiciously built near a river, that situation being most conducive to cleanliness, of the necessity of which in their places of confinement,—it would be well also did their foresight extend to their habitations,—these people are represented to have been fully aware.* This was the case also at Hanover, where the prison was commodious, and well-regulated. It contained indeed a chamber of torture, but its philanthropic visitor learned with pleasure that the two cruel engines with which it was furnished, had not been used for four years.† The only wonder is, that they should ever have been used at all, during the reign of the benevolent prince who, for eleven years prior to the discontinuance of this singular mode of measuring the guilt of a prisoner by the degree of physical strength he might possess, had been the sovereign of the electorate. Such, however, is the force of custom, and the dread of innovation, that practices as absurd as they are cruel, may long be suffered to prevail even under the government of the mildest and most benignant monarch that ever swayed a sceptre.

In the capital of the dominions of the Landgrave of Hesse Cassel, our traveller met with a house of correction, upon a very large scale, containing a work room one hundred and ten feet long. He does not, however, give us any description of the discipline adopted there, assigning as a reason for the omission, that the institutions of a similar description in Holland and Flanders are much better conducted than this, or other houses of the same sort in Germany ;‡ and of those a very particular account has already been given. In the neighbouring city of Hanau, the chief town of the little principality of that name, the galley slaves, as persons sentenced to hard labor in different houses of correction in Germany, and some other parts of the continent, are very improperly called, were divided into two classes, *honnêtes* and *deshonnêtes*. The former were condemned to work for three, four, seven, nine, or fourteen years, according to the nature and magnitude of their offences; but their term was

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 104. † Ibid. 114. ‡ Ibid. 119.

sometimes shortened on account of their good behaviour. These wore a brown uniform, and a small chain from the girdle to one leg; the dress of the other class, consisting for the most part of such as had committed capital offences, being a white coat, with one black sleeve, with a chain from the girdle to each leg. The latter were never sent out of town, but were always put to the most disagreeable services in it. The *honnêtes* were set to work upon the road, and on Mr. Howard asking several of them whether they liked to be thus employed, or would rather choose to be confined in idleness? they readily answered, " much rather be thus abroad at work." On the Saturday afternoon they swept the bridges, the entrances to the town, &c. Whatever might be their number, they were attended by a guard of four soldiers, with bayonets fixed, a subaltern, and the keeper. At their work, and in the prison, they were kept perfectly separate from the *deshonnêtes*, but even these were not doomed to despair, but for their good behaviour were sometimes promoted to the rank of *honnetès*, an advancement which made one of them with whom our Philanthropist conversed, soon after it had taken place, extremely cheerful. They were well fed, cloathed, and regularly visited by a deputy from the regency, who made his report every morning to the colonel, who conveyed it to the prince, when he was residing at Hanau. Of his kindness to them the prisoners seemed to be duly sensible, and spoke also with grateful respect of the attention shewed them by his deceased mother. On his repeated visits they always looked healthy.* At Manheim, Monsieur Babo, counsellor to the Regency, very politely gave orders for our traveller to be shewn every room in the *Maison de la Force*, which was clean and admirably regulated. Both men and women were all at work, either at their own trades, or at one of the manufactures of the prison, which were of cloth and cards. So closely, indeed, were they employed, that they had but little time to work for themselves; yet their labor did not maintain the house. Their allowance of food was good; they had clean linen, washed by the women prisoners once a week, and the sick were

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 109—111.

indulged with white bread, veal, &c. Such also was the strict attention paid to cleanliness, that by one of the rules for the regulation of the prison,—a copy of which was given to every prisoner, and another hung up in his room, the whole being also publicly read every Sunday morning after divine service, that no one might plead ignorance of them;—it was provided, that whoever saw the least offence against it should immediately inform the inspector, upon pain of close confinement, on bread and water, and the most rigorous chastisement. Prisoners committed to this well-regulated house of correction, were greeted on their entrance with what was quaintly called the *bien-venu*, or welcome, which consisted in their being fastened by the neck, hands, and feet into a machine, stripped, and receiving, according to the magistrate's order, from twelve to thirty stripes; after which they kissed the threshold, and went in. Some were treated with the same compliment on their discharge; a singular but salutary ceremony, observed also at some other towns in Germany. A capuchin friar said mass every morning in the chapel of the prison, at which time Protestants and Jews were ordered to their private devotions, the latter being also excused in the same liberal spirit from working on their sabbath.* The prisons of Mentz were equally well regulated, their keepers making a daily report of their condition to an attentive Lieutenant of Police, and the *Conseiller de Régence*, the *Secretaire* and *Conseiller des Finances* visiting them once a fortnight, to hear their complaints, and to inquire if cloaths, or any other necessary was wanting. None of their keepers were permitted to sell liquor, but prisoners were allowed to send out for a quart of beer each a day, though they were not suffered to have any spirits. In the house of correction for this city, all was neat. The delinquents worked for two hours in the morning, and two in the afternoon, at a mill in the prison, where most of the flour for the city was ground. In the separate gaol for debtors, there were at this time no prisoners; when there were any, they received, at their creditors' cost, a daily allowance of two pounds of bread, and about four pence English each. Every

* State of Prisons, 1st Ed. p. 112, 114.

prison here had in each of its rooms a German stove, which in winter was heated two or three times a day. Their inmates had clean linen once a week. On Mr. Howard's observing to the Brigadier of the Police how healthy his prisoners looked, he told him that "some years ago they were unhealthy, and the Regency removed them from the dungeons under ground, upon which they recovered, and had been remarkably healthy ever since." The dungeons were now totally disused. The admirable rules adopted in this city for the regulation of its places of confinement, are given by our author as a specimen of the economy observed in other German prisons, most of them being governed upon the same principles, though not all with the same attention.*

This seems to be the last place which he visited in Germany, or indeed in any other country, during his present journey, of the state of whose prisons he has preserved any account; for turning his steps towards home, we find him addressing the following letter to his friend, the Rev. Mr. Symmonds, from Bonn, a small town upon the Rhine, in the circle of Lower Saxony:—

"Dear Sir, "Bonn, June 20, 1775.

"I flatter myself a line will not be unacceptable. As one's spirits are tired with the same subject, it is a relaxation and pleasure to write to a friend; which indeed is my case at present, being just come from the prisons in this place. I had visited many in France, Flanders, and Holland; but I thought I might gain some knowledge by looking into the German police. I have carefully visited some Prussian, Austrian, Hessian, and many other gaols. With the utmost difficulty did I get access to many dismal abodes; and, through the good hand of God I have been preserved in health and safety. I hope I have gained some knowledge, that may be improved to some valuable purpose. Though conscious of the utmost weakness, imperfection, and folly, I would hope my heart deceives me not, when I say to my friend, I trust that I intend well.

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 107—109.

The great example,—the glorious and divine Saviour;—the first thought humbles, abases,—yet, blessed be God, it exalts and rejoices in that infinite and boundless source of love and mercy.

"The state of the weather makes travelling not a little fatiguing. I have the pleasure of now coming homeward. There are many travellers at the first, or great houses; but these three or four weeks I have not met one Englishman. We are here surrounded with vineyards, so I must not say it is hot; yet I cannot help wishing for my refreshing Bath.

"I have spent some Sundays with the French Protestants. I love and esteem them. Though separated, yet truly united. I trust and hope we shall make one great and glorious body. In which wish,

"I truly remain, &c.

"JOHN HOWARD."

"P. S. Mr. Castleman, Mr. Freelove, &c. with gratitude. I think of their late instance of affection; and with pleasure on some sacred moments. Adieu. I pray God bless you; and may many be your crown of rejoicing in that great and glorious day.—J. H."*

The postscript to this letter alludes, without doubt, to the exertions which had been made by his friends to secure his return to parliament, in which the gentlemen here named, though both of them, if I am not greatly misinformed, members of the established church, took a very active part. Of their kindness, and of that of his other friends upon this occasion, he was never forgetful to the day of his death, and he frequently mentions the grateful sense he entertained of it in his letters. And whilst thus consistently discharging all the duties of friendship and of private life, it cannot be supposed that a person of Mr. Howard's ardent

* Evangelical Magazine, Vol. XXIV. p. 86, 7.

disposition, and unconquerable perseverance, should have returned to England with any diminution of his zeal for that single object of pure, disinterested, and universal benevolence, which had induced him to undertake so long and wearisome a journey through foreign lands; or that he should be languid in its pursuit at home, when he had been so active and so unwearied in following it through danger and difficulty abroad. Scarcely, indeed, had he again set his foot upon the shores of her sea-girt isle, than he hastened to visit, it would seem for the first time, the gaol of the borough of Dover, the port at which he most probably landed from his continental tour, on or about the 25th of July, 1775. The majority of the prisons abroad he had found to be spacious, open to the air, healthy, and secure; the allowance to the prisoners, in general, liberal; and the salary of the gaoler sufficient to prevent his being driven to obtain his own living, by taking from the poor destitute wretches, committed to his custody, the little property that was still left to them, or the paltry pittance which they might be enabled to obtain from their friends. How degrading, therefore, must it have been to his feelings as an Englishman—a title which, as his birth-right, he so highly and so justly valued—that of the first place of confinement to which his steps were directed on returning to his own dear land of liberty, from traversing countries whose constitutions were some of them most despotic, none so free as her's, he should be compelled to record, that it consisted of but two rooms on the ground-floor, and two above, without fire-places, and all close and offensive; the court-yard not secure; the allowance to each prisoner but four-pence a-day; the keeper without salary, or perquisite, except a chaldron of coals, and therefore left, we may fairly conclude, to remunerate himself for his trouble by extorting from his prisoners as much more than his regular fee of 8*s.* 2*d.* as he could find the means of inducing, or compelling them to pay.*

From the day upon which this visit was paid, to the 19th of October, a period of nearly three months, Mr. Howard seems to have rested from his

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 227.

more active labors in the great cause to which he had devoted himself, probably spending the principal part of his time in the circle of his friends in Bedfordshire; in superintending the improvements still carrying on upon his estate; and in promoting, by his personal attention to their wants, the comfort of his tenantry, and the pensioners upon his bounty there. Some part of it we may also reasonably suppose that he devoted to the reducing to some order his loose memoranda of the results of his inquiries into the one grand object of his late extensive journeyings, both at home and abroad. And even upon the day last mentioned, those journeyings seem to have been but incidentally and partially resumed, Chelmsford being the only place to which his benevolent footsteps can at this time be traced. Hither he was, perhaps, attracted by a circumstance which would have deterred every other man from approaching its wretched and polluted gaol, where the distemper, which the closeness of its cells naturally and frequently engendered, had just been raging with such virulence that the head turnkey himself had fallen among its victims. The gaoler here was a woman, and in the tap-room which she was licensed to keep, was hung a paper upon which was written, amongst other rules and regulations, "prisoners to pay garnish or run the gauntlet;" a species of rough and lawless discipline in use among the lower orders, which I am persuaded few of my readers would be willing for any consideration to undergo.*

It was on the 8th or 9th of November in this year, that our ever active Philanthropist set out from his comfortable abode at Cardington, upon his second general inspection of the English gaols, with a view to the correction of any errors into which he might have fallen upon his former visits; spending the whole of an inclement winter in traversing the kingdom from one extremity to the other, to commiserate, and as far as possible to relieve, the distresses of the outcast—exposing himself the while to the cold that would strike through his frame from the dampness of their miserable abodes, and to the burning fever

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 217.

which might commence its destructive ravages in his veins the moment he had inhaled but a particle of their infectious breath. His course was through Huntingdon and Oakham to Leicester, where he noticed, and has recorded in terms of merited approbation, a most benevolent practice, originating with the grand jury, and cheerfully adopted by the clergy of the county, of making voluntary annual collections in the parish churches for the relief of the unfortunate beings confined in the county gaol, by clothing and discharging debtors, and feeding and warming all the prisoners, during the inclemency of the winter season. "I wish," says the prisoner's friend, and who but will join him in the wish, "that every county would imitate this exemplary benevolence."* From this place he proceeded through Nottingham and Derby to Stafford, where he found the county bridewell very dirty, yet were the prisoners always shut up in it. They had no employment, and were under the care of a deputy keeper, who served the office for living in the prison rent free.† After having re-inspected the principal gaols and houses of correction in the counties of Lancaster, Chester, Salop, Montgomery, Radnor, Worcester, Hereford, and Monmouth, he visited at St. Briavels, a small inconvenient gaol for debtors within the forest of Dean, greatly out of repair: with no yard; no water; no allowance; no firing. One of the two sickly objects whom he found here, the joint tenants of this miserable hole, told him that he had been confined a twelve-month, without having ever been suffered to go out of the dismal room, which his fellow prisoner had, under similar circumstances, inhabited almost as long.‡ Re-visiting in his way those cities and towns in Gloucestershire, Somersetshire, and Devonshire, whose gaols and bridewells he had before inspected, Mr. Howard examined for the first time the town gaols of Falmouth, Truro, Penryn, and Penzance, in Cornwall, neither of which at that time contained any prisoners, and it was a fortunate circumstance that they did not, as, except the second, which was more than usually convenient, they were but ill fitted for their reception, most of them having neither court-yard nor water.† At

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 277, 8. † Ib. 329. ‡ Ib. 319. § Ib. p. 385, 6.

the latter place was also a prison for the liberties of Penwith, consisting of but two rooms, in the keeper's stable-yard, so distant from his house as to be quite out of sight and hearing. The room for men was full eleven feet square, and six high, but had a window only eighteen inches in size, no chimney, and an earth floor, which was very damp. In this place was a solitary prisoner, whose wretched situation cannot better be described than in the words of his benevolent visitor's simple, but affecting narrative: "The door had not been opened for four weeks when I went in; and then the keeper began shoveling away the dirt.—There was only one debtor, who seemed to have been robust, but was grown pale by ten weeks' close confinement, with little food, which he had from a brother, who is poor and has a family. He said, the dampness of the prison, with but little straw, had obliged him (he spoke with sorrow) to send for the bed on which some of his children lay. He had a wife and ten children, two of whom died since he came thither, and the rest were almost starving.—He has written me a letter since, by which I learn that his distress was not mitigated, and that he had a companion, miserable as himself." Never, perhaps, could those well-known lines of the poet of nature and of feeling, which Mr. Howard so appropriately selected as a motto to the work from which this narrative is taken, be better applied than to a scene of misery like this:

"Ah! little think the gay, ...
"Whom pleasure, power, and affluence surround;
"How many pine in want and dungeon—glooms.
"Shut from the common air."——THOMSON.

From such accumulated sufferings who would not wish to escape? We cannot therefore be surprised at learning, that about two years previous to this visit, five prisoners, rendered desperate by what they had undergone in this wretched hole, broke out of its hated and its hateful walls.* In the felons' gaol at Launceston, the prisoners were chained two or three together; whilst alike inattentive to their spiritual instruction, and to their temporal necessities,

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 385, 6.

the justices of this large, but parsimonious county, had recently reduced the salary of the chaplain from 50 to 30*l.* a year; yet such was his exemplary conduct, that our Philanthropist assures us, he was much edified by his behaviour, and that the prisoners highly respected him. He had a large family, and on this, and every other account, Mr. Howard regretted the reduction which he found to have taken place.* At Dorchester, the next county gaol which he re-visited, he found the small-pox raging with great virulence, yet was there no infirmary to remove the infected patients to, and thus to save the rest of the prison from the ravages of so dreadful a contagion.† The gaol for the city of Salisbury, which he now visited for the first time, was the property of the bishop, one of whose domestics received from its keeper an annual rent of eight pounds, to be levied by fees from felons who had but a very small allowance, and from debtors who had none at all. This prison was as usual, out of repair, and neither furnished with water, court-yard, or straw.‡ In the county gaol at Winchester, its benevolent inspector was pleased to find that many improvements had been made since his last visit, well calculated to preserve the health of its prisoners. Such indeed was the attention now paid to cleanliness, as the handmaid of health, in this altered gaol, that the prisoners were every day provided with a clean towel, hung on a roller, one of their number who took care of it, and delivered it back the next day, being paid a penny for his trouble.§ In this city was also a prison for debtors, in the liberty of the soke, the property of the bishop, and like all bishops' prisons, out of repair. Its wretched inmates were principally supported by the regular weekly bounty of the Duke of Chandos.‖

The first day of the year 1776, our philanthropic tourist spent at Reading, in visiting the county and town bridewell, which was a spacious room, formerly a church, with four small cabins on one side for night rooms. It had, however, neither court-yard, nor water. The keeper had half the profits of the prisoner's work, so that it was to his interest that they should not be idle.¶ A similar

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 380, 381. † Ib. p. 367. ‡ Ib. p. 363.
§ Ib. p. 354. ‖ Ib. p. 356. ¶ Ib. p. 313.

regulation prevailed in the other bridewell for this county, at Abingdon; but the night rooms there were dark and offensive, besides there being neither yard, water, nor chimney to the prison. The petty offenders were also in irons, and one of them had lately died of the small-pox, a disease which in so confined a place, must be very destructive in its ravages.* In the adjoining county of Oxford, the greater part of the house at Thame, given to the county in 1708 for a bridewell, was at this time occupied as a parish workhouse; whilst the few petty offenders committed there were locked up all day long within doors, men and women in the same room; and confined at night in two small rooms in a dungeon, eleven steps under ground. No allowance; no employment; no water; no sewer; so closes the catalogue of the deficiencies of this house of correction;† whence Mr. Howard proceeded so near to his own house at Cardington, as Aylesbury, without appearing to have visited it for a single day, ere he bent his course toward the most northern extremity of the kingdom. In his way thither he re-inspected the county, and visited for the first time the town gaol at Northampton. The latter he found to be without either court-yard or water. "So," he observes, with his usual minute attention to the truth and accuracy of all his statements, "the prisoners told me at the large grate, where I could see the room; into which, for that reason, I happened not to go;" a circumstance which he mentions "because it occurred no where else." Close rooms; no yard; no water; no prisoners; such is the short account which he gives us of the gaol at Daventry, in the same county;‡ a description which, with the exception of the want of prisoners, and the addition of that of employment, and of sewers, is equally characteristic of the bridewell of the neighbouring city of Coventry, which he visited for the first time two days after.§ Very similar too in the nature and *quantum* of its defects, was the bridewell for the county of Derby, at Chesterfield, of which we find it recorded that it had no court-yard; no water; no straw; no fees; no allowance; no employment. The room for the men was a cellar, descending under the keeper's house by eight steps, but level with the ground behind it:—the provision of

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 314. † Ib. p. 319. ‡ Ib. p. 309. § Ib. p. 271.

its wretched inmates was generally conveyed to them through a hole in the floor.* Entering on his inspection of the gaols of Yorkshire, at Sheffield, where he found that the court-yard of its prison wanted enlarging,† he visited the bridewell for the North Riding of this extensive county, at Thirsk, which was in a similar condition, though, like the prison just mentioned, there was ground adjoining, and already the property of its owners, sufficient for the purpose. The prisoners confined here had lately had the gaol fever, the spread of which might easily have been checked had they been provided with an infirmary. Here, as in the West Riding, no fees were allowed; but the prisoners had neither straw to lie upon, nor employment.‡ On his former visit to Durham, our Philanthropist found the felons in a most wretched state, for the want of a court-yard to the county gaol; yet he now had the mortification to learn that a piece of ground immediately adjoining, and in every respect convenient for this purpose, though hitherto used but as a receptacle for the gaoler's lumber, had recently been granted by the bishop to the surgeon of the prison, who had the additional merit of being the gaoler's uncle, on a lease for one-and-twenty years, at the annual rent of a shilling. He had accordingly built a little stable for his horse upon the ground, which ought to have been appropriated to the use of his patients, who, for want of such a place for air and exercise, were at this time the unpitied victims of those loathsome diseases, which are the natural consequences of the filth and close confinement of a place like this.§ In the gaol for the separate jurisdiction of the town of Berwick-upon-Tweed, the rooms were sizeable, but dirty; yet like most of those in England, it had neither court-yard, nor water, and its gaoler kept a public-house at a distance. ‖ In that for the city of Carlisle, Mr. Howard learnt that many a poor traveller from the north, who by some unexpected calamity had contracted a debt of forty shillings, had been immured, at a distance from his friends, in a close confined prison, where there was no provision, nor any means of procuring it, the only allowance here being a very small quantity of peat, taken as a toll upon that commodity, and water,

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 285. † Ib. p. 412. ‡ Ib. p. 403. § Ib. p. 418. ‖ Ib. p. 429.

which was brought up twice a day.* A similarly disgraceful want of all allowance for prisoners, except straw, prevailed also in the bridewell for the county of Westmoreland, at Appleby, which was subject to the further inconvenience of being liable to floods. This it will be recollected, was the case also with the gaol at this place, on Mr. Howard's former visit in 1774, but he had the pleasure to find that a new building had since been erected on the highest part of the yard, consisting of four vaulted wards for felons, with a window in each, but no chimney; and over them three good rooms for debtors, with chimneys.† The other bridewell for this county, at Kendal, consisted of but one room for men and women, with a single window in it about two feet square; no chimney; no yard; no water; no sewer. Its town gaol was, however, in a still more miserable condition, containing only two dungeons, fourteen steps under ground, which were not furnished even with straw for their prisoners to lie upon; nor had the prison either yard, or water, but fortunately for the interests of humanity, it was also at this time without prisoners; the borough magistrates humanely committing their criminals to the county bridewell.‡ Returning from Westmoreland into Yorkshire, Mr. Howard found the prison for debtors in the manor of Wakefield, at Halifax, so greatly out of repair, that the rain came through upon the beds. The rooms, nevertheless, were clean, and of a convenient size, but the fees were more than usually high, and the gaoler paid its noble owner, the Duke of Leeds, an annual rent of 24*l.* for the prison.§ Entering Lincolnshire at Gainsborough, he visited the county bridewell there, which, besides the usual deficiencies of no water; no straw; no allowance; no work; was subjected to the further, and rather unusual hardship of requiring its keeper to convey his prisoners to the quarter sessions at his own expence, out of a salary of 30*l.* without fees. The other bridewell, at Spalding, was far more convenient; but though built within a few years, it had neither court-yard, nor water accessible to prisoners. When they worked, they had three-fourths of the profit, and the turnkey the remainder.‖ Turning aside

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 432. † Ib. p. 433. ‡ Ib. p. 434. § Ib. p. 415. ‖ Ib. p. 300, 301.

into Cambridgeshire, he found a county bridewell at Wisbeach, which, like that at Gainsborough, and many other places, might easily have been improved by taking in a part of the keeper's garden:—it had neither court-yard, nor water.* In the city gaol at Norwich, he saw that considerable improvements had been made, since his last visit, and others were then carrying on, amongst which was the addition of a bath, and two airy rooms for the sick:† so early did some of the poor wretches, whose complicated sufferings he took such pains to alleviate, experience the benefit of his humane exertions in their behalf. In the gaol for the adjoining county of Suffolk, at Ipswich, he found also that a neat chapel had lately been erected; but he heard, on the other hand, complaints from the prisoners of their being neglected by the surgeon, whose name, upon this account, he has, contrary to his usual custom, omitted; being at all times more anxious to correct a fault, than to expose the fellow-creature who had committed it.‡ The county bridewell at Woodbridge consisted of two dirty rooms, that of the women without a chimney: and, as usual, it had neither straw, firing, nor water, whilst its court-yard was small, and not safe, though capable of enlargement. The prisoners were allowed half their earnings, which at this time, however, were none at all, as they were not at work. The same regulation prevailed at Beccles, where the bridewell consisted of but one room, and a dungeon seven steps under ground.§ After re-visiting most of the gaols in this and the adjacent county of Cambridge, Mr. Howard returned home, through Stamford, in Lincolnshire,‖ where he found that a new town gaol was building, with windows more like pigeon-holes than apertures to circulate the air through such confined habitations of men. His continuance at Cardington was, however, but of short duration, for reaching it on the 11th, or, at the earliest, on the 10th of February, he spent the two following days in re-visiting the county gaol at Bedford, and in inspecting the bridewell there, which he found to be without court-yard, fire-place, or water, accessible to its prisoners;¶ and on the 14th commenced a journey through the counties of

* State of Prisons, 1st Ed. p. 253. † Ib. p. 257. ‡ Ib. 263, 4. § Ib. p. 266. ‖ Ib. p. 301. ¶ Ib. p. 214.

Hertford, Kent, Sussex, Hants, and part of Dorset; which he completed on the 28th of the same month. In one of the bridewells for the former county, at Hitchin, there was no chimney in any of the rooms; no yard; no straw; no water; and so inconveniently had it been built, that the women went up stairs to their rooms, which were over the men's, by means of a ladder.* The part of Dover Castle which was used as a prison for debtors in the Cinque Ports, he found to be very dirty, for which the keeper apologized, by saying that he had been absent for some weeks on his business as a bailiff; an office which should never be united, as it then frequently was, and I fear still is, with that of gaoler: the union being invariably productive of the greatest abuses.† The bridewell for the county, at Maidstone, was newly-erected, and presented to the observation of its visitor many pleasing points of contrast to those which he had lately inspected in other parts of the kingdom. It had separate wards, areas, workshops, and infirmaries for men and women, with windows opposite to each other, for the transmission of fresh air.‡ In the neighbouring county of Sussex he found also that the same judicious separation of the sexes prevailed in the bridewell at Lewes, which he now visited for the first time. The great object of such places to correct the bad habits of their prisoners, by keeping them closely to work, was here, however, so entirely overlooked, that for the last three years the produce of their labor had not been twenty shillings a-year, though the average number of persons committed had been sixty-five.§ What a loss to the country, in every point of view, does the mean spirit of commercial jealousy, which thus systematically confirms our criminals in habits of idleness and of dissipation, the fruitful parents of every crime, annually produce. Yet, after the exertions of a Howard, in pointing out and removing this dreadful evil, and the fearful lessons which forty years' experience of the truth of his admonitions has vainly read us, who so sanguine as to hope that he shall live to see the mischief remedied, or even partially removed? In other respects, however, neither was the legislature, or the public, altogether

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 213. † Ib. p. 227. ‡ Ib. p. 225. § Ib. p. 230.

inattentive to the judicious plans for bettering the condition of the prisoner and the captive, which the enlightened philanthropy of this great and good man proposed to their attention; for at this very time, a new gaol for this county was erecting, on a plan which seemed to him to be particularly well suited for the purpose, and in a situation very judiciously chosen.* But very different was the scene which presented itself at the bridewell for the town of Poole, in Dorsetshire, which consisted of three dirty rooms, in the work-house yard, the master of which was its keeper, and farmed alike the felons of the bridewell and the poor of the parish: of the former, however, he had fortunately but one under his care, but he was a lunatic, and could not therefore complain of the treatment which he received from his gaoler.† In that for the county of Hants, at Odiam, which consisted of but three rooms for prisoners, the keeper, a sheriff's officer, had very quietly taken possession of the largest for his brew-house and dairy, leaving his unfortunate prisoners pent up in the other two, without straw or employment, and with an allowance of but a pound of bread a day.‡

The whole of the months of March and April, and the greater part of May, seem to have been spent by our Philanthropist in frequently and carefully re-visiting the gaols of the metropolis, and its immediate vicinity, and in reducing to a more methodical arrangement the observations he had made during his recent journeys. In his way, however, from Hampshire to London, he visited Windsor, where he found the prison in the Castle for debtors, of which the king is proprietor, out of repair, and the town gaol without chimney, yard, or water.§ He afterwards inspected the gaols at St. Alban's, all of which he found to be without court-yard, or water; the borough gaol and bridewell being also unprovided with straw. The two night rooms of the felons, in the former, were close and offensive; and the allowance of their wretched inhabitants was but a pound of bread a-day. The rooms of the latter were all up

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 229. † Ib. p. 370. ‡ Ib. p. 357 § Ib. p. 314.

stairs, and airy, but those who were confined in them had no allowance but their earnings,* which, if they were regularly supplied with work, when they chose to do it, would be more than sufficient to keep them, and would, perhaps, be the best possible plan of providing for their maintenance; though where this is not the case, as it is to be feared it was not here, it is of all others the most cruel and unjust. On the very day on which he visited Windsor and St. Alban's, Mr. Howard appears to have minutely inspected the gaol of Newgate, which had not long been erected, in lieu of one "whose builders," he tells us, "seem to have regarded in their plan nothing but the single article of keeping prisoners in safe custody." Approving, therefore, as we might naturally expect he would do, of the resolution of the corporation to build a new prison, the inspection of it, which he now made, compelled him to limit his commendations to the avoidance of many of the inconveniencies of the old gaol, with the continuance of many manifest errors in the new one. Yet, of the plan upon which the condemned cells are constructed he seems highly to have approved. "I was told," says he, "by those who attended me, that criminals who had affected an air of boldness during their trial, and appeared quite unconcerned at the pronouncing sentence upon them, were struck with horror, and shed tears when brought to these darksome solitary abodes." This is precisely the effect such places ought to produce; the end for which they were erected is, therefore, fully answered here. The chapel he describes as plain and neat; and, as was his frequent custom when visiting places of confinement, he once went to prayers there. "Mr. Villette, the chaplain," he tells us, "read them (as he did every day) distinctly, and with propriety: the few prisoners who were present seemed attentive: but we were disturbed by the noise in the yard. Mr. Villette told me 'that was always the case, even on Sundays.' Surely they who will not go to chapel, who are by far the greater number, should not be suffered to hinder the edification of such as are better disposed."† Such are the remarks of this pious and devoted Christian upon

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 214, 5. † Ib. p. 151—3.

a practice so disgraceful to any land professing the true religion, much more so to one which pretends to set an example to other nations of purity of doctrine, and of conformity to the precepts of the gospel, in all its institutions—civil, social, and religious. Very different was the scene he had witnessed in some of the prisons of the continent, especially in those of Holland. Very different too, in fact, was that which presented itself to his notice in the bridewell for this city, in Blackfriars, where all the prisoners were required to go to the public chapel every Sunday morning, the men and women being separated there from each other, and from the rest of the congregation. In most other respects he found also that the regulations of this house of correction were infinitely superior to most of those which he had visited in other parts of England. The men and women were kept quite apart, but they were confined within doors, without proper exercise, though the prison was well aired, ventilated, and supplied with water. They were generally set close to work for a hemp-dresser, who resided in the prison, and had the profit of their labor, which they were sufficiently provided with food to be enabled to perform. In winter they were allowed firing, and their night rooms were always supplied with straw, an exception to a general rule highly disgraceful to the magistracy of the metropolis, no other prison in London having either straw, or other bedding. An infirmary was then building.* Of the new gaol, in Horsemonger-lane, a very different account has already been given: and his second visit did not at all remove the unfavorable impression which, at first sight, had been made upon its inspector's mind. On the contrary, that impression was strengthened by his finding several felons sick on the floors.† In the New Ludgate an addition had recently been made to the allowance of the prisoners of a penny loaf each.‡ The pleasing hope which this circumstance afforded of some attention being at length paid by the magistrates of the capital to the wretched condition of the prisoners under their superintendence, was, however, most completely disappointed, when he learnt, the very next day, that the Middle-

* State of Prisons, 1st Ed. p. 178, 9. † Ib. p. 233. ‡ Ib. p. 165.

sex justices had taken off the salary of the keeper of the bridewell at Clerkenwell, and augmented his fees from five shillings and sixpence to seven shillings.* True indeed it was, that those fees were no longer payable by acquitted prisoners, but it was little less unjust that those who had suffered the punishment of the law, should be detained in prison until they could satisfy the demands of their ruthless janitor. In the bridewell for the county of Surrey, in St. George's-fields, several prisoners were at this time sick on the floors, neither bedding nor straw being allowed them, and the prison containing no infirmary. The rooms were dirty; without firing; and the prisoners were not at work. Garnish was prohibited, but it was regularly taken; so useless is it to make rules where no one sees that they are adhered to.† In the military prison at the Savoy many were sick and dying, and had so infected the gaol, that the distemper was caught there by other prisoners, whom Mr. Howard, two months after this visit, saw sick of it in these very rooms. The whole prison was so much out of repair, that hardly any part of it was safe.‡ Early in the month of April he paid two visits to the Fleet, on the latter of which he found, from an accurate list, that when the number of debtors were 243, their wives, including women of an appellation not so honorable, and children, amounted to 475.§ Towards the latter end of the month he made a short excursion into Kent and Surrey, for the purpose of inspecting the county bridewells at Dartford and Kingston. The former had no chimneys; offensive sewers; and dirty rooms: no water; no straw; though it had mats, which were quite worn out; and no yard. About two years ago a malignant fever had raged here, which the keeper, his wife, and family, and every fresh prisoner caught, and two died of it. They were now, however, healthy, and employed in flax-dressing and weaving sacks.‖ The other, which had only been erected in the preceding year, was, in all respects, commodious, except that it wanted an infirmary. The prisoners were at work, but they had no bedding, and were very improperly required to pay a shilling on their entrance for the use of the court-yards. One of them

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 186. † Ib. p. 236, 7. ‡ Ib. p. 192. § Ib. p. 160. ‖ Ib. p. 226.

had been sent back hither from the preceding quarter sessions, at Ryegate, where there was no prison; and having heard of the hardships suffered by prisoners when conveyed for trial to such towns, Mr. Howard asked this man what was his situation there? "He said, that 'he and fifteen others were confined two or three days in a very small room, and almost suffocated!' The keeper, who was present, confirmed the fact."* My own limited experience enables me to add my testimony to the mischievous consequences resulting from the practice of holding quarter sessions in towns where there are no prisons to put offenders in, though I am happy in adding, that, at this very time, the magistrates of the two counties, with whose sessions' practice I am the best acquainted, are remedying the evil, by the erection of two very spacious, and convenient houses of correction, at Liverpool and Knutsford, the sessions having been removed to the former town from Ormskirk and Wigan, from the want of proper accommodations for prisoners there. It would be well if the magistrates of other districts would follow their good example, which in the end would produce a considerable saving. In the borough gaol of Kingston, the rooms were dirty, the court-yard not secure; and the gaoler kept a public-house.†

The same desire to be accurate in all his statements, which had induced Mr. Howard to spend nearly three months in the metropolis of his own country, in repeated and (to guard against imposition) unexpected visits to its numerous gaols, determined him to pass the summer months of this year in a similar re-inspection of the prisons he had formerly visited abroad. He accordingly left London upon the 25th of May, and by way of Calais, reached Paris by the 1st of June, or perhaps a few days earlier. Without entering into minute particulars, it may suffice generally to observe, that his second inspection of the places of confinement in this capital, confirmed the favorable opinion he had formed of the great superiority of their internal economy over

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 237, 8. † Ib. p. 239.

those of our own country. There, the gaoler always resided in the prison, whilst with us, he but too frequently lived at a distance. In most of the Parisian, and indeed of the French gaols, the very appearance of the prisoners shewed that humane attention was paid to them, a circumstance of such rare occurrence in ours, as to require honorable mention whenever it presented itself. Their prisoners were never ironed, and the women were universally separated from the men; and where there was but one court-yard, the men were locked up while they had the use of it for a couple of hours every day. Such indeed was the importance attached to these places of exercise, that they were regularly washed three or four times a day, so that they were perhaps the cleanest places in the city. They had all infirmaries, judiciously placed at the top of the house, the best situation both for air and for preventing the spread of any infectious disease; and learning wisdom from past experience, the great cause of such disorders, in the want of cleanliness in prisons, was removed, by the exertions of benevolent societies for providing their inmates with proper changes of linen. Garnish was strictly prohibited; the food of the prisoners was sufficient; and the gaolers were punished by fines and by stripes if they furnished them with wine or spirituous liquors; whilst these and other admirable regulations for preserving order, and suppressing profaneness in their gaols, were strictly enforced under the most careful inspection of officers of government, specially charged with their superintendance.* In all these particulars, it is needless to point out the disgraceful contrast, which, at this time the gaols of England universally exhibited, and which but too many of them continue to exhibit to the present hour. In one respect, however, it is pleasing to record, that the amiable example of the French ladies of the old *regime,* in taking the prisoners, particularly those of their own sex, so far under their protection as to visit and relieve them in their distress, has, to a certain extent, been recently followed in England by some charitable females, principally amongst the Society of Friends, the diffusion of whose benevolent spirit to the members

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 79—91.

of other sects, and through a wider field of usefulness, is devoutly to be wished by every friend to the sex, to the cause of humanity, and to the best interests of their country. Societies of this description, which do so much honor to the female character, originated in England, if I am not misinformed, with Mrs. Fry, of Mildred's-court, to whose humane exertions in behalf of the prisoner and the captive, though I have not the honor of her acquaintance, I cheerfully give my feeble tribute of applause; whilst, to my fair countrywomen in general, I would say, "go *ye* and do likewise." But to return to our narrative; one exception to the humane regulations of the prisons of the French metropolis, and one exception only, seems to have presented itself at the *Bicêtre*, which was very dirty, and had no fire-place in any of its rooms, so that in the severe cold of the winter of 1775, several hundreds had perished there.*

After spending two or three weeks in Paris, Mr. Howard determined to visit Switzerland, no part of which had been included in his former journey. In his way thither, he saw in the *prison de St. Joseph*, at Lyons, formerly a convent, four horrid dungeons, containing twenty-nine criminals; though the heat was so excessive, that few of them had any other garment on than their shirts. Some of them were sick, and none, as we might naturally suppose, looked healthy. In the *Pierrecize*, the state prison of this city, our benevolent countryman sat and conversed with a prisoner who was then in the fiftieth year of his confinement. He was much pleased, however, with the *Hotel Dieu*, or principal hospital of this place, especially with two chambers of convalescence, whose airy situation, and pleasant appearance, soon completed the recovery of the patients removed thither for that purpose. He was induced to take particular notice of these rooms from his friend, Dr. (then Mr.) Aikin, having proposed the adoption of a very similar plan in his "Thoughts on Hospitals," a work whose judicious suggestions, it were much to

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 92.

be wished, that those who have the management of such institutions, would more generally adopt than they hitherto have done.* In the little republic of Geneva, he found but five criminals, none of them in irons; they had an allowance of about sixpence a day, and looked healthy. There were no debtors in confinement here, as in fact it seldom happened that there were any, their creditors being compelled to allow them as much as felons had from the public; or on their failing to do so, they were discharged. But mild as were the general laws of this little state, they were yet very severe against bankrupts and insolvents, who were rendered incapable of all honors, and deprived of the freedom of the state, as were also such of their children as should not pay their proportion of their parents' debts.† In the cantons of Switzerland, which Mr. Howard visited in the course of this journey, felons had each a room to themselves, that they might not tutor one another in vice. None were in irons; and the rooms in which they were confined, though all of them very strong, were darker or lighter according to the crimes with which they were charged:—most of them contained a German stove. In some cantons there were no criminals, a circumstance which he principally attributes to the great care which was taken to give even the poorest children a moral and religious education; though he very properly assigns, as a secondary cause, "the laudable policy of speedy justice," a criminal having notice of his death, though not the manner of it, but a short time before he was to suffer. He was then somewhat singularly indulged with his choice of food, wine, &c.; the women being uniformly beheaded, instead of being hung, as the men frequently were. In the houses of correction many of the prisoners were women, who were all at work.‡ At Lausanne, the gaol contained several dungeons, but they had cellars underneath; there were, however, no prisoners in any part of it. Conversing here with Dr. Tissot, our Philanthropist was assured that he would not find the gaol distemper in Switzerland; and, his informant added, that he had not heard of its being any where but in England,

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 95—97. † Ib. p. 97, 8. ‡ Ib. p. 98, 9.

a circumstance which the famous Haller, in discoursing with him, on the same subject, at Bern, attributed to the prisons here being so over-crowded. This assurance he found to be perfectly correct, and he did not, in fact, meet with the gaol fever in any part of the continent.* In the principal canton of Bern, there was one prison which contained 124 galley-slaves, who, though they had not each a separate room, were distinguished, according to their degree of criminality, both in their rooms and their work. Most of them were employed in cleaning the streets and public walks, or removing the rubbish of buildings, and the snow and ice in winter, so that this city, on the common confession of all travellers, was rendered one of the cleanest in Europe. Whilst thus occupied, they were four or five of them chained to a small waggon, which they drew along, for others more at liberty to load it with the muck which they swept up from the streets. They had all of them an iron collar round their necks, with a hook projecting above their heads. Like those who were employed in a similar manner at Hannau, they assured Mr. Howard that they would much rather work thus than be confined within doors. The less criminal offenders were in separate wards, and were kept to work in a large room at spinning, &c. without the iron collar on their necks. Those of both descriptions were compelled to labor for nine hours in summer, and six in winter, being permitted during the other parts of the day to make trifles for sale, mend shoes, &c. which those who went out might deliver as they passed on at work. Their prison was neither commodious nor clean; but their food and clothing good and sufficient. Gaming, and the sale of wine, spirits, or provisions, by the keeper to his prisoners, were strictly prohibited, and the greatest possible attention was paid to their religious instruction, the gaoler and turnkey being strictly charged to see that they regularly performed their devotions every morning and evening; and the chaplains of the gaol praying with them and instructing them in their duty every Sunday and Thursday. Once a month other clergymen superintended the public services. In a conspicuous part of the common prison of this city

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 99, 100, 103.

was hung up a serious exhortation on the awful nature of an oath, the breach of which in this country was as rare as it is frequent in England, a circumstance in a great measure to be attributed to the different mode of its administration, which with us is a disgrace to a civilized country, and an insult to that Almighty Being whose name is treated with such gross irreverence in our courts.* The gaol at Solothurn, or Solure, was built entirely of a sort of marble, found in a quarry near the town, and therefore not easy to be broken through. This Mr. Howard thought must have been the case too with one of the strongest rooms in that at Basil, into which the prisoner descended through a trap-door in the roof, by means of a ladder, which was then taken up, his victuals being put through a wicket on one side. Yet when he remarked to the gaoler the uncommon strength of this place, he was told that a prisoner had recently made his escape from it. Unable to devise by what means this could possibly have been effected, he learnt that having a spoon for his soup, he sharpened it so as to cut out a piece of timber from his room, with which he ingeniously struck the bolts and fastenings of his door, when the strokes of the great clock in the tower of the prison drowned the noise of his blows, and thus in fifteen days he had opened a passage to the top of the tower, but attempting to let himself down from its vast height, by a rope which he found there, it failed him, and in his fall he broke so many of his ribs, that the surgeons pronounced his recovery impossible: he did however recover, and was pardoned.†

In those parts of Germany which he re-visited, Mr. Howard did not meet with any thing that could materially vary the account of the state of their prisons already given, in tracing the progress of his former journey. The galley-slaves had every where a prison to themselves, and were set to work upon the roads, fortifications, chalk-hills, and other public services, for four, seven, ten, fifteen, or twenty years, according to the nature of their crimes;

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 100—103. † Ib. p. 104, 5.

being amply clothed and fed during those periods at the expence of government. There were no underground dungeons in the newly-erected prisons of Germany, or indeed of any other part of the continent which our philanthropic traveller visited during either of his tours abroad; nor did he meet with any prison in which felons had not, either from the public allowance, or from charitable institutions, somewhat more to live on than bread and water. There were, however, some separate prisons in which confinement for a week or two on this food was all the punishment that petty offenders ever underwent, and it were much to be wished that there were similar institutions in our own country. "Perhaps," remarks our author, with his usual judgment, "when a condemned criminal is only to live a day or two, such diet may be more proper than the indulgence with which the *Germans* treat prisoners, after sentence of death, which is commonly executed within forty-eight hours. The malefactor has then his choice of food, and wine, in a commodious room, into which his friends are admitted; and a minister attends him during almost all his remaining hours." The medium between this extreme indulgence and the extreme mortification practised in our prisons, might, however, I would venture to suggest upon this statement, be the fittest mode of treating those who will so soon have done with this world, and all its sensual gratifications, and who ought, therefore, to have their undivided attention directed to that spiritual and eternal state to whose everlasting happiness, or everlasting misery, a few short hours will introduce them. In the German prisons were often to be seen the doors of sundry rooms marked *Ethiopia, India, Italy, France, England,* &c. in which rooms parents, by the authority of the magistrates, confined their dissolute children, answering, in the meanwhile, to the inquiries which might be made after them, that they were gone to whatever country might be written upon the place of their confinement, whose duration, it is to be supposed, the better to sanction this pious parental fraud, was regulated by the time which a journey thither might be expected to occupy.* In a fine

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 105—7.

new church, which had recently been built at Cassel, Mr. Howard was struck by the circumstance of there being a gallery erected for the galley-slaves, with separate seats for the *honnêtes* and *deshonnêtes*, though the whole number of the two classes was but seventeen, so attentive were these governments to that important object of correctional police, the separation of the less from the more hardened offenders.* At Strasburgh, which does not seem to have lain in the way of his former route, he was much pleased at finding a spirit of liberality prevailing, so completely after his own heart, that in its hospital were separate chambers for Lutherans, in which they were allowed the attendance of their own ministers.†

Holland, so favorite a country with him upon many accounts, still presented in the regulations of its police, and especially of its prisons, a model, which, except in a very few points, he would wish to have seen adopted in England, and by every nation of the globe. So quiet were the places of confinement there, and most of them so clean, that a visitor, he assures us, could hardly believe that he was in a gaol. They were commonly white-washed every year, and a prisoner told him, that it was no small refreshment to go into one of their rooms after so thorough a cleansing. A physician and surgeon were appointed to every prison, whose inmates were in general healthy. In most of them, each criminal was kept separate, having a bedstead, straw, and coverlid to his room. The States never transported criminals, but male offenders were put to labor in the rasp-houses, and women to work fitted for their sex, in the spin-houses, which have already been described, professedly upon this admirable maxim "*make them diligent, and they will be honest.*" The rasping of log-wood, which was formerly the principal occupation of the men, being done much cheaper at the mills, more profitable manufactures of woollen cloths had of late years been established in most of the Dutch houses of correction; in some of which, the work done by the prisoners so entirely maintained them, that

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 112. † Ib. p. 107.

they were allowed a little extra time to earn what they could for their more comfortable living in prison, or for their benefit afterwards. Of this practice Mr. Howard relates the following very interesting anecdote. "I have heard in England that a countryman of ours, who was a prisoner in the rasp-house, at *Amsterdam* for several years, was permitted to work at his own trade, shoe-making; and by being kept constantly employed, was quite cured of the vices which brought him to confinement. My informant added, that the prisoner received at his release a surplus of his earnings, which enabled him to set up in *London*, where he lived in credit, and at dinner commonly drank, 'Health to his worthy masters at the Rasp-house.'" Nor was this by any means a singular case, as he learnt, from good authority, that many came out of these places sober and honest, great care being taken to give them there all the advantages of moral and religious instruction, and to reform their manners, for their own and for the public good. With this view, the chaplain attached to every house of correction, not only performed public worship regularly, but privately instructed the prisoners in their religious duties, and catechised them every week, to ascertain that they were, at least, theoretically acquainted with them. In some places, especially those where rasping log-wood was the principal employment of the men, the work of the prisoners did not defray the expences of these useful institutions, though none of them were suffered to be quite idle but the sick; even the infirm being compelled to earn what little they could. "This," as our author judiciously remarks, "is surely excellent policy; for, besides guarding against the pernicious effects of idleness in a prison, and breaking criminals to habits of industry, if work so constant does not support the houses, how much heavier would be the public burden of maintaining the many offenders in these prisons, if, as in many of our bridewells, no work at all were done there?" Some of our parliamentary returns might, perhaps, enable us to give an answer to this question, not very favorable to our national morality or national policy, as they would show the thousands and tens of thousands, or even millions, which have been expended in England in the main-

tenance of convicted offenders, without a return to the state, of, upon a very liberal average, half a farthing in the pound. As an encouragement to that sobriety and industry which this system of punishment is so admirably calculated to produce, some few of the subjects of it, who had distinguished themselves by their good behaviour, were generally discharged, by the magistrates going out of office, before the expiration of the term of their imprisonment, which, to prevent despair, was seldom for life; so that fourteen years would sometimes be reduced to eight, ten or twelve, to six or seven. "This practice of abridging the time of punishment upon reformation," observes Mr. Howard, "is in every way wise and beneficial. Indeed, I have some reason to think that (in Holland) criminals are often doomed to a longer term, with an intention to make such deductions upon their amendment." The debtors imprisoned in this country were but few, the magistrates being unwilling to confine, in idleness, any that might be usefully employed, and their creditors being compelled to make them a daily allowance of from about $8\frac{3}{4}d.$ to $19\frac{1}{2}d.$ for their maintenance in gaol. Another reason for the smallness of their number was, that their situation was considered a very disgraceful one. "But, perhaps," adds our author, "the principal cause that *here* debtors, as well as capital offenders, are few, is the great care that is taken to train up the children of the poor, and indeed of all others, to industry." "No debtors," he also tells us, "have their wives and children living with them in prison: but occasional visits in the day-time are not forbidden. You do not hear in the streets as you pass by a prison, what I have been rallied for abroad, the cry of *poor hungry starving debtors*."* The same mode of treatment with respect to them was also adopted throughout the Austrian Netherlands; the general character of whose prisons at this time is, that they were commonly clean, and had no sickness prevailing in any of them, though few had court-yards; but every prisoner was confined to his own room.† It was in this country that, towards the close of the month of August, our Philanthropist completed the object of his

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 119—123. † Ib. p. 134.

journey with the re-inspection of the prisons of the city of Ghent, the description of whose excellent regulations he has accompanied by a few general reflections, which will explain his views in undertaking it, the spirit in which his inquiries, in connexion with those views, were pursued, and the advantages which he hoped the statement of its results might produce to his own country. "When I formerly made the tour of Europe," says this genuine patriot, "I seldom had occasion to envy foreigners any thing I saw with respect to their *situation*, their *religion*, *manners*, or *government*. In my late journeys to view their *prisons*, I was sometimes put to the blush for my native country. The reader will scarcely feel from my narration the same emotions of shame and regret as the comparison excited in me, on beholding the difference with my own eyes. But, from the account I have given him of foreign prisons, he may judge whether a design of reforming our own be merely visionary—whether *idleness*, *debauchery*, *disease*, and *famine*, be the necessary attendants of a prison, or only connected with it in our ideas for want of a more perfect knowledge, and more enlarged views. I hope too he will do me the justice to think that neither an indiscriminate admiration of every thing foreign, nor a fondness of censuring every thing at home, has influenced me to adopt the language of a panegyrist in this part of my work, or that of a complainant in the rest. Where I have commended I have mentioned my reasons for so doing; and I have dwelt perhaps more minutely upon the management of foreign prisons, because it was more agreeable to me to praise than to condemn. Another motive induced me to be very particular in my accounts of foreign *houses of correction*, especially those of the freest states. It was to counteract a notion prevailing among us that compelling prisoners to work, especially in public, was inconsistent with the principles of English liberty; at the same time that taking away the lives of such numbers, either by executions, or the diseases of our prisons, seems to make little impression upon us. Of such force is custom and prejudice in silencing the voice of good sense and humanity! I have only to add that, fully sensible of the imperfections which must attend the cursory survey of a

traveller, it was my study to remedy that defect by a constant attention to the one object of my pursuit alone, during the whole of my two last journeys abroad."*

How constant, how unwearied, how ardent was the attention with which that object was still pursued, we may learn from his not having indulged himself with a day's repose, upon his return to England from this long and fatiguing journey, ere he set out upon the completion of his second inspection of the prisons of his native country, in the course of which he met with much to confirm the unfavorable opinion he had formed of their construction and regulation, on a comparison with those of foreign states. Yet here and there, in his progress, he saw some symptoms of amendment, and hailed them with delight, as the harbingers of better things to come. Thus, in the county gaol at Salisbury, he inspected a new building in the yard, consisting of a stable, cart-house, and brew-house, with two rooms, for an infirmary, over them: but he could not help wishing that the lower part had been two day-rooms for common-side debtors, and felons, both of whom were still without these very necessary accommodations.† The bridewell for the county of Gloucester, at Cirencester, was quite out of repair, the yard being not secure enough to let the prisoners have the use of it. There was no allowance but to the convicted felons occasionally committed hither; and no employment.‡ In that at Devizes, in Wiltshire, the gaol fever, two or three years ago, had carried off many, but an infirmary and more commodious night-rooms having since been added, there was now little danger of that distemper again breaking out here.§ Passing through the counties of Gloucester and Monmouth, he found, in the castle at Carmarthen, two offenders confined for fines which they could never pay, and, not having the county allowance, they were almost starved. The gaoler was desirous of farming his prisoners, but the abuse of such a trust by the keeper of the gaol at Brecon having been detected on our Philanthropist's first visit there, his request was not granted, as such requests, in fact, should never be.‖

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 145, 6. † Ib. p. 361. ‡ Ib. p. 348. § Ib. p. 364. ‖ Ib. p. 468.

The gaol for the city of Hereford he found to be clean; the debtors' rooms commodious, but that of the felons too close; the former only had a little court-yard. The keeper was a widow.* Re-inspecting the prisons of Worcester and Birmingham, in his way he came, for the first time, to Wolverhampton, where the county bridewell consisted of but two rooms, of about twelve feet square, the one a day-room common to both sexes, and in which the women slept; the other a night-room over it for the men. The whole gaol was greatly out of repair, and so insecure that prisoners, even those committed for the slightest offences, were kept in irons, though the county might easily have redressed this cruel grievance.† Proceeding in his tour of inspection through Shropshire, Flint, and Denbighshire, Mr. Howard learnt that since his last visit to Chester castle the felons confined there had broke through the slight floor into the king's cellar below, through the decayed walls of which they made their escape. In the neighbouring town of Macclesfield the bridewell was a ruinous room behind the keeper's house, who told his visitor that he was sometimes obliged to confine men and women together, by night, of course, as well as day. The prison here for the hundred, manor, and forest of the same name, was a slight and ruinous building, with a dungeon under ground; its gaoler a bailiff, who kept a public-house.‡ In the house of correction at Manchester he found that the keeper's salary had lately been raised from twenty-five to sixty pounds in lieu of fees.§ After having re-visited some other of the prisons of this and the adjoining county of York, he inspected, for the first time, the bridewell at Cockermouth, and the town gaol at Whitehaven, both in the county of Cumberland; the first of which was quite out of repair and insecure, and it had, moreover, neither straw, water, nor food for its prisoners. The second, which was part of the work-house, was dirty and offensive in the extreme;‖ but fortunately neither of them had any prisoners. Thence, through Carlisle, Kendal, Appleby, York, Beverly, and Hull, he reached, on his way homeward, the town of Newark-upon-Trent,

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 338. † Ib. p. 329. ‡ Ib. p. 443, 451, 2. § Ib. p. 410. ‖ Ib. p. 342.

where he found the prison, consisting of but two small rooms, without court-yard, water, sewer, or straw; and its keeper living at a distance.* The bridewell for the county of Leicester, at Melton Mowbray, had no court-yard, nor any room for one; was without water, and also without prisoners.† In the gaol for the adjoining county of Nottingham, a cheerful and exemplary obedience had been paid to the act for preserving the health of prisoners, whose provisions were neatly painted over the keeper's door. A large and most commodious bath had accordingly been built, very unlike those in most other gaols, which were, in fact, but inconvenient and almost useless tubs, this being plentifully supplied with river water, and furnished with a copper to warm it when necessary. An infirmary of two rooms adjoined, and the justices had allowed the gaoler to provide the sick with better nourishment, &c. to the amount of seven shillings a week. "Gentlemen so remarkably considerate and humane will, I hope," says our benevolent author, "abolish the unwholesome dungeon," which was still in use, as well as in existence, here. He also found a prisoner in this gaol, who had received his majesty's *free* and gracious pardon, but who yet was detained in custody for the fees of the gaoler and of the officers through whose hands that pardon passed. Together they amounted to 3*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.*; and as we do not hear of this man's further imprisonment there can be little doubt but that his bands were loosened by the liberality of the benevolent being, whose pen has recorded the gross injustice of his prolonged confinement. Improvements and repairs to a very considerable extent had also been recently made in the town gaol at this place, amongst which was the plentiful supply of the back court with water. Its bridewell, however, still stood in need of much alteration, there being no court-yard to it, though there was ground to have made one both before and behind the house. Its rooms had no fire-place; and for some of its prisoners no better accommodation was provided than a dungeon nine steps under ground could afford.‡ At Oakham, the justices, since his last visit, had ordered the keeper of the county

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 294. † Ib. p. 279. ‡ Ib. p. 288, 9, 292, 3.

gaol and bridewell to provide clothing for some of the most destitute of his prisoners, and a partition which they had directed to be put up, in order to make separate court-yards for debtors and felons, having intercepted the pump from the latter, they had been so considerate as to put down another for their use.* At Huntingdon, Mr. Howard was sorry to find an alteration of a very different description, in the dismissal of the chaplain of the county gaol, who had regularly officiated twice a week, for the poor pittance of twenty pounds. He would nevertheless have continued his attendance without fee or reward, but an order was made expressly forbidding him to do so; yet did the county provide no other person in his place.† The senseless and indiscriminating cry of methodism had hardly yet began to be raised against every minister of the gospel who was at all conspicuous for the zealous and faithful discharge of the duties of his office; it is therefore difficult to conceive what motives the justices possibly could have had for adopting this line of conduct, unless it were a parsimony as disgraceful as it was mean and paltry. Passing on to Cambridge, he saw in the town gaol a most miserable object, who, for several weeks had been the solitary tenant of this wretched hole, without any allowance to save him from starvation there. In the bridewell, bedsteads had, however, recently been put up for straw or coverlids, so that the prisoners no longer slept upon the naked ground.‡

With the exception of Ely, Cambridge seems to have been the last place whose gaol our Philanthropist visited, ere he reached his home on the 28th or 29th of September, where he continued to be occupied in the arrangement of his papers, until the 22d or 23d of the following month, when he set out upon a short tour of a fortnight, to inspect some prisons belonging to a few local jurisdictions in Yorkshire, of whose very existence he had but just been informed. That at Richmond, for the liberty of the same name, he found to contain two dungeons for men criminals, down five steps, with a room above for women,

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 307. † Ib. p. 246. ‡ Ib. p. 250.

and a kitchen and bed-room for debtors. close glazed. It had a court-yard and well, but no straw. Of those for the liberty and the borough of Ripon, a bailiff was the keeper. They both had good rooms for debtors who could pay for the use of them, but no free ward; whilst the rooms in which felons were confined were quite dark. That for the honor and forest of Knaresborough, was almost the only remains of its ruinous castle, consisting of but two small rooms without a window; the keeper living at a distance, as indeed he needs must do if he meant to live at all. But the gaol for debtors in this town was, in a condition more wretched and horribly disgusting than any which has yet been described. It consisted of but one room, difficult of access, and having an earth floor, no fire-place, and a common sewer from the town running through it uncovered. Yet in a hole, to which a dog-kennel were a palace; Mr. Howard was informed that an officer had been confined some years since, but for a few days, and taking with him his dog to defend him from vermin, the animal was soon destroyed, and his own face much disfigured by their attacks. Is it possible, we are almost tempted to exclaim, that such a thing could ever be permitted in a free and a christian land? yet many an abuse as shocking to humanity, as disgraceful to our national character as this, might have existed unnoticed and unknown even to the present hour, but for the unwearied exertions of that extraordinary being, who, at the risk of his life, penetrated into the darkest dungeons and the most pestilential gaols, to bring the fearful secrets of their prison-house to light. The gaol for felons too consisted of but a single room, about eight feet by five, with two windows in it, eight inches by six; yet in this confined dungeon, six or seven prisoners, men and women, would sometimes be shut up for a night or two during the quarter-sessions, which are still held by rotation in this town.* He had, however, the pleasure to find a new and commodious prison recently built at Batley, in lieu of the ruinous one for the manor of Wakefield at Rothwell. It contained in a separate court two rooms for women debtors, a provision which he truly cha-

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 408—410.

racterizes as kind and prudent, but which, strange as it may appear, he believed to be peculiar to this place.* In the dirty and offensive town gaol at Derby, the prisoners were always locked up, as its court, or passage of thirty-four feet by seven, was of little use but to the gaoler's fowls.† Returning homeward through the counties of Leicester and Warwick, he visited, at Witney in Oxfordshire, an insecure county bridewell, situated in the yard of its keeper's public-house, and saw a crowd of men talking at the grates with the prisoners, all of them women; a facility of converse often productive of riot and confusion.‡ At Reading, the town gaol consisted of three rooms, in a public-house belonging to the corporation, of which the senior serjeant at mace generally had the refusal: it had neither court-yard nor water.§ In one of the bridewells for the county of Hertford, at Berkhamstead, was a dungeon nine steps under ground, with an earth floor, very damp, but no window. The prison had neither court-yard, straw, water, or, fortunately for them, prisoners.‖

From Berkhamstead Mr. Howard proceeded to London, where his time was very closely occupied in preparing for the press his observations on the prisons he had visited in the course of the three last years; a work in which he was materially assisted by his friend and former tutor, the Rev. Mr. Densham, who at this time resided in or near the metropolis, where Mr. Howard spent the two last months of this year, with the exception of two or three short journeys into different parts of the country, whose prisons he had overlooked in the regular course of his second round of inspection. The first of these was into the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Essex, in the former of which, a prisoner in the bridewell at Wymondham complained of being obliged to lay in one of the pent-up closets, used for night-rooms, with two boys who had a cutaneous disease upon them. Neither were the rooms in this prison, nor the spacious yard attached to it secure; on which account the prisoners were not only confined within doors, but always in irons.¶ This

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 413. † Ib. p. 285. ‡ Ib. p. 320. § Ib. p. 313. ‖ Ib. p. 214. ¶ Ib. p. 261.

was the case also in one of the bridewells for the county of Suffolk, at Lavenham, except that a padlock only was put upon their legs. The court-yard of the gaol at Colchester was also insecure, and the prisoners without water, or straw. The county bridewell at Halstead was quite out of repair, though the prisoners were permitted to use its court-yard, the men during one part of the day, the women in the other: the two sexes had separate work rooms, and there was a place provided for the sick. Before he returned to London, he revisited the county gaol at Hertford, and found that since he last had been there the gaol fever had carried off seven or eight prisoners, and two turnkeys. Four persons were still sick of it, yet was there no infirmary.* About a week after this, he inspected for the first time, the bridewell for the county of Essex, at Barking, the rooms of which were without chimneys, and made very offensive by sewers, whilst the prisoners could make no use of the court-yard, which, according to custom, was not secure.† He took another journey to Newport, to inspect the bridewell for this county there, built in the preceding year, on a plan which seems in all respects to have met with its visitor's approbation,—except, so minute were his observations,—in the omission of a fireplace in the women's room. The prisoners confined here had no allowance but what they earned, but they were well provided with convenient rooms to work in. This was not the case with that belonging to the county of Suffolk, at Clare, which was rendered extremely offensive by a nuisance that might easily have been removed. The prison walls were of clay, the lodging rooms had no chimneys, and their windows were close glazed. Its court-yard was not secure, and the prisoners had therefore no access to the fine well of water which it contained: the only one indeed, at this time confined there, though a woman, was at work in irons, the insecurity of the prison rendering this mode of restraint necessary.‡ The gaol for the borough of Sudbury in the same county, had an insecure court-yard, and water inaccessible to prisoners, who had no allowance: the day room of the male felons contained however, a loom,

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 212. † Ib. p. 221. ‡ Ib. p. 220, 1—246, 7.

at which, if they knew how to weave, they might work for their support.* From this short excursion Mr. Howard could have been returned to London but four or five days, ere he set out upon another, into some parts of the counties of Gloucester, Somerset, and Wilts. In the bridewell of the first, at Winchcomb, which was the keeper's freehold, and much out of repair, prisoners were formerly kept altogether in the cellar, but they were now confined in two small low garrets, with a window in each close glazed, the rooms being also without chimneys. The female delinquents were spinning.† In the city bridewell, at Bristol, he found an acquitted woman prisoner detained in custody, and she must have been so even from the last session, for at least ten weeks, for her fees of 3*s.* 6*d.* "These fees," says our author, "were paid, and the prisoner was released."‡—He has not told us by whom they were paid, but we may be assured that it was by himself.

It is most probable, that soon after returning from this short journey, in which he was absent from London but five or six days, Mr. Howard either proceeded to Cardington, or to the house of his brother-in-law in Cambridgeshire, where his son usually spent a part of his vacations, to pass a few days of the Christmas holidays, as from the 26th of December to the 8th of January, we cannot trace him in any part of the round of re-inspection of the London prisons, in which, during the latter part of this year, and the beginning of the next, he was very actively engaged. On the last-mentioned day he was at the bridewell in Tothill-fields, where he found locked up among the felons two debtors, from the court of conscience, the one for a debt of 17*s.* 6*d.* the other of but 14*s.* 1*d.*§ Two days after, he saw several of the prisoners in Clerkenwell bridewell, sick, and lying upon the floors, being for the most part women of the poorest sort, who could not pay for beds. They complained of sore feet, which the turnkey said were quite black, but the surgeon seems not to have paid any attention to them.‖

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 268. † Ib. p. 319. ‡ Ib. p. 394. § Ib. p. 194. ‖ Ib. p. 197.

Having now completed his intended inspection of English gaols, and furnished himself with a greater stock of information respecting their regulations and actual condition than had ever before been collected, Mr. Howard left London for Warrington, where he had determined to have the work printed, which should give to the public the result of those laborious investigations, on which he had been engaged for more than three years, and had travelled upwards of ten thousand miles. To a step which in our days would appear so singular, he was in some measure induced by the high reputation which Mr. Eyres of that town then very deservedly enjoyed, as one of the neatest and most careful printers in the kingdom. Another, and, with a man of his minute accuracy, perhaps a stronger motive, was the superior facility which a provincial press afforded him of having his book printed under his own inspection, in his own manner, at his own time, and with all that precision in correcting its topographical errors which he was determined to bestow upon it. A third inducement remains, however, to be stated, more powerful perhaps than either. At Warrington he hoped to benefit by the literary assistance of a gentleman, then rising rapidly into that eminence, as an author, which he has now so deservedly maintained for the greater part of half a century, and which for the best interests of science, of morality, and of polite literature, it is to be hoped, as it may pretty confidently be predicted, he will enjoy in his writings long, very long, after he himself shall cease to be numbered with the living—leaving, as few parents placed in his situation can leave, his talents with his name an inheritance to his children. It is scarcely necessary to state, that I here allude to Mr. Howard's friend and biographer Dr. (then Mr.) Aikin, who was a resident surgeon in this town. From him we learn the manner in which this and the other works of our Philanthropist gradually assumed the form in which they were eventually presented to the public; and as the firmest reliance may be placed on its authenticity, I shall transcribe the account he has given of it in his memoir. "On his return from his tours he took all his memorandum-books to an old retired friend of his, who assisted him in methodizing them, and copied out the

whole matter in correct language. They were then put into the hands of Dr. Price, from whom they underwent a revision, and received occasionally considerable alterations. What Mr. Howard himself thought of the advantages they derived from his assistance, will appear from the following passages in letters to Dr. Price: "I am ashamed to think how much I have accumulated your labours, yet I glory in that assistance to which I owe so much credit in the world, and, under Providence, success in my endeavours."—"It is from your kind aid and assistance, my dear friend, that I derive so much of my character and influence. I exult in declaring it, and shall carry a grateful sense of it to the last hour of my existence." With his papers thus corrected, Mr. Howard came to the press at Warrington; and first he read them all over carefully with me, which perusal was repeated, sheet by sheet, as they were printed. As new facts and observations were continually suggesting themselves to his mind, he put the matter of them upon paper as they occurred, and then requested me to clothe them in such expressions as I thought proper. On these occasions, such was his diffidence, that I found it difficult to make him acquiesce in his own language, when, as frequently happened, it was unexceptionable. Of this additional matter some was interwoven with the text, but the greater part was necessarily thrown into notes, which, in some of his volumes, are numerous."* To second to the utmost of his power, the laudable anxiety which Mr. Howard felt to render his work as free from faults as possible, Mr. Eyres selected one of his compositors, on whom he could place the greatest dependence, to devote his whole time to it, and to receive from the author himself such directions as he should think proper to give, as to the mode in which he would have it printed, and the alterations he might make as it passed through the press. For the purpose of being near the scene of his labors in superintending the progress of his work, he took lodgings in a house close to his printer's shop; and so indefatigable was he in his attention to the business which had fixed his temporary abode there, that during a very severe winter he was always called up by two in the morning,

* Aikin, p. 64—6.

though he did not retire to rest until ten, and sometimes half after ten at night. His reason for this early rising was, that he found the morning the stillest part of the day, and that in which he was the least disturbed in his work of revising the sheets as they came from the press, either before they were submitted to the inspection of Dr. Aikin, or after they had undergone his revision, lest some little typographical error might have escaped his notice. At seven he regularly dressed for the day, and had his breakfast; when punctually at eight he repaired to the printing-office, and remained there until the workmen went to dinner at one, when he returned to his lodgings, and putting some bread and raisins, or other dried fruit, in his pocket, generally took a walk in the outskirts of the town, during the time of their absence, eating as he walked along his hermit fare, which, with a glass of water on his return, was the only dinner he ever took. Sometimes he would call in upon a friend in his way, though the acquaintance he formed in this town was not very numerous, consisting principally of a few members of the society of Friends, to whose habits and manners he was at all times attached, and some of the literary men of Unitarian sentiments, whom the academy for training young men to the ministry in that denomination, had attracted there. With persons of his own religious views he had but little opportunity of associating, the Calvinistic Independent interest there being even lower at that period than it is in the present day. With some few of this persuasion he did, however, occasionally mingle in the social intercourse of private life, as well as in the services of the sanctuary which he regularly attended in their humble place of worship. When he had returned to the printing-office, he generally remained there until the men left work, and then, I am informed, repaired to Mr. Aikin's house, to go through with him any sheets which might have been composed during the day, or if there were nothing upon which he wished to consult him, would either spend an hour with some other friend, or return to his own lodgings, where he took his tea or coffee in lieu of supper, and at his usual hour retired to bed. He did not do this, however, without closing the day with family prayer, a duty which he never neglected, though there was but one, and that

one his domestic, to join with him in it; always declaring that where he had a tent God should have an altar. And this was the case not only in England but in every part of Europe which they visited together, it being his invariable practice wherever and with whomsoever he might be, to tell Thomasson to come to him at a certain hour, at which, well knowing what the directions meant, he would be sure to find him in his room, whose doors he would order him to fasten; when, let who would come, nobody was admitted until this devotional exercise was over. "Very few," says the humble narrator of this proof of the invariable consistency of our Philanthropist's Christian profession, "knew the goodness of this man's heart." It is upon his authority, and that of Mr. Howard's landlady, and other persons whom he associated, and I have recently conversed with there, that this account of his manner of life upon the first visit of any length which he paid to Warrington, is here given to the public. Whilst there he suspended, though for a very short time, his constant and vigilant inspection of the progress of his work through the press, when within a few weeks of its completion, to inspect, on the 19th of March, 1777, a manorial gaol, at Houlton Castle, in which, for a number of years no prisoners had been confined, so that he scarcely would have mentioned it, but that he found, by an inscription in the court-room, dated 1737, it was still called a gaol, with a court-yard: so anxious was he that no place of confinement, of whose existence he was aware, should be overlooked in his survey, in which we find nothing recorded of this obscure and deserted gaol, but that two cellars appear formerly to have been used for the purpose of confining its prisoners. The next day he visited the bridewell of the town of Warrington, which consisted of two confined rooms in the work-house yard. Prisoners here were not provided with employment, but their allowance for diet was the same as that of the poor, who, by their appearance, seemed to have a humane attention paid to them. The keeper was the master of the work-house, but he had neither salary nor fees for his extra duties of gaoler, which would not seem to be very heavy, as he had at this time no prisoners.*

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 452. 441

In about a fortnight after this visit, the printing of Mr. Howard's first work was finished; its dedication, or inscription, to the House of Commons, "in gratitude for the encouragement which they *had* given to *its* design, and for the honor they *had* conferred upon *its* author," being dated from Cardington, on the 5th of the following month. Its modest title is, "The State of the Prisons in England and Wales, with Preliminary Observations, and an Account of some Foreign Prisons. By John Howard, F. R. S.;" and though it consisted of 520 quarto pages, with four large and well-engraved plates, "so zealous was *he*," to use the words of his friend and coadjutor in preparing it for the press, ".to diffuse information, and so determined to obviate any idea that he meant to repay his expences by the profitable trade of *book-making*, that—he insisted on fixing the price of the volume so low, that, had every copy been sold, he would still have presented the public with all the plates, and great part of the printing."* The introductory part of the work, so unassumingly described in its title-page as "preliminary observations," contained, in fact, besides a singularly modest preface explanatory of the motives which induced its composition, the invaluable results of its author's extensive inspection of prisons at home and abroad in the judicious suggestions which he offered for their improvement. Its first section consists of "a general view of distress in prisons," embracing that scanty supply of the necessaries of life, in some instances—particularly in our bridewells, and as to debtors in half our county gaols—amounting to the total want of food at all; that legalized extortion of gaolers in the shape of fees; that too prevalent lack of water so essentially necessary to the cleanliness, and of air and sewers, so vitally important to the preservation of the health of their inhabitants; together with the deficiency, in many gaols, and nearly in every bridewell, of bedding of any kind, even of a little straw, for these poor wretches to lie upon; which every reader of these pages, who has traced the progress of Mr. Howard's inquiries from county to county, and from place to place, will not have

* Aikin, p. 61, 2.

failed to have noticed, with deep commiseration, for himself. From evils thus seriously affecting the health and lives of prisoners, he proceeds to those which were pernicious to their morals, amongst which he classes, in the foremost rank, the mischievous practice of confining all sorts of prisoners together, debtors and felons; men and women; the young beginner and the old offender; and the too general want of all employment in our prisons, in consequence of which young delinquents especially were trained in habits of idleness, and schooled in every vice. He then calls the attention of his readers to that dreadful malady (the gaol fever) which, as the natural consequences of their filth and closeness, had raged with such violence in our prisons, and often spread its poison thence to our fleets, our armies, our courts of justice, and our towns, destroying in its progress many more than were put to death by all the public executions in the kingdom. Closely connected with this ground of complaint was the gross inattention to the sick, which he witnessed in some of our gaols and in a very large proportion of our bridewells. He closes his account of these evils with an appeal to the hard-heartedness of those pharasaical Christians, who felt no compassion for the outcast objects of his commiseration because they had fallen from the paths of rectitude, and thus brought all the misery they suffered upon their own heads. It is short, and, therefore, as it breathes that spirit of genuine Christian benevolence and Christian humility, which shines so conspicuously through all his writings and all his works of charity and labors of love, I shall transcribe it here. "Those gentlemen who, when they are told of the misery which our prisoners suffer, content themselves with saying, '*Let them take care to keep out,*' prefaced, perhaps, with an angry prayer, seem not duly sensible of the favour of Providence which distinguishes them from the sufferers: they do not remember that we are required to imitate our gracious heavenly Parent, who is '*kind to the unthankful and the evil.*' They also forget the vicissitudes of human affairs; the unexpected changes to which all men are liable; and that those whose circumstances are affluent, may in time be reduced to indigence, and

become debtors and prisoners." His next section is upon "bad customs in prisons;" amongst which he particularly notices those of permitting garnish to be demanded, and gaming to be carried on; and the loading prisoners, in some places even women, with heavy irons. To these he adds the want of a regular gaol delivery in some parts of the kingdom twice every year; the confinement of acquitted prisoners until the judges or justices had left the town, in the hope of extorting from them the fees which the clerks of assize and of the peace still claimed to be entitled to; the distance at which some gaolers lived from their charge; the crowding of other prisons with the wives and children of debtors; and the suffering some of them still to remain private property, exempted from the control of the magistrates. In one of these he learnt, that not many years ago, a prisoner had been tormented with thumb-screws, a hellish invention which we could never have expected to have been adopted in England, at a period so enlightened as was the latter part of the eighteenth century. He closes this section with a statement of the number of prisoners in the different places of confinement in England and Wales, which he visited in the spring of 1776, amounting in the whole to 4,084; of whom 2,437 were debtors. Allowing, therefore, on an average, to each of these, two dependents upon his exertion, he calculates that 12,252 persons were distressed by these imprisonments; a number which, though it had been greatly magnified by conjectural computation, presented, as he truly observes, an object well worthy the further attention of the legislature. His third section is entitled, "proposed improvements in the structure and management of prisons," beginning with their situation, which he recommends to be always in a spot that is airy, and, if possible, one situated near a river or brook, or else on an eminence or rising ground, where the necessary height of their walls would be the less likely to prevent the free circulation of air. He then proceeds to give a plan for their construction, whose chief peculiarities are, that the wards for the felons should be raised upon arcades, at once to render escapes less easy, to make them more airy, and to afford the prisoners a place to walk in, in wet

weather; that these wards should contain so many rooms, or cabins, that each criminal might sleep alone, and be separated, at least by night, from that company which must destroy all reflection, and prevent even the opportunity for repentance; and that provision should be made for the effectual separation of the women from the men, and of the young from older and more hardened offenders. With more particular reference to the preservation of their health, he strongly insists on the importance of furnishing every prison with a bath, an oven for the purification of clothes, hand ventilators, and an infirmary, quite detached from the rest of the gaol. He also urges the necessity of a total separation of the debtors from the felons, by day as well as night, as the only means of securing the peace, cleanliness, health, and morals, of the latter class of unfortunate beings, for whose use he very properly recommends the erection of a work-shop, that they might, if so disposed, employ themselves in their several trades for the better support of their families. "Prisoners indicted" for felony, he contends, "should not be compelled to work;" and until convicted, they certainly ought to be left to their choice, though it would be humanity to themselves, and a benefit to the community, if they were permitted to earn something for their more comfortable maintenance; for which purpose such conveniences should be made in our gaols, as would not be inconsistent with their safe custody. Passing on to what is of still more importance than the safe and convenient structure of a prison, a due attention to its economy and government; he throws out some judicious hints for their better regulation, the result of a more extensive observation, of a maturer deliberation, and of a sounder judgment than any man ever applied to this important subject before, or since his time. "The first care," he very truly states, "must be to find a good man for a gaoler; one that is honest, active, and humane." He then insists upon the necessity of not suffering either gaoler or turnkey to keep a tap, or to have any connection with the sale of liquors of any kind. With this view, he very justly proposes that they should have salaries proportioned to their trouble; yet he would not have them receive so much as to raise them

above attention to their duty, and the daily inspection of their gaols. From this office he very properly excludes sheriffs' officers, and reprobates with equal justice the practice of employing prisoners as turnkeys. Ever concerned for the interests of others as he was for his own, in that eternal world for which this is but a state of probation, he urges upon magistrates the great importance of selecting for the office of chaplain to their gaols (and both chapel and chaplain he would have in every place of confinement) a person "who is in principle a *Christian;* who will not content himself with officiating in public; but will converse with the prisoners; admonish the profligate; exhort the thoughtless; comfort the sick; and make known to the condemned that mercy which is revealed in the gospel." Such a man would not think the duty hard which he required him to perform—a sermon and prayers once at least on every Lord's-day, and prayers on two other fixed days in the week. "And if," he adds, "a chapter of the New Testament were read daily in order by one of the prisoners to the rest, or by the gaoler, before the distribution of prison-allowance, the time would not be mis-spent. The reader, if a prisoner, might be allowed a small weekly pension." Very different was the practice of some gaolers, who, upon his asking "Why there were so few prisoners at prayers?" answered him that "they were drinking with their friends;" of course, from the tap which they themselves kept. It were almost needless to remark, that he enforces the necessity of appointing to every gaol as surgeon, a man of repute in his profession; and of abolishing all fees either to gaolers or turnkeys, whose salaries he would on this account have considerably raised. The chamber-rents for master-side debtors he proposes to regulate on a much lower scale, and to provide free wards for the others, who should either be promptly alimented by their creditors, or receive from the county at least the same allowance of every kind as felons. For promoting that cleanliness in these places, which is so essential to the health of their wretched inmates, he recommends that every room in them should be scraped and lime-washed twice every year, and that they should be swept and washed by their inhabitants every day, a

practice, which, instead of endangering their health, would greatly benefit it. Every prisoner coming into the gaol he would have washed in the cold or warm bath, and his clothes purified in the oven. He would also have them compelled to put on a change of linen once a week, and to be supplied in each of their wards with a clean towel on a roller, every day. If straw is used for bedding, he recommends its being put into a coarse canvas bag, or, if not so inclosed, to be changed every week; each bed to be provided also with a coarse coverlid or two. A strange mistaken notion has gone abroad, that Mr. Howard attempted to introduce, and has even partially succeeded in introducing into our prisons a diet for offenders there, which operates rather as a premium to tempt them to get in, than, as its coarseness but not its insufficiency ought to do, as a terror to keep them out of confinement. But to this charge let him answer for himself. "The reader will plainly see that I am not an advocate for *extravagant and profuse allowance* to prisoners. I plead only for necessaries, in such a moderate quantity, as may support health and strength for labour." These necessaries were, for those who are allowed nothing to drink but water, at least a pound and a half of bread a-day, with a penny each for cheese, butter, potatoes, peas, or turnips, or a pennyworth of one or other of these articles. Beyond this he proposes their being allowed nothing, except once a week half a pound of the coarse pieces of beef without bone, which had been boiled in a copper to make broth, of which also he would give them each a quart. This indulgence he proposes to fix for their Sunday's dinner, as it might help to remove a bad custom, then very prevalent, of admitting the friends of prisoners into our gaols, so as to keep them from public service upon that day, under pretence of furnishing them with better food and drink than they were usually allowed. But even then he would make it an encouragement to peaceable and orderly behaviour, by withholding it from those who had been refractory, and on the days on which it was given would allow them but a pound of bread. Surely, then, if any fault is to be found with this table of diet, it is rather that it is too scanty than too liberal; falling short of the end our Philanthropist

proposed to himself in its establishment, the enabling those for whom it was framed to go through with their work, rather than going beyond it. In the allowance of food to his prisoners, whatever it might be, he strongly insists, however, on the necessity of the gaoler and his turnkeys being absolutely excluded from all concern by which, directly or indirectly, any profit might arise to them; and he would wish it always to be fixed by a certain weight, and not by a variable price. Fighting, abusive language, and other disorderly behaviour, he would in ordinary cases have the keeper punish by a closer imprisonment of the aggressor, though faults deserving a more severe animadversion should be reserved for the cognizance of the magistrates, or of an inspector which he proposes to have appointed for each prison. It would be his duty to visit once a-week, or at furthest once a fortnight, at times when he was not expected, every room in the place, to see that it was clean and in a proper state; to speak with every prisoner; inquire into the observance or neglect of every regulation; hear all complaints, and immediately correct whatever he found to be manifestly wrong. "This honorable delegate," he observes in conclusion, "should have *no salary:* he should engage from the noble motive of doing justice to prisoners, and service to his country." Had this plan been adopted, the county of Bedford would, no doubt, have been provided with an inspector ready and willing to undertake this arduous duty, without needing the excitement of any other motives than these, so long, at least, as it could boast of a Howard for its inhabitant. But in other counties it is to be feared that there would be more difficulty than the generosity of his own heart, and the purity of his benevolence, would suffer him to anticipate, in finding even "one man generous enough to undertake this important service." A subdivision of this section is devoted to the very important article of "bridewells," which its author exhibits a very laudable anxiety to restore to the wise purposes they were originally intended to answer, the reclaiming of less hardened offenders by moderate correction and by keeping them to hard labor, instead of becoming, as, by utter neglect of their object, they long since had done, abodes of

wretchedness and schools for vice. The great engine of effecting this desirable reformation which he proposed to adopt is one that, if properly employed, could not fail of success,—the suffering no one capable of working to be idle. With this view he would have the keeper a master manufacturer, who would keep his prisoners at work for ten hours a-day, including the time allowed for meals, their earnings during that period going towards the expences of the establishment. If they chose to work extra hours he would give them their extra earnings for themselves; and judiciously suggests the allowing them also some small proportion of the profit of their regular labor, as an encouragement to industry. The sober and diligent among them he proposes to distinguish by some preference in their diet and lodging, or by shortening the term of their confinement, and giving them a character for good behaviour when discharged; whilst the idle and refractory, whose faults were not to be corrected by milder discipline, should be punished by solitary imprisonment, on bread and water, for a period proportioned to their faults. In other respects the measures he would wish to be adopted for the preservation of the health and amendment of the morals of these minor delinquents are similar to those which have already been detailed in their application to our gaols. His suggestions for the improvement of these and other descriptions of prisons are then closed by answering an objection which he anticipated, that "from the many conveniences suggested in *their* structure, and the removal of those hardships which rendered them so terrible, the dread of being confined in them *would* in a great measure be taken off, and the lower classes of people *would* find them more comfortable places of residence than their own houses." To which he rejoins, with great force and truth, that "with respect to the more humane treatment of the prisoners in the article of food, lodging, and the like, *he ventured* to assert that if it be joined with such strict regulations in preventing all dissipation and riotous amusement, as *he had inculcated*, confinement in a prison, though it *might* cease to be destructive of health and morals, *would* not fail to be sufficiently irksome and disagreeable, especially to the idle and profligate." Of the truth

of this assertion, the condition in which he found some of the houses of correction abroad, whose regulations are detailed in his fourth section, afforded the most convincing proof. But as a full account of the general spirit of those regulations, as well as of the state of every other prison there described, has already been given in these memoirs, this interesting portion of his work may be dismissed without further notice. And a similar course having been pursued in tracing his visits to our English gaols, it is equally unnecessary to say any thing more of the "particular account" which he gives of them in the fifth section of his book, occupying near 330 of its pages, than that it enters most minutely into the state of every prison in the kingdom, of whose existence he was at all aware; comprising regular lists of the names of their gaolers or keepers; the amount of their salaries; the fees which they claimed, and the nature of their emoluments; the allowance to prisoners, the garnish they were required to pay, and their number at his several visits; the name of the chaplain, if any, the nature of his duty, and the amount of his salary; with the name and salary of the surgeon. These particulars he follows up by such remarks upon the construction and regulations of the prison he is describing as he conceived might be useful to the great end of his visiting it;—the reformation of the abuses existing not only there but in every similar place in the kingdom. These were the results of the most minute inspection of every part of the building, which did not contain a room, dungeon, or cell, that he did not himself enter with his memorandum-book and his rule in his hand, to measure its dimensions, and note down the condition in which he found its inhabitants. With the same accuracy he transcribed the table of fees, the rules and regulations for its government, and the list of legacies left for the benefit of its inmates, which he has given at length at the close of his account of every prison; at the end of which he has printed accurate tables of the fees demanded by the clerk of assize, upon the different circuits, on the acquittal or conviction of offenders; of the number of prisoners tried and acquitted in some of them, and of those who had been capitally convicted, or delivered for

transportation, in others. In a few concluding remarks, he expresses his persuasion that nothing could be done in reforming the state of our prisons till a thorough parliamentary inquiry concerning them should be set on foot. "Should this be undertaken," he adds, "I would cheerfully (relying still on the protection of that KIND HAND which has hitherto preserved me, and to which I desire to offer my most thankful acknowledgments!) devote my time to one more extensive foreign journey, in which the *Prussian* and *Austrian* territories, and the most considerable free cities of *Germany*, would probably afford some new and useful lights on this IMPORTANT NATIONAL CONCERN:" and with this pledge of his continued zeal in the noble cause to which he had devoted himself, he closes his work.

As soon as the printing of that work was completed, he proceeded to London, where, with a liberality bordering on profusion, he presented copies of it to most of the considerable persons in the kingdom, and to all his own particular friends, into whose more immediate circle he retired as soon as he had accomplished this object; and spent with them, at Cardington, and in its neighbourhood, the remainder of the spring, and nearly the whole of the summer and autumn, with great part of the winter of this year. But before we follow him to his retreat, it may be necessary, in a few words, to state the particulars which are preserved, or which I have been enabled to recal, of the manner of his performing those journeys of benevolence in which we have already traced his footsteps, and some of those whose results yet remain to be detailed. In his earlier tours through England, Scotland, and Ireland, he was usually attended by his faithful domestic John Prole, who still occasionally acted as his groom. They travelled on horseback, about forty miles a-day. "He was never," says a gentleman of Dublin, who had much free conversation with him on this subject, "at a loss for an inn. When in Ireland, or the Highlands of Scotland, he used to stop at one of the poor cabins that stuck up a rag by way of sign, and get a little milk. When he came to the town he was to sleep at, he bespoke a supper, with wine and beer, like another traveller,

but made his man attend him, and take it away, whilst he was preparing his bread and milk. He always paid the waiters, postillions, &c. liberally, because he would have no discontent or dispute, nor suffer his spirits to be agitated for such a matter; saying, that in a journey which might cost three or four hundred pounds, fifteen or twenty pounds addition was not worth thinking about."* In his two first visits to the continent, he took no attendant with him, but travelled from place to place, either by the public conveyances or post. A ridiculous story has indeed been told of his having usually availed himself of the former provision for travelling in England, and of his having upon these occasions uniformly exchanged name, character, and consequently dress, with his servant:† but it is almost needless to say, that this tale is as false as it is absurd. When he went to Warrington, he was accompanied by Thomasson, who had previously been his attendant upon some of his longer journeys, when, from his being a married man with a family, he was unwilling to take Prole from home. On his return to London, he was joined in a chaise by a gentleman, who related to Dr. Aikin the following characteristic anecdote of the mode he had adopted in order to make the post-boys drive him fast or slow according as he gave directions; when, in some of his journeys in the winter he chose this method of travelling. Finding they would seldom comply with his wishes, "at the end of a stage, when the driver had been perverse, he desired the landlord to send for some poor industrious widow, or other proper object of charity, and to introduce such person and the driver together. He then paid the latter his fare, and told him, that as he had not thought proper to attend to his repeated requests as to the manner of being driven, he should not make him any present; but, to show him that he did not withhold it out of a principle of parsimony, he would give the poor person present double the sum usually given to a postillion. This he did, and dismissed the parties. He had not long practised this mode, he said, before he experienced the good effects of it on all the roads where he was known."‡

* Aikin, p. 224, 5. † Life of the late John Howard, Esq. with a Review of his Travels, p. 72, 3.

‡ Aikin, p. 218.

It is natural to suppose, that the friends who had so highly esteemed him whilst his worth was scarcely known beyond the limits of their little circle, now that the fame of his extraordinary benevolence was spread, not only from one end of his own country to the other, but through some of the most considerable states of Europe, should hail his return to the scene of his more private charities, and of his social intercourse, with peculiar pleasure. By them his occasional visits to Cardington were at all times anticipated with delight, and enjoyed with real satisfaction, as towards him they always felt an attachment warm and sincere as was his friendship for them uniform and steady; so erroneous and so unfounded is the idea which has been entertained by those who did not know him, that he sacrificed the private and domestic affections of the heart to his more enlarged views of general benevolence. "Those persons, however, who were in the habit of seeing him in the midst of his family and his friends," says a lady who often saw him there, "and therefore had the best opportunity of judging, know that no man ever enjoyed domestic life more than he did, or was more beloved and respected in it." These short residences at home he always considered as relaxations from his laborious public exertions, and he, therefore, indulged himself freely in the converse of his friends, and completely unbended himself in their society. Towards his tenants and the poor of his neighbourhood he still continued that exemplary kindness, whose pleasing effects upon their happiness have already been described. He still built new cottages, and it was still thought a privilege to inhabit them. The schools also which he had established, flourished in his absence, and were constantly visited by him when at home.

His son, it will be recollected, must have been about nine years old when our great Philanthropist entered on those extensive tours of benevolence, which took up so large a portion of his time, at whose commencement he was removed, as has already been stated, to Mr. Madgwick's academy at Pinner,

where he remained at this period,* his father having taken every pains to satisfy himself that such attention would be paid to him there, that it could no longer be necessary for him to confine himself at home, or even in England, upon his account, when his duty so powerfully called him to a temporary absence from both. The school at which he was placed was also so near London that he was scarcely an hour's ride from the residence of his aunt, his nearest relation on the father's side, with whom, and with his maternal uncles, or with some other of his more distant relatives, or of his father's friends, he passed his vacations, at least as pleasantly as a child of his lively disposition, naturally fond of change, could have done beneath his paternal roof. But whenever he was in England, Mr. Howard always had him with him at Cardington, or wherever he might be staying, except during that part of his holidays which, as a treat, he suffered him to spend in visiting his relatives and friends. At those, and indeed at all other times, when with him by his conversation, when absent by his letters, he endeavoured to impress his youthful mind with the primary importance of religion and morality to his present and eternal happiness. Mr. Howard was very fond of children, and in the habit of familiarly noticing them, and in those families where he was particularly intimate, in Mr. Smith's especially, he generally brought them a pocket full of fruit, and was even so desirous of contributing to their innocent gratification, that he would buy toys for their amusement during his tours abroad. His behaviour towards them was, however, as we might expect from such a man, rather kind and affectionate, than lively or playful. To a child, therefore, of his son's buoyant spirits, and somewhat volatile disposition, his manner would naturally appear more reserved and austere than he himself meant it to be, and it cannot be thought very surprising, if, together with the efforts which he used to curb that violence of temper and loftiness of spirit which he observed in him with pain during his earlier years, it should have inspired rather

* Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LX. Part I. p. 287, 9.

more awe at his presence than is consistent with that warmth of affection which a child naturally feels towards a parent. Yet for the attainment of the desirable object which he proposed to himself, he did not now employ, as he had not done during the period of his infancy, any violent or coercive measures, so contrary to his general disposition and character, but still continued to adopt towards his son that expectation of an uniform, immediate, and unreserved obedience to his commands, which, as its head, he always would receive from every other part of his family. His friends, and amongst the rest the most intimate of them, the Rev. Mr. Smith, thought that in the case of his son he carried those patriarchal ideas rather too far, and that by a lad of his temper he would have been more respected, and would have possessed more real authority over him, had he endeavoured to convince him of the reasonableness of his commands, instead of always enforcing obedience to them on his parental authority. But the ill effects of this mode of treatment did not yet appear, as young Howard still seemed to be very fond of his father, though his lively disposition sometimes drew upon him the heaviest punishment that father ever inflicted, which was to make him sit still in his presence without speaking, for a time proportioned to the nature of his offence. Whilst, indeed, he was under Mr. Madgwick's care, the public testimony of that gentleman's daughter has been borne to the whole conduct of Mr. Howard towards his son, being "such as discovered him to be a kind parent."* From beneath that care it is, however, most probable that he was removed after the Christmas vacation of this year, which, as well as the summer one, he spent principally at Cardington, to the academy at Daventry, then under the direction of the Rev. Mr. Robins.†

As a Christian, Mr. Howard continued to maintain the consistency of his practice with his profession, of his faith with his works, in the same exemplary manner as he hitherto had done, in proof of which I will here transcribe

* Rev. S. Palmer's Letter to the Editor of the Universal Magazine, Vol. LXXXVI. p. 318.

† Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LX. Part I. p. 287, 9.

a few expressions of his feelings interspersed amongst the heads of sermons, which he had noted down about this period in a memorandum-book, formerly in the possession of his servant, but which, through the kindness of its present owner, is now lying before me. The first is, " Let me not forget that time is always on the wing: that my Acct. is every moment hastening on." A second, " God grant that I may not only live in faith, but may I die in faith, approving, preserving, and embracing the sacred truths of the Gospel." The third asks, " What will riches, what will honours do: will they give me hope thro' Grace? Lord give me a new *heart* by faith in Christ Jesus, a Faith not to be ashamed of Religion." In a fourth he thus unequivocally bears his testimony against the efficacy of human works in contributing to our salvation. " The doctrine of merit is diametry opposite to the genius of the gospel: By grace we are saved." And in another passage, " Salvatn in every step, in every stage is of Grace." To the sanctifying influence of this principle upon the heart and conduct of those who were the subjects of it, he gave, however, its full importance, and hence he observes, " true Xtians have risen superior to ye frowns or favors of this World;" adding, " would to God I was thus perfect." Contemplating the termination of his career on earth, and looking forward to that period when death shall be swallowed up in victory, in another part of this book, we have this Christian prayer: " My God my God give me the victory thro' Jesus Christ." At the close of his very copious notes upon the discourse which gave rise to this pious exclamation, whose text was 1 Corinthians xv. 58: " Therefore, my beloved brethren, be ye stedfast, unmoveable, always abounding in the work of the Lord, forasmuch as ye know that your labor is not in vain in the Lord," he has made the following application of the subject to himself:—" Oh my Soul, seek the Lord while He may be found call upon Him consider well yr sacred engagements; be not conformed to this World, die unto sin, live unto righteousness. Think on those things that belong to yr everlasting peace, for you are dead, and yr life is hid with Christ in God. Let every darling sin be removed for sin is enmity to God, and put on bowels of mercy

shew yourself the servant of Christ. Oh set these sacred truths home on my Heart and after the great things Thou hast done in and by me, oh let not the poor weak helpless and useless instrument be lost and cast into the fire but oh God for the Lord Jesus Christ's sake make Him the everlasting monumt of free sovereign and divine Grace and to thee be all the praise." Upon his shorter notes of another discourse from a part of the twenty-first verse of the first chapter of the Epistle to the Romans, " neither were thankful," in which the main object of the preacher seems to have been to reprobate the vice of ingratitude to man, rather than that of which all men are guilty towards God, to which the text alone alludes, and in illustration of it, to show how often even the merits of the man who should spend his whole life in promoting the interests of his fellow creatures were overlooked and forgotten in the grave, Mr. Howard has made this short but characteristical remark, " Alas! how little profitable would such discourses be." To a man who had rendered his fellow-men the services he had from the motives by which he was actuated, the world's ingratitude, or the world's applause, were indeed matters of equal indifference. What was the impulse under which he acted, what the object he was most solicitous to promote, are fully expressed in his reflections on the next sermon which he appears to have heard, " May I see the wisdom and power of God in ye Gospel. May I feel its power, and its Wisdom. It has made us to do good and promote ye temporal and eternal interest of Men." What, too, was the assistance upon which he alone relied to enable him to perform the arduous work in which he was engaged, what the reward he was looking forward to at its close, may be gathered from the devout, but unconnected, aspiration which he has entered in this memorandum-book. " Ere long my Work shall be at an end, do not grow weary in well-doing, for You shall reap if You faint not. Hold thou up my Goings."

But, for the performance of that work, years of labor and of usefulness yet lay before him, and his means of doing good were considerably in-

creased by the death of his only sister, which happened on the 12th of August, 1777, as appears from a letter to Thomasson, of which the following is an extract:—

" THOMAS,

" I got to Town about 7 o Clock this Morning but Alass too late to see my poor Sister and take one final leave, she died five o Clock Yesterday afternoon. You will come to Town a friday, bring all my black Cloathes—Butter, Cheese, Sage, Balm & Mint. Ann will buy a Mourning Gown, I will pay for it. I hope to be down some time next week. I am

" Lambs Conduit Street " yrs

" Aug^t 13. 1777. " JOHN HOWARD."

By this lady's death he obtained a considerable addition to his property, though its amount has been variously stated. In Thomasson's journal it is represented to have been thirty thousand pounds in ready cash, with every thing she had; whilst in Mr. Palmer's MS. memoir it is a legacy of ten thousand pounds, without mention of the house in Great Ormond Street, which he certainly inherited from her;—I should imagine that this sum is more likely to be the correct one. But be this as it may, it is certain that he considered this accession to his fortune a providential supply for the extension of his plans of benevolence, without injury to his paternal estate, which he thought it his duty to leave unencumbered to his son. Yet for having applied the greater part of it to such an object, the biographer of the Gentleman's Magazine, so often alluded to already in terms of merited reprehension for his illiberality, has strove to blacken his memory by an insiduous remark emphatically printed in italics, that *he made use of the money accordingly*, though his sister had made no provision for his son. " This illiberal sneer," says Mr. Palmer in his memoir, " proceeds from *its author's* ignorance of a material fact, that his son was already amply provided for.

For which reason I have heard him say, that he should not restrain his liberality on his son's account. It would be well," he adds, " if other persons of fortune acted in the same manner, many of whom, by hoarding for their children more than they can enjoy innocently, or spend usefully, prevent themselves from doing that good to their fellow-creatures, for which the liberal gifts of providence are bestowed." To another friend he observed to the same effect, " that he should not have thought himself warranted to break-in upon his own fortune in the manner he had; but that in respect to his son, he would inherit, from certain relations (whom he named), a fortune sufficiently ample, even if he was to spend the whole of his own in the pursuits in which he was engaged; but that was by no means likely to be the case, as the legacy from his sister would more than indemnify him."* Who those relations were it is now no longer necessary to conceal: from his mother's brothers, Edward and Joseph Leeds, Esquires, young Howard was secure of receiving a very considerable addition to his paternal property, which in itself was handsome, besides what was secured to him out of his mother's fortune, and which he enjoyed when he came of age independent of his father's control. With the only being for whom he was called upon to provide, thus amply provided for, who then can have any right to object to Mr. Howard's spending the property left him by his sister in any manner he chose; and if he devoted it as he did to mitigating the distresses of the most wretched of his fellow-mortals, who but the most sordid, or the most envious of mankind, will venture to say that it was not most nobly spent. Certain it is, as I shall hereafter have occasion more particularly to show, that the son whose interests were the most materially affected by this mode of disposing of the surplus of his father's wealth was not of this number, and if he was satisfied, what pretence is there for any other person to complain?

* Letter from *W. F.* Plymouth, *Gentleman's Magazine*, Vol. LX. Part I. p. 288. See also on this subject Dr. Aikin's Letters, ib. p. 290, 491, in which the selfishness and illiberality of this writer's remarks are most ably exposed.

CHAPTER VIII.

Mr. Howard's third journey on the continent for the purpose of inspecting the prisons and hospitals of Holland, Flanders, Germany, Italy, Switzerland, and France; his third general survey of the English, his second of the Scotch and Irish gaols, and the publication of his first Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1778—1780.

IT was impossible but that a work like that of Mr. Howard's upon the State of Prisons, should have excited, upon its first appearance, an unusual portion of public attention. To English readers, at least, its subject was novel, and to every one possessed of the common feelings of humanity, the information it conveyed must have been in the highest degree interesting, whilst it could not fail to awaken the mingled wonder and admiration of all, that any man should have been induced by the mere wish to alleviate the distress of the very outcasts of society, to put to such imminent hazard his health and his life, to make so large a sacrifice of his comforts and of his property, and cheerfully to encounter such a constant succession of labor, and difficulty, and toil, as did the author of this singular production. The different periodical critics were accordingly liberal, it was impossible to be lavish, in their praises of the purity of the motives that had induced, the unwearied perseverance that had accomplished, and the unassuming modesty which characterised the statement of the results of this unexampled labor of Christian love. But this was not all; the attention of the legislature was immediately arrested by some

of the abuses which this work pointed out, particularly by those relating to persons under sentence of transportation, of whose situation Mr. Howard gives the following brief account. "I had taken some pains to make inquiries concerning the state of *transports*, with regard to whom many cruelties and impositions were commonly practised, and whose condition was in many respects equally contrary to humanity and good policy: I flattered myself that I had discovered means of remedying these evils in a considerable degree, and of disburthening the counties of a heavy expense with which they were charged; and was preparing to lay them before the public, when a new turn was given to the matter by act of parliament. Since this has taken place, I suppress what I had written."*

Scarcely, however, had the provisions of the bill which occasioned this suppression commenced their operation, than this ever-active Philanthropist was to be seen moving like the spirit of benevolence and compassion amongst the unfortunate beings confined in the places appropriated to the keeping them employed at home, instead of sending them at an immense expence, and situated as the mother-country then was with respect to her American colonies, at no inconsiderable risk, to our distant possessions abroad. It was to a visit of this kind in the autumn of the year 1776, that the following note in the passage from his State of Prisons just quoted alludes—"I went one Sunday in October last to see the Men-Convicts on board the *Justitia* near Woolwich. I wished to have found them more healthy; and their provision good of the sort; and to have joined with them in divine service. But as the scheme is new, and temporary, I am not willing to complain."—But though he considered it indecorous to expose to the public eye the abuses, or even the defects, of a system adopted by the legislature itself avowedly but as an experiment, and which was then under its own more immediate supervision, he did not hesitate to detail them faithfully, and without reserve, when he was called upon to give his opinion upon the subject. This he had an opportunity of doing,

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 75, 6.

when, on the 15th of April, 1778, he was examined before a select committee of the House of Commons appointed to inquire into the measures which had been pursued for carrying into execution the act of 16 Geo. III. c. 43, and into the effects it had produced. It was in answer to their questions that Mr. Howard gave an account of his first visit to the Justitia, in which he stated that he saw the convicts altogether upon deck, and walking twice round them, he looked into the face of every person, and found, by their wretched appearance, that there was some mismanagement in those who had the care of them. Many had no shirts, some no waistcoats, some no stockings, and others no shoes. Several of them knew him, and seeing from their sickly looks that they required medical attendance, he asked particularly whether they had it, and found that they had not. By waiting to see their messes weighed out, he ascertained that the broken biscuit actually given to them was green and mouldy, though that which the captain shewed him as a sample was good and wholesome, a piece of deception for which he indignantly reproached him, as he convicted him of falsehood, by shewing him the biscuit in the face of the whole crew. In every other respect, these poor wretches were as miserably neglected. Even the sick, who were only separated from the healthy, if any such there could be in this loathsome prison, by a few boards roughly nailed together, had nothing to sleep upon but the bare decks. Their drink was water, and many of them told him in a whisper, lest their inhuman task-masters should overhear their complaints, that their meat was much tainted. The undressed ox-cheeks which were shewn to him as their provision seemed, however, to be sound, but so we may recollect did their biscuit which he found, on farther examination, to be quite the contrary. With so much food for pestilence, we need not wonder that he discovered in this ill-conducted hulk a disagreeable smell like that of a gaol; or that he should express his decided conviction, that had not the legislature turned its attention to the subject, instead of a third or a fourth part, all the convicts confined here would have been lost. Sunday, it will be remembered, was the day he had chosen to visit the wretched place, because on no other could the benevolent purposes of his visit-

ing it at all be answered; but he found that the Sabbath was there no otherwise observed than by a cessation from labor, and consequently by an increased facility for its profanation.*

This visit, though its results were never laid before the public, was yet not without its immediate effects, for the determined resolution which Mr. Howard then exhibited of inspecting into every abuse that had been suffered to creep in under a very negligent and defective system of control and of misplaced confidence, induced an alteration in the mode of treating the convicts confined on board this floating prison, the beneficial consequences of which will be evident from the account given to the committee of the House of Commons, in the course of this examination, of a second visit to the hulks on the 26th of January, 1778. On board the Censor, a ship then employed as an additional hulk, as well as in the Justitia, he found that the convicts were much better treated than when he saw them last, as was evident from their very looks. They now had regular medical assistance: the sick were all in separate beds, their irons were off, and in other respects they seemed to have the utmost attention paid to them. He inspected their bread, meat, and small beer, and found them to be good and wholesome. They themselves, indeed, made no complaint of their food, except wishing for more bread, the allowance of which he had reason to suppose had since been increased. Their cloathing was not regulated on any uniform plan, some being decently clad, and others wanting shirts, and even shoes, such as they could possibly work in:—the whole appearance of several of them was also extremely dirty, looking as though they had not been washed for many weeks. Their bedding was a mat to lie upon, with nothing under or over them but a rug, which would cover about two men. He did not discover that disagreeable smell on board which he had noticed on his former visit, and indeed, upon the whole, the persons confined here were in a healthy state, having but few sick in

* Journals of the House of Commons, *Mercurii*, 15° die Aprilis, 1778, Vol. XXXVI. p. 928, 9.

the hospitals. From the hulks he proceeded to the Warren, where all the convicts who were employed at all, amounting but to 103 out of 289, were at work, though but for three hours, or three hours and a half, a-day; and even then, for want of being properly overlooked, they performed, in fact, but little more work than a third of what a voluntary laborer would do in the same space of time. This, however, he in some measure attributed to the mode of chaining both their legs together, instead of having one chain only from the leg to the girdle, which would permit them to work with more ease and dispatch. In the Warren he found that, in general, they were orderly in their behaviour, having observed but little profaneness there, as every effort was made to keep it under.

Being asked whether, if the bill providing for the maintenance and regulation of these hulks, then about expiring, were suffered to drop, there were, in his opinion, any places in the houses of correction, fit for the reception and safe keeping to hard labor of felons; he answered, that he had seen very few strong enough for this purpose, adding, that though the judges had mentioned in their charges the clauses of the act,* which requires the justices of every county to prepare their houses of correction for the reception of such offenders, not the least attention had been paid to its provisions, so that in the situation in which bridewells then were, it was impossible to use them for their confinement. He pointed out to the consideration of the committee a very great hardship to which convicted felons were subjected, on account of the bridewells being insecure, in the term of their transportation or confinement to hard labor not beginning until they were sent away from the county gaol, which, in some instances, was not until three or four years after they had received sentence. In France, he informed them, the term for which offenders were condemned to the galleys, commenced within twenty-four hours after conviction, though they might not be sent on board for some months; and having directed their attention to foreign countries one instance, he did it also in another, by telling them that the *Maison de la*

* 16 Geo. III. c. 43. p. § 13.

Force, at Ghent, was constructed upon a better plan, and far better regulated than any house of correction he had seen in England.

Such is the substance of Mr. Howard's second examination before a committee of the House of Commons,* upon a subject on which they could not possibly have called before them a man capable of giving them so much authentic and valuable information. I have given it much at length, because it is only to be found in an immense collection of public documents, to which comparatively few can have access. It is evident from that examination, that he considered the hulks the best places of confinement for convicts sentenced to hard labor, then in existence, though, to make use of a somewhat homely phrase, bad indeed were they at the best. In consequence, therefore, of the information which he gave of their improved state, and of the still more favorable accounts of the superintendents and other persons concerned in their management, the committee recommended to the House an adherence to the system,† and a bill was accordingly brought in for continuing this mode of confinement, and received the royal assent on the 28th of May following.‡

The legislature was anxious, however, to extend these provisions still further, by the establishment of places of confinement, for offenders of this description, on the plan of the rasp and spin houses in Holland, of whose regulations Mr. Howard had spoken in terms of such high, yet merited encomium. The draft of a bill to this effect having accordingly been prepared by Sir William Blackstone and Mr. Eden,—within two days after his examination before the House of Commons, he set out upon a tour to that country, with a view to gain further information on this branch of its well-regulated police.§ He arrived at Harwich upon the 18th of April, and after inspecting the gaol there, which he found to be in a bad condition, but

* Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. XXXVI. p. 929, 930.

† Ibid. p. 932. ‡ Ib. p. 936. § Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 3.

without prisoners,* he crossed over to Helvoetsluys, where he landed in the evening of the following day, and immediately proceeded to the Hague, and thence to Amsterdam. He had not been in the latter place above a day or two before he had the misfortune to meet with a very serious accident from a horse running away with a dray, which catching him by the coat, as he was walking along the street, threw him upon a heap of loose stones with such force, as to bruise his sides so severely, as to prevent, for some days, his removal to the Hague, where the pain he suffered brought on an inflammatory fever that confined him to his room for six weeks, and for a considerable part of the time placed his life in great jeopardy.† How constantly he was supported under this affliction—how ardent too were his desires that it might be sanctified to himself and to others, the following short extracts from his diary, when so far recovered as to be able to write but a few lines a day, will abundantly testify:

"Hague May 11 1778. Do me good oh God! by this painful affliction, may I see the great uncertainty of health ease and comfort that all my Springs are in Thee—Oh the painful and wearisome Nights I posses, may I be more thankful if restored to Health, and more compasionate to others, more absolutely devoted to God. J. H.

"May 12. In patience may I possess my Soul, and say it is the Lord let him do what seemeth him good. J. H.

"May 13th. In pain and anguish all Night, my very Life a burthen to me—help Lord, vain is the help of Man—in Thee do I put my Trust, let me not be confounded—All refuges but Christ are refuges of Lies, my soul stay Thou on that Rock.

"May 14. This Night my Fever abaited, my Pains less, I thank God I had 2 hours sleep prior to which for 16 days & nights not 4 hours sleep—Righteous art Thou in all thy ways, and holy in all thy works—sanctify this affliction and shew me wherefore Thou contendest with me, bring me out of the Furnace as Silver purified seven times. J. H.

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 127. † Thomasson's Journal. Rev. S. Palmer's MS. Memoir

" May 15. Shew me oh God wherefore Thou contendest with me? that I may recover Strength before I go hence and am no more seen, May this great affliction be to try me, to prove me, and to do me good in my latter end, to wean my affections from this world, and fix them on the rest that remaineth for the people of God.

" May 16. A more quiet Night and less fever, yet much pain until morning, if God should please to restore me to days of prosperity may I remember the days of Sorrow, to make me habitually serious and humble, may I learn from this affliction more than I have learnt before, & have reason to bless God for it. J. H.

" May 17, 1778. Lords day. This Night I bless God less pain tho' more Fever, so that I have not strength to attend the public worship of God, yet I have hope I shall be raised up a monument of his Goodness, Oh! may I not be a cumberer of the ground, but live to the glory of God, and made thro' grace, an Honor to my Christian profession, may I have a prudent Zeal and a humble hope in the Mercy of God thro' Christ.

" May 19. A better Night less pain Thou art putting a Song of Praise into my Mouth, oh thou God that hearest Prayer! perfect Mercy began, & may I never forget the mercy of God. J. H."

During the whole of this long confinement to the bed of sickness, in a foreign land, whose irksomeness he seems so severely to have felt, whilst confessing the hand that had afflicted, and praising the goodness which was about to restore him to health, Mr. Howard received from Sir Joseph Yorke instances of a kind and friendly attention, his grateful recollection of which is evinced by the assurance he has left upon record—and words with him were not of course—that he never could forget them.* About ten days after the above extracts from his diary were written, being sufficiently recovered to bear the fatigue of so short a journey, he went back again to Amsterdam, and

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 22.

there attended, for the first time since his accident, the public service of God, to return thanks for his deliverance from the serious consequences which seemed at one time likely to have resulted from it. Here he made the two following entries in his diary:

"Amsterdam May 30th. Less pain in the Night, more revived this morning—put under me thine everlasting arms, succour and support for thy Mercy sake, oh my Saviour and my God!

"May 31. A poor Night, faint, yet blessed be God enabled to attend his Public worship, Lord revive and put a new Song of Praise into my Mouth."

In this serious frame of mind, and thus anxious to devote his renewed life with redoubled activity to the service of God and of his fellow-creatures, this excellent man and devout Christian most probably returned in the course of a few days to the Hague, and then, as soon as his medical attendants would permit him to gratify his impatient desire to begin the work that had brought him to Holland, he cheerfully entered on the business of *his* journey at Rotterdam,* the general features of whose prison regulations very much resembled those of the other large towns of Holland. Being in this city on a Sunday, he was desirous of ascertaining whether there was such dissipation in its prisons as in our's, and therefore attended the public service at the rasp-house, which he found to be conducted with the greatest possible order and decorum. The chaplain, after a short prayer and extemporaneous sermon, catechized for about three quarters of an hour, six of the women (it being their turn to be examined), to whom he explained the responses they made, for the correctness of which they afterwards received some token of approbation from the regent who attended this interesting service in his regular rotation. "The decent behaviour and attention of the audience evidently proved," says Mr. Howard, "that the service, though of two hours and a half, was not tedious or disagreeable. I cannot," he adds, "forbear closing this

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 3, 4.

account, with mentioning the ardent wishes it inspired in me, that *our* prisons also, instead of echoing with profaneness and blasphemy, might hereafter resound with the offices of religious worship; and prove, like these, the happy means of awakening many to a sense of their *duty* to *God* and *man*:" a wish in which I am persuaded, not only that every Christian, but every friend to the best interests of the human race will most cordially join.* At Gouda, the prison for debtors had not been occupied for seventeen years, and such was the cleanliness of its spin-house, that each of its inmates was regularly provided with a clean towel every week.† In that at Harlem, the female offenders were close at work, making and mending the linen of the house under the direction of their superintendant, or mother, the men being employed the while either in weaving, or at the various callings to which they had been brought up.‡ Returning to Amsterdam, Mr. Howard carefully re-inspected all the prisons of that populous city, and obtained the most accurate and minute information respecting the regulations adopted there. He particularly noticed, and has very properly commended, the care taken by the magistrates of the children of the few malefactors executed here, who were "sent to the orphan-house, and there brought up in industry, instead of being left destitute vagabonds, to become unhappy victims to the wickedness and folly of their parents." At the rasp-house prayers were regularly read morning and evening, and before and after meals, by one of the best behaved of the convicts; such was the attention universally paid in Holland to the training in religious habits even the most abandoned of the people. Hither, too, the superior magistrates of the city repaired once a-year to contract or lengthen the terms of confinement of the prisoners, according to the report of their good or bad behaviour which the regents, then about to resign their situations, should make. Here, however, as in many other parts of Holland, a mode of confinement prevailed which our Philanthropist justly reprobates as liable to great abuse,—contrary to the general notions of public justice, and which he, therefore, wished to be uni-

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 4—9. † Ib. p. 9. ‡ Ib. p. 10.

versally suppressed;—that of imprisoning persons in private rooms, to which none could have access but in the presence of the regents. For the support of the spin-house here, a small tax was laid upon the sellers of beer, liquors, and tobacco, aided by the very equitable appropriation of one-fourth of the receipts of public exhibitions and diversions to the same purpose. It would be well if in other countries these fruitful sources of temptation to crime were thus compelled to contribute to the expences attendant on its punishment. The workhouse of this city Mr. Howard found to be a well-regulated house of industry, in which beggars, vagabonds, drunkards, and petty thieves, were confined for a limited time to the hard labor to which all the inmates of this large establishment were not nominally sentenced, but actually and closely kept.* Such indeed was the admirable effect of the system of correctional police so judiciously applied in Holland, in this and other instances, to the lowest, as to the highest gradation of offences, that our benevolent tourist found upon inquiry at Utrecht that there had not been a single execution either in the city itself, or the province in which it is situated, for the last fourteen years. Yet where, we may ask, and ask it to our shame, is the city or county in England, small as may be its extent, of which a foreigner could make so favorable a report? The spin-house here was under the most judicious regulations, the keeper having a very liberal salary, the prisoners sufficient food, and constant work, for which the manufacturers were obliged to pay them the same wages as they would have done had they employed others. By a particular permission from the magistrates, the overseer or keeper of the house took persons of bad behaviour as boarders, at the desire of their parents, guardians, or relations.† Our Philanthropist went over this institution with Mr. Van Goens, one of the magistrates, to whom he was introduced by Dr. Brown, who, upon his uncle's death in the beginning of the preceding year, had succeeded as minister of the English church in this city, to whom and to the family of his uncle, with whom he lodged, he then assigned as one of the primary causes of

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 19, 20. † Ib. p. 20, 21.

his undertaking those journeys of benevolence in which he had so long been engaged, the death of his second and favorite wife, which rendered his abode at Cardington irksome and unpleasant; a reason which he also gave to some other of his friends, and as he gave it to one of them his gushing tears evinced how sharp was the pang, which, even after an interval of sixteen years, the recollection of that severe domestic affliction occasioned him, which Providence had so wisely over-ruled as a source of lasting benefit to the world.*

The prison at Deventer Mr. Howard found to be clean, but containing no prisoners. Grateful to the almighty hand which had led him thus far on his journey in safety, he here erected his Ebenezer, in the following ascription of praise to his maker and his preserver, the restorer of his health, and the renewer of his strength, which he entered in his diary at this place:— "*Deventer* June 14 Blessed be the name of my Father and my God who supports and carries me on."

In this spirit and in this strength he proceeded to Middleburg, where he found three dungeons to force a confession, there being no direct torture here employed, though the execution of every criminal was absurdly delayed until he had confessed his crime. At Breda, the last place which he seems to have visited in Holland, he was pleased to learn, that the torture-stool, in the chamber of examination, had not been used for three years. In the house of correction, all the prisoners were employed in the manufacture of coarse carpeting, as were those at Middleburg on a more profitable one of cloth or sacking for the East India company.† After giving some particulars of the judicious plan upon which this prison was constructed, our Philanthropist closes his account of the places of confinement in Holland, with the following short, but merited panegyric upon the general excellence of their regulations. "I leave this country with regret, as it affords a large field for information on

* Dr. Brown's MS. Mr. Wood's Letter to the Editor of the Monthly Mag. Vol. IV. p. 339. † Ib. p. 21, 2.

the important subject I have in view. I know not which to admire most, the *neatness* and *cleanliness* appearing in the prisons, the *industry* and *regular conduct* of the prisoners, or the *humanity* and *attention* of the magistrates and governors." One of the principal defects which he noticed in their general arrangements, was the payment to the gaoler of the sum allowed to each prisoner for his maintenance, out of which, as he himself found by weighing the allowance, he derived considerable profit. Another was the want of an infirmary.*

From Holland our traveller proceeded to Germany, which he entered the latter end of June, by way of Osnaburgh and Hanover. The state of the prison at the former of these places was so wretched, that he would entirely have omitted to notice it, but that he was in hopes the description he gave of it might meet the eye of the amiable prince who then was, and still is, the bishop of that city, "and so be the means of alleviating the sufferings of *its* miserable prisoners." It consisted of seventeen chambers for criminals, having no light but by a small aperture over each door. But these dreary dungeons at this time contained but a solitary prisoner, though he had been immured within their walls for three years, and had survived the cruelty of the torture, which was more excruciating here than in most other countries. In another part of the gaol he found many miserable and sickly objects, men, women, and children, nearly all of them without shoes and stockings, spinning in different rooms, which were dirty beyond description. These rooms opened into a passage, which a gentleman in office, to whom he had letters of introduction, durst not enter. Its noxiousness did not, however, deter his intrepid companion. With his usual attention to all the minutiæ of the regulation of such places, he inquired of the gaoler the particulars of the diet of his prisoners; but the misery expressed in their countenances made him totally disregard the information given him by words.† At Brunswick he visited the

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 12, 19, 21, 22. † Id. p. 24, 5. 2d Edit. p. 20.

habitations of the slaves, who had heavy irons on, and looked unhealthy. Those at Magdeburg were employed on the fortifications, digging sand, and otherwise assisting the masons—many of them had, however, been taken to recruit the army. The house of correction contained three large chambers of silk-worms, which the female prisoners were employed in attending.* The prisons of Berlin were in general convenient and clean. In the *Maison de Travail*, four hundred and fifty persons, old and young, men and women, were actively employed in spinning and carding wool, and every time he visited them, Mr. Howard was pleasingly struck with their cleanly appearance: such great attention was indeed paid to them, as to prevent every possible ground of complaint. He speaks also in terms of high commendation of the strict police of this capital, by which it was kept entirely free from beggars:†—would, we may add, that this were the case with our own. Nor did the prisons of this city, or in any part of the Prussian dominions, contain a torture-chamber, Frederic the Great, having humanely set the example in Germany, of abolishing the cruel practice for which they were required. From this capital he addressed to his friend, the Reverend Thomas Smith, who, agreeably to his earnest request before he left England, was at this time occupying his house at Cardington, as an occasional summer residence, the following letter, of which but a few short extracts have as yet been laid before the public:

"DEAR SIR, Berlin June 28 1778

"It is with pleasure I heard by John Prole's Letter which I rece[d] last Thursday (on my arrival) that you are at Cardington, it gives me pleasure to think that a place on which I have employed so many of my tho[ts], should afford my friend any entertainment; My Pain and fever brought on by the accident I met with in Holland made me almost despair of accomplish[s] my Journey or even ever returning to England, but thro' sparing Mercy I am recovered and have now the pleasing Hope before me; I was presented a

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 25. † Ib. p. 26—8.

friday to Prince Henry, who very graciously converst with me 10 minutes, said 'He could hardly conceive of a more disagreeable Journey but the Object was great and Humane.'

"We are here just on the Eve of an Important Event—the King of Prussia in Silesia, and the Emperor encampt within a few Miles of Him—40,000 men ready to destroy one another, as the Prejudices or Passions of an arbitrary Monarch may direct, this would be a matter of great concern to a thinkᵍ mind, had it not the firm belief of a Wise and over-ruling Providence; I hope in about a fortnight to be clear of the Armies and to be at or near Vienna, till which Time a thoᵗ of England is too distant.

"I have both parts of this day joined with the French Protestants, a pleasure I shall be debarred of many Weeks—I am here nobly Lodged, drank Tea this afternoon with Prince Dolgoruky the Russian Ambassador, yet I thirst for the Land of Liberty, my Cardⁿ friends, and Retreat.

"Please Sir to tell John Prole, I observe the Contents of his Letter, I shall write in five or six Weeks and that I must build no more Cottages (as he is still fetching Materials to finish the last) till I have quite done with my Gaol Schemes.

"Thro' the Hanoverian Dominions and that part of Germany I have seen, there is prospect of great plenty of Corn, which must prevent it being very dear in England; I take my leave with affectionate compˢ. to Mrs. Smith and a kiss for the babe and accept the tenderest assurances of regard from

"Dear Sir,

"Your friend and Servᵗ,

"Thermoʳ 79° in the Shade." "J. Howard."

"I beg to be remembered to any enquiring friends at Bedford that I am Well: and in spirits to undertake any enterprize but one which I hope never

more will be pressed on me, as totally destructive of that tranquillity and ease in which I hope to pass the few remains years of my Life.

" Adieu my friend Let me share your serious moments.

" To the Revd. Mr. Smith, " J. H."

" Cardington near Bedford Angleterre."

The enterprize here alluded to, is obviously that of making a second attempt to obtain a seat in the legislative assembly of his country, which he was apprehensive that his friends at Bedford would endeavour to persuade him to, on the first vacancy in the representation of that borough. And had he afforded the slightest encouragement to their wishes, instead of taking the earliest opportunity of crushing them in their very birth, there can be little doubt but they would have been crowned with a success which was wanting upon the former occasion, but because it was not known that he would permit himself to be proposed as a candidate, until he appeared upon the hustings on the day of election, when many of his friends had already promised their votes to his opponents.* The ground of his declining an honor, for which so many persons are at all times ready to make the greatest sacrifices, even to the utter ruin of their fortunes; whilst, when earnestly and gratuitously pressed upon his acceptance, scarce any one would shrink from it; was, as we may here perceive, the apprehensions he entertained that the duties it would call him to, would withdraw him from that retirement from the busy scenes of life, in which he always, but vainly hoped to pass its closing scenes. And who will say, that for the enjoyment of that retirement, that *otium cum utilitate*, rather than *cum dignitate*, which he sought, he was not most eminently qualified by his steadiness, in discharging all the duties, and the warmth with which his heart expanded to the pure delights which friendship imposes on the one hand, or can impart upon the other. The little circle which he remembered with so much affection when at a distance, could not fail, we

* Letter from Rev. S. Palmer. Universal Mag. Vol. LXXXVI. p. 318.

may be assured, to be still more strongly endeared to him by the reciprocal kindnesses of a more frequent and a more social intercourse. Nor in that intercourse would any one of its members have been either overlooked or forgotten by that kind-hearted being, who, when eagerly pursuing, in the capital of a distant empire, those philanthropic inquiries whose sole object was the relief of the most wretched and most abandoned of his fellow-creatures of every kindred and of every clime, could pause in his glorious career to remember, by the fond token of a kiss, the infant daughter of his absent friend. '*Moroseness* should be made of sterner stuff,' and he who under such circumstances could take so lively an interest in the child of a stranger, alike by the ties of relationship and of blood, could surely never be deficient in affection for his own. But whilst naturally, and most allowably, looking forward to a rest from his labors, when the object of his present journey should be accomplished, in the bosom of his family, small as was the remnant of it now left to him, and in the social converse of his friends, he relaxed not in the ardor of his pursuit, whilst aught of that object remained to be accomplished. From the last of his letters transcribed into these pages, we have seen that to its attainment he cheerfully postponed the completion of improvements upon his estate, closely connected with that judicious scheme of private benevolence to which he had devoted so much of his attention, ere the accumulated sufferings of the prisoner and the captive had enlarged the sphere of his unwearied exertions for the good of mankind, from the village in which he dwelt, beyond the furthest confines of that vast and populous quarter of the globe, on whose extended map that village was an imperceptible speck, a drop of water in the mighty ocean, or a grain of sand amongst the myriads that lie scattered on its shore. Another striking instance of his entire devotedness to the single and singular object of pursuit, which had led him to such a distance from his home, occurs in the few particulars remaining upon record of his conversation with Prince Henry of Prussia, on his first introduction to him, of which his letter to Mr. Smith has given a brief account. In the course of that conversation, he was asked

whether he ever went to any public place in the evening, after the labors of the day were over. He answered, that he never did, as he derived more pleasure from doing his duty, than from any amusement whatever.*

In the discharge of that duty, he proceeded from Berlin to Spandau, where, as in all the Prussian prisons, the criminals were very properly kept close to work. Some few of them were rasping logwood, but most of the men were occupied in spinning, knitting, and carding wool: the women in attending silk-worms. In the house of correction for Lusatia, at Lukau, the former were treading a large wheel to grind corn, five and five by turns. In the castle at Spandau, the male criminals (for no woman was ever permitted to remain there, upon any pretence, for a single night) were badly lodged, and seemed to have but little attention paid them. If, however, he might judge from what he saw of the state prisoners here, and at Magdeburg, Mr. Howard assures us, that *all* their apartments were not so dreadful as some imagine, nor were the persons confined in them miserable and unhealthy objects, kept on a small quantity of bread and water, in cells of four feet square, and six feet high, loaded the while with seventy-eight pounds weight of iron, as had been the case for six years with the ingenious and intrepid Baron Trenck, whilst a prisoner in the latter of these impregnable fortresses.† At Dresden he found the slaves and prisoners strongly ironed, even those who were sick; most of them, women as well as men, when not at work, being fastened by a chain to a staple in the wall of their prison. Those prisons were dirty and offensive, owing to the negligence of their gaolers, a circumstance which our independent countryman, with his usual plainness, where the interests of humanity were concerned, represented to the grand bailiff of the city, when he returned him his acknowledgements for the permission he had given him to inspect the places of confinement under his jurisdiction.‡

* Universal Mag. Vol. LXXXVI. p. 257. † Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 29.

‡ Ib. p. 30.

As he crossed Silesia, the errand he was travelling upon, and the scenes he witnessed, must have presented themselves in singular contrast to the mind of this benevolent being; who, like some commissioned angel of mercy, winging rapidly on his way through fields of carnage and the valley of the shadow of death, passed hastily, yet unmolested, through hostile armies and military entrenchments, on whose approaching shock hung the destiny of empires,—to pour the balm of consolation into the wounded spirit of some wretched captive, the solitary tenant of a gloomy dungeon in some deserted town, the mass of whose population either swelled the ranks of glory, soon to swell the ranks of death,—or had fled affrighted from their homes the moment that two ambitious mortals, sporting with the lives of thousands of their fellow-creatures at their pleasure, had once again been permitted by Heaven, as the ministers of its wrath, "to cry havoc and let slip the dogs of war." But of the observations which he made upon the Silesian prisons, at this time we have no memorials left; nor did those of Bohemia furnish him with any thing very remarkable. The male delinquents in the *Maison de Force*, at Prague, worked out of the house, under the inspection of a guard, at sawing wood, &c. for somewhat less than the common wages of laborers, and received for their own use one-third of their earnings. Whilst thus employed, they had chains on one, or both legs, according to the nature of their crimes, and the different terms of their confinement.* In this city he seems to have made a slight deviation from his usual rule, of strictly confining his attention to the inspection of such places as were likely to afford him information on the great object of his journey; for he paid a visit to one of the principal monasteries of the Capuchin friars, which gave birth to rather a singular adventure. On reaching this convent, he found the holy fathers at dinner, round a table, which, though it was meagre day with them, was sumptuously furnished with all the delicacies the season could afford, of which he was very politely invited to partake. This however, he not only declined to do, but accompanied his refusal by a pretty

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 30.

severe lecture to the elder monks, in which he told them that he thought they had retired from the world to live a life of abstemiousness and prayer, but he found on the reverse, that their monastery was a house of revelling and drunkenness. He added, moreover, that he was going to Rome, and he would take care that the Pope should be made acquainted with the impropriety of their conduct. Alarmed, or at least thinking it prudent to seem to be alarmed at this threat, four or five of these holy friars found their way the next morning to the hotel at which their visitor had taken up his abode, to beg pardon for the offence they had given him by their unseemly mode of living, and to entreat that he would not say any thing of what had passed to his holiness, or to any of the officers of the papal see. To this request our countryman replied, that he should make no promise upon the subject, but would merely say, that if he heard that the offence was not repeated, he might probably be silent on what was past. With this sort of half-assurance, the monks were compelled to be satisfied; but before they took leave of the heretical reprover of their vices, they gave him a solemn promise that no such violation of their rules should again be permitted in their time, and that they would keep a constant watch over the younger members of their community, to guard them against similar excesses; and here the conference ended.*

From Prague Mr. Howard proceeded directly to Vienna, where he arrived on the 1st of July, and continued until the 15th, during which time he visited all the prisons of the city, which he found to be old buildings, and affording no instruction. In the principal one, called *La Maison de Bourreau*, were many horrid dungeons, in connection with which he has inserted in his work a note relative to the precautions he adopted to secure himself from contagion in visiting infected places, which, from the spirit of humble dependence on the protection of Providence, whilst in the path of duty, which it breathes, the reader will, I am sure, be pleased to meet with in this place: "Here, as usual," says he,

* Thomasson's MS. Journal.

"I enquired whether they had any putrid fever, and was answered in the negative. But in one of the dark dungeons down twenty-four steps, I thought I had found a person with the gaol fever. He was loaded with heavy irons, and chained to the wall: anguish and misery appeared, with tears clotted on his face. He was not capable of speaking to me; but on examining his breast and feet for *petechiæ* or spots, and finding he had a strong intermitting pulse, I was convinced that he was not ill of that disorder. A prisoner in an opposite cell told me, that the *poor creature* had desired him to call out for assistance, and he had done it, but was not heard. This is one of the *bad effects* of dungeons. I have frequently been asked what precautions I use to preserve myself from infection in the prisons and hospitals which I visit. I here answer once for all, that next to the *free goodness* and *mercy* of the *Author of my being*, temperance and cleanliness are my preservatives. Trusting in *Divine Providence*, and believing myself in the way of my duty, I visit the most noxious cells, and while thus employed, '*I fear no evil.*'—I never enter an hospital or prison before breakfast, and in an offensive room I seldom draw my breath deeply." In the house of correction for this city all the prisoners were at work, principally on woollen manufactures, and received the whole of their earnings for themselves. Warehouses were attached to the prison, for the sale of the cloth, stockings, &c. which they had made. The house was, however, too much crowded, and too little attention was paid to the lodging of its prisoners, who were without coverlids; so that neither of this, nor of any other place of confinement in the Austrian capital, could their visitor speak in terms of commendation. To the subject of hospitals, our Philanthropist had partially directed his attention during his two former continental tours, but he now avowedly made them an object of general inquiry. It would be incompatible, however, with the nature and limits of a work like this, to notice the particular observations which he made upon them, as they severally presented themselves to his inspection in the various places through which he passed. With those at Vienna he expresses himself to have been greatly pleased, as

they were such as did honor to the citizens in general, but especially to the empress queen, who was their great promoter and supporter. There was also another subject of police regulation, to which, in his journeys through foreign states, he was always minutely attentive,—the strictness with which the assize of bread was regulated, and any deficiency in its weight punished. In this city, bakers who were guilty of any fraud in this respect, were subjected to the salutary, but disgraceful discipline of the ducking-stool, being fastened in their baskets to the end of a long pole, and immersed in the waters of the Danube. During his stay in this capital, our illustrious countryman was introduced to the Queen of Hungary, and had the honor of dining with her on some public occasion, when the nobles of her court and the foreign ambassadors were her guests. With his usual attention to the gratification of his inferiors, he procured permission from some of the queen's household, for his attendant to pass through the room whilst her majesty was at table, which he describes in his journal as a very grand sight.* A circumstance also occurred here which strongly evinces his love of truth, and the fearlessness of his character in speaking it at all times, and in all companies. Dining one day at the table of Sir Robert Murray Keith, our ambassador at the Austrian court, the conversation turned upon the torture, when a German gentleman of the party observed, that the glory of abolishing it in his own dominions belonged to his Imperial Majesty. "Pardon me," said Mr. Howard, "his Imperial Majesty has only abolished one species of torture, to establish in its place another more cruel; for the torture which he abolished, lasted, at the most, a few hours; but that which he has appointed, lasts many weeks, nay sometimes years. The poor wretches are plunged into a noisome dungeon, as bad as the black hole at Calcutta, from which they are taken only if they confess what is laid to their charge." "Hush," said the ambassador, "your words will be reported to his majesty." "What!" replied he, "shall my tongue be tied from speaking truth by any king or emperor in the world? I repeat

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 31—4. Thomasson's MS. Journal.

what I asserted, and maintain its veracity." Deep silence ensued, "and every one present," says Dr. Brown, to whom I am indebted for this interesting anecdote, "admired the intrepid boldness of the man of humanity." From Vienna Mr. Howard proceeded to Gratz, where the prisoners in the house of correction had a far more healthy appearance. Of the prison at Laubach, in Carniola, he has given us no particulars, as he could not say a word in favor of it.* At Trieste, where he spent three days, he found the prison to consist of eight or ten very close, offensive rooms, with only one small window in each; whilst the pale countenances of the prisoners bespoke at once their own misery, and the negligence of the magistrates, and of their keepers. The convicts in the castle seemed, however, healthy, clean, and well, and were employed, for about ten hours a day, upon the roads, in clearing the harbour, and other public works. To prevent those in the harbour from escaping, they had a guard of soldiers whilst at their work, which they did cheerfully, because they had an extraordinary allowance of three farthings a day each; that which they usually received being four farthings, and two pounds and a half of bread a man. Their bread was sweet and good, such indeed as their visitor assures us he himself would have been happy to have met with in many parts of his tour. They were also well supplied with clothes, and lay in good beds, with coverlids, in large airy rooms. They were treated with humanity, though under strict discipline, and, when at work, were distinguished from other labourers by a light chain on their legs, and another supported by a girdle of leather at their waists.†

At Trieste Mr. Howard embarked in a small shallop to cross the gulf to Venice, but, from contrary winds, was two days and two nights on his passage. He entered Italy, he tells us, with "raised expectations of considerable information, from a careful attention to the prisons and hospitals, of a country abounding with charitable institutions and public edifices." As it respected the former object of so laudable a curiosity, Venice, the first place he visited,

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 31. † Ib. p. 34—6.

afforded but little to gratify his hopes, as, in the prison in the doge's palace, one of the strongest he had ever seen, his humanity was shocked at finding three or four hundred persons, many of them confined in dark and loathsome cells for life; capital punishments being here of rare occurrence. On being asked whether they would not prefer the galleys, they all answered in the affirmative; "so great a blessing," observes our author, "is light and air." No fever, or other disorder prevailed in this close prison, and none of its inmates were in irons. The chapel was for the use of those condemned to death alone, and they continued in it a night and a day before their execution. The galleys here were dirty and crowded, except one moored but two boats' lengths from the shore, in which a few slaves were kept until they could be sent off to the others. One of these Mr. Howard saw dead on the sands, and he concluded he had destroyed himself in despair, as he could not have hoped to escape by swimming, from the heavy chains of seven-and-twenty pounds weight which these poor wretches always wore. In this city a society was established for the relief of prisoners, both civil and criminal, four of whom were appointed visitors of the gaol.* At Padua, a singular custom prevailed, of setting insolvent debtors, who wished to avoid a further imprisonment, three times upon a high stone stool, sometimes called the stool of disgrace; but at his visit to the prison there Mr. Howard was informed that no one had submitted to the ignominy for ten years. Those of Ferrara and Bologna contained nothing remarkable. From the latter place he proceeded to Florence, where, through the introduction of Sir Horace Mann, our ambassador, the grand duke issued orders for his admission to all the prisons in his dominions, in his visit to which in the capital, he was accompanied by a physician, who was then inspecting its hospitals by his royal highness's orders, to ascertain what improvements might be advantageously introduced into their regulation. None of the prisoners here were in irons, but some of them were in solitary confinement in the secret chambers. The women were entirely separated from the men, though

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 37. Thomasson's MS. Journal.

the debtors were not from the criminals; and in the larger of the two prisons was an infirmary for each of the sexes. In this prison, which in its arrangements somewhat resembled the plan he himself had proposed for gaols in his own country, Mr. Howard found that the allowance of food was fifteen ounces of good bread every day; but leaving some money behind him to purchase beef and mutton for all the prisoners, and a little tea and sugar for the women, when he visited it a few days after, he was unexpectedly greeted on his entrance into the wards by hymns and chorusses from the recipients of his bounty, whose language of fervent gratitude and of ardent devotion, was more applicable to a visitant from heaven, than a benefactor of mortal mould. So high indeed did they carry their admiration of a commiseration to which they were so little accustomed, and a liberality whose motives they could not understand, that his attendant very seriously expresses his persuasion that they would have sainted him had he not prevented it. But if his piety as well as his modesty was shocked at this idolatrous devotion of the inhabitants of the Florentine prisons, he was too liberal-minded and too just to withhold from the religious orders the praise they so richly merited for their extraordinary attention to the sick in this city, and in other catholic states of the continent, where nuns were the nurses, and monks the physicians, as well as the priests of the hospitals and charitable institutions with which they abounded.* At Leghorn, as at Venice, some of the galley-slaves, under the care of a guard of soldiers, were employed in cleaning out the harbour, being chained together two and two, by a chain about eighteen pounds weight. Forty-seven others were occupied on the new Lazaretto, then building. When working for the state, they were paid about three halfpence a day each, over and above their allowance of thirty ounces of bread, and a mess of soup; but when employed by other persons, their pay was doubled or trebled according to the nature of their work. When refractory, they were reported to government, and punished, by its orders with closer confinement; wearing additional irons; or by the bastinado.

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 38—41. Thomasson's MS. Journal.

In case of desertion, if taken the same day, they wore a chain of eighteen pounds weight, and had half their earnings stopped, till they amounted to about 9*s.* 3*d.* which was paid to the person who retook them; but if they were sentenced for five years, their term recommenced, and for repeated desertions, they were severely punished, sometimes even by the torture. They were well cloathed; a chaplain instructed them in their religious duties; and attached to their prison was an hospital, in which they had whatever nourishment the physician ordered.* After crossing the country, and staying two days at Loretto, where he does not seem to have procured any information calculated to further the object of his journey, our philanthropic tourist proceeded to Rome, in which magnificent city he found that the external elegance and simplicity of the new prison but ill corresponded with the misery and wretchedness he saw within. The secret chambers, of which there were eighteen for the men, containing sixty-eight prisoners, and several others for women, were strong, but close and offensive rooms, with but one window in each to admit either light or air. They were never opened without an order from the governor of the city, nor were their inmates permitted to go out of them but for examination. Some of them having been confined there many years, appeared, as we might expect they would, with pale, sickly countenances; but none were in irons. The prison was furnished with two infirmaries, clean and well supplied with necessaries for the sick, one of which was for prisoners *a la secrete:* and it had wide and very convenient staircases, which most of our prisons, even those recently erected, much wanted; but its visitor regrets that he could not say it was without a torture-chamber. At one corner of the front of this prison a pulley and rope were placed, by which malefactors, with their hands tied behind them, were pulled up; and after being suspended for some time, were inhumanly let down part of the way, when, by the sudden jerk, their arms were dislocated. In the prison in the castle San Angelo, for state prisoners, all the rooms were empty except one, which had been occupied for twenty years by

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 41—4.

a bishop, who was distracted, probably by the length of his confinement. Eighteen *condannati*, or galley-slaves, who were at work in the fortress here, seemed quite healthy, each of them having a light chain on. Of the prison of the Inquisition, at this fountain-head of that intolerant faith, which alone can suffer such a hellish institution to exist, or can stand in need of its support, our author tells us, that "the chambers of *its* silent and melancholy abode were quite inaccessible to *him;* and yet *he* spent two hours about the court and the priests' apartments, till *his* continuance there began to raise suspicion." Had he kept his station much longer, it is not improbable that he might have become better acquainted with the dreadful secrets of its interior than he could have wished; because his close confinement there would have prevented his communicating to the world the information he would have obtained at so dear a rate. In this city, as in many others in Italy, he met with a very singular society, which, with much of the ostentatious charity and pompous humility of the Romish church, seems to have caught a spark of that purer flame of Christian benevolence, which shines as brightly in the solitary dungeon of the captive, as in the face of an applauding world. It was a *Confraternita della miserecordia,* or Brotherhood of Mercy, of the order of *S. Giovanni di Fiorentini,* which, at Rome, consisted of about seventy members, chiefly noblemen of the best families; one or two of whom, after a prisoner was condemned, came on the midnight before his execution to inform him of his sentence, and continued with him until his death, joining the confessor in exhorting and comforting him, and, at the same time, according to the general practice of the continent, offering him his choice of the most delicious food. The whole fraternity afterwards attended the execution, dressed in robes of white; and leaving the criminal to hang till evening, one of their members, generally a prince, then cut down the body, and ordered it to be interred in the burial-place appropriated by the order to malefactors. Mr. Howard was in Rome on the 29th of August, the only day on which this cemetery was opened to the public, and of course embraced the opportunity of inspecting it. It was a square court,

adjoining to an elegant church; one side being formed by a chapel, the others by handsome porticoes, supported by Doric pillars. In the middle of the pavement of the front one, the women, and of those of the two side ones, the men criminals were buried; the latter in the same dress in which they were hung, coffins not being in general use in Italy. Their tombs were marble squares, with circular apertures for the reception of their bodies, having round the stones this appropriate text inscribed—"*Domine, cum veneris judicare, noli nos condemnare;*" "O Lord, when thou shalt come to judge, do not condemn us." From this splendid, but useless exhibition of Italian munificence, he passed to one of less imposing appearance, but of far greater utility—the hospital of *S. Michele*, a large and noble edifice, a great portion of it occupied by various manufactories and shops, where orphan or destitute boys were instructed in some useful trade, in which, when they had attained the age of twenty, they were set up by this excellent institution, whose governors at the same time completely cloathed them. Their number was about 200: more than twice as many aged and infirm people being maintained in the clean apartments of another part of the building, in whose comfortable retreat our Philanthropist found them happy and thankful. In this hospital was a prison for boys and dissolute young men, bearing a Latin inscription, which imported that it was erected in 1704, by Pope Clement XI. "for the correction and instruction of profligate youth: that they, who when idle, were injurious, when instructed, might be useful, to the state." In one of its rooms, the following admirable sentence was inscribed, "in which," says Mr. Howard, with great truth, "the grand purpose of all civil policy relative to criminals is expressed:—PARUM EST COERCERE IMPROBOS POENA NISI PROBOS EFFICIAS DISCIPLINA;' '*It is of little advantage to restrain the Bad by Punishment, unless you render them Good by Discipline.*" To have met with a prison conducted upon principles so perfectly accordant with the views which he himself entertained upon the important subject of their regulation, must have afforded to the benevolent heart and liberal mind of a Howard as pure a source of delight as

any thing in this world could have furnished. Nor are we, perhaps, when applied to such a man, to consider as a mere figure of speech the assertion of a biographer, who knew his ardent disposition well, that he believed "he would almost have thought it worth his while to have gone *to Rome* for *this sentence* alone."* In furtherance of the enlightened objects of the policy so judiciously expressed in this inscription, Mr. Howard saw fifty boys spinning in a room, in the middle of which was suspended, in large letters of gold, the word *Silentium*. He also saw another room, for women, having on the outside of it an inscription, stating that it was erected by Clement XII. in 1735, "for restraining the licentiousness and punishing the crimes of women." The hospitals for the sick in this magnificent city were numerous, but generally crowded and offensive, though they had never more than one patient in a bed. Rome, however, contained one institution which, in the midst of those of every description that do so much honor to its benevolence, London still seems to want,—a hospital for convalescents, into which recovering patients, when dismissed, might enter and lodge for three days, in airy rooms, and dine in the refectory, being well attended during the whole of that time.†

From Rome Mr. Howard proceeded to Naples, where the principal prison, under the courts of justice, contained, according to its keeper's account, 980 prisoners; and in about eight large rooms, communicating with each other, he himself saw 450 sickly objects, who had access to a court surrounded by buildings so high as to prevent the circulation of air. In this court was a recess under arcades, in which some of the prisoners were employed in knitting, and others in making shoes, though by far the majority were quite idle. Six chambers, opened into a spacious hall furnished with plenty of beds for those who could pay for them; but seven others, close and offensive in the extreme, contained thirty-one prisoners, almost in a state of nudity, on account of the great heat of these places; and in six dirty rooms, communicating the one with the

* Aikin, p. 97. † Appendix to the State of Prisons, p. 41—51. Thomasson's MS. Journal.

other, were fifty women. Of all these numerous prisoners but one was in irons, in a dungeon near a small chapel, allotted to the condemned before execution. The allowance in this gaol was twenty-two ounces of good bread a-day to each prisoner. It contained an airy infirmary, but here, as indeed throughout Italy, Mr. Howard observed that great attention was in general paid to the sick, whilst too little care was taken to prevent sickness. In the prisons of his own country, however, with but few exceptions, both these objects were alike shamefully neglected. From the heat of the climate he expected to have found the gaol fever prevailing in Italy, but he never met with it in any of its prisons. The Neapolitan galleys, four in number, were moored about ten feet from the shore, and contained upwards of 1200 slaves, chained two and two together. Their bread was hard, but sweet, the quantity allowed them about twenty-six ounces daily, though when employed in the arsenal and other public works they had an extraordinary allowance of near a penny a-day. When retaken after an escape, the term of their confinement was doubled; and as no regular plan had yet been settled for their employment, the king had recently made a present of such of them as had been condemned for life to the Maltese, so easily and unceremoniously, under these despotic governments, are their slaves transferred from one owner to another, like flocks of sheep, or herds of other cattle. Each galley had its chaplain, and its public worship on Sundays and holidays, which in all Catholic states are of far too frequent occurrence. In the Serraglio, or great alms-house, an immense edifice already extending 1300 feet in front, were about 450 *condannati*, in eight or nine rooms, some of whom were at work on this great building with chains on their legs, varying in weight according to the terms of their confinement. In some of those rooms, as in some of the galleys, the prisoners were at work as shoemakers, though most of them here had no employment. This building, when completed, was intended for a receptacle for the aged and infirm, for beggars and idle persons, which, with the addition of convicted felons, would form a strange and injudicious mixture of the vicious and the unfortunate, the helpless and the idle, in one place of con-

finement. There was an hospital on the shore for the sole use of the galley slaves and of their guards, with spacious and airy wards, cleaner than were most of those in this city; the attention paid to the patients admitted there being, in other respects, equally praiseworthy. On Mr. Howard's telling the surgeon of this very necessary institution that in some of the countries which he had visited, a part of each galley was made an hospital, he very quaintly, but judiciously, remarked, that "this must soon make the whole an hospital;" a very natural inference which those who had, at this time, the superintendance of our English gaols, seem most unaccountably to have overlooked in their arrangements for the sick. The large and crowded hospitals of *S. Apostoli* and *L'Annunziazione* had wards for the cure of persons wounded by the stilettoes of bravoes and assassins, a race of desperadoes with which every part of Italy abounded, and still abounds; so that Mr. Howard calculates that more murders were then committed in the city of Naples or of Rome in a year than in our three sister kingdoms put together. "Many of the common people," he tells us, "*seemed indeed* to be insensible of the crime of murder," having himself heard criminals in prison express their satisfaction that, though they had stabbed, they had never robbed. With his wonted anxiety to turn every thing he heard, or saw in other countries to the improvement of his own, he very pertinently asks, whether this striking difference in the character of the two nations in this respect "does not prove that the English are not naturally cruel? And might not arguments," he continues, "be derived from hence for the revisal and repeal of some of our sanguinary laws?"* It is near forty years since this plain question was proposed to the consideration of our legislators, by a man whose name is often on their lips, but whose humane, yet prudent, suggestions for the improvement of our code of criminal jurisprudence have as yet had but too little influence upon their conduct, or their hearts. Had they done so, some radical distinction would long ere this have been made, between the taking a penny from another in a public road, or goods to the amount of forty shillings

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 53—6.

from his dwelling, and wilfully and barbarously depriving a fellow-creature of his life. Jurors, from a mistaken view of their duty, would not then have foresworn themselves to save the passing of a sentence seldom executed, nor judges have lowered their dignity to suggest to them some quibbling expedient to reconcile their humanity with the solemn obligation of their oath. From this city he returned to Rome, and thence proceeded to Civita-Vecchia, where the Pope's galleys lay; the slaves being confined in them for different terms, according to the nature of their crimes; vagabonds for three years; persons convicted of theft, for not less than seven; of forgery, for life; and if, by the instruments they had forged, large sums were obtained, they were also compelled to wear an iron glove. These slaves for life were chained two and two together, whilst the others wore but a single chain. If any of the latter escaped they were compelled to finish the term of their first condemnation, and then to serve for another of an equal length, whilst those sentenced for life received from one to two hundred lashes a-day, for three days after their return. None were sent to the galleys under twenty years of age, younger offenders being confined till then in the hospital of *S. Michele,* employed the meanwhile in spinning, and fed on bread and water. The allowance of the galley slaves was three pounds of bread each every day, with soup made of beans boiled in oil, about every other day; and at the great Catholic festivals of Easter, Christmas, and the Carnival, a pound of beef and half a pint of wine a man. Their cloathing was coarse, and not very liberally supplied, the expence of that and of their maintenance, including their chains, being computed at *3l.* 13*s.* 9*d.* English each. They had, however, the whole of their earnings for themselves, which, when employed for the public,—some of them upon a canvas and calico manufactory,—varied from a penny to eight pence a-day, according to the nature of their work. The superintendance of these galleys was committed to Mr. Denham, an Englishman, to whom Mr. Howard was indebted for the minute account which he has given of their management. They were five in number, but three were out on a cruise. Throughout the night in which he slept

in a felucca by their side, the greatest silence prevailed in the other two, though containing about 400 prisoners chained in each. The hospital for their use on shore he found to be clean and commodious.* At this port he intended to have continued for four or five days, but a Neapolitan vessel, bound for Leghorn, putting into harbour the day of his arrival, he embarked on board of it that evening, as he had all along proposed, if opportunity offered, to proceed thither by sea. On the evening of the second day, the captain put into a creek on the coast, and pitched a tent for his passenger on shore, in which he passed a fine Italian night very pleasantly, surrounded, as he was, by some very beautiful Italian scenery. In the morning the scene, however, was completely changed; for scarce were they out of sight of land, than there arose a dreadful tempest, accompanied by thunder and lightning, which drove them to one of the smaller islands on the Italian coast of the Mediterranean, where they anchored for the night under the walls of a town, whose inhabitants refused to let them land, on account of a rumour that prevailed of the plague having broke out at the port to which their ship belonged. The next morning they got out to sea again, and the storm increasing, were driven upon the African coast, where even the piratical Algerines would not permit them to land, as it seems they otherwise would have ventured to do, without performing quarantine, which neither the captain nor his passenger would consent to. They therefore stopped one night upon the coast, from which they set sail the next morning, with a good wind blowing from this inhospitable shore, though the tempest had not entirely subsided, when, three days afterwards, they made land at the back of the island of Gorgona, where they anchored for the night, the tide being against their making for its port. The next morning the governor sent his long-boat, with four and twenty rowers, to bring Mr. Howard and his servant on shore, and in the course of the day the vessel was got round to a safe anchorage in front of the island. They continued here for five or six days,

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 51—3; 2d Edit. p. 78.

during which time the governor and inhabitants of the place shewed our Philanthropist the greatest attention.* At the top of the castle on this island he found two rooms used as a prison, a place of confinement, as he very justly remarks, very different from the ancient cruel mode of shutting up prisoners in pits and dungeons of castles.† He left this barren rock as soon as the wind would permit, for Leghorn, where he stopped for six or seven days, and then proceeded to the little state of Lucca, whose convicts were formerly sold to the Genoese or Venetians, but the markets there being most probably overstocked with slaves of this description of their own, they now kept them in prison without any employment.‡ It is hard to determine whether their present practice was the more injurious to their criminals, or their former traffic in human life and liberty, the more disgraceful to themselves. At Lerice, whither he had proceeded with the intention of coasting it by sea to Genoa, he met with the Hon. Philip Yorke, now Earl of Hardwicke, who put into this port becalmed in his way from Leghorn to Genoa, but who, on being informed by Mr. Howard, that he would be compelled to perform quarantine there, from a false rumour, similar to that which he himself had suffered from, accompanied him by land to Genoa, where he arrived in the course of the following day. In this city our Philanthropist continued for five days, busily occupied in inspecting the prisons and hospitals. The former were under very excellent regulations; in the principal one for male criminals (those for female offenders and for debtors being perfectly distinct establishments), the keeper was made personally responsible, and liable to punishment, for any the least fault or neglect of his assistants; and he was directed to take particular care that his prisoners did not play at cards, or any other games. These, and other excellent rules, framed for the government of the prison by the superior syndics of the city, were ordered to be hung up in the criminal courts, and in the apartments of the prisoners, whilst, the better to secure their strict observance, the advocate-fiscal was required once a week, not at fixed times, but when he

* Thomasson's MS. Journal. † Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 65. ‡ Ib. p. 57.

might least be expected, to visit every cell in the gaol, and to enquire diligently how the prisoners were treated by their keeper, in order that he might make a report of their condition to the senate. The galleys here were also under similarly careful inspection; five superintendants drawing lots every month to determine which of them they should take. Their food too was infinitely better than any where else in Italy, being constantly supplied with broth in the winter, and with a weekly allowance of it in the summer months. The superintendants also, at certain seasons, ordered them supplies of meat, cheese, oil, and stock-fish; and when these were discontinued, the chaplain was desired to see that they were regularly furnished with half a pint of wine a man. The great hospital here, into which patients from all nations were admitted, was one of the best and least offensive in Italy, but the ward for foundlings was crowded and close, and its visitor complains of the poor infants being cruelly bound hands and feet with bandages. The apartments for the insane were also close and dirty, and the calm and quiet, of these unhappy beings, were inhumanly confined in the same room with the noisy and turbulent. An asylum for boys and girls in this city, something similar to the noble and well-regulated hospital of St. Michael, at Rome, had over the door of the great room, in which numbers were spinning and weaving, this short but appropriate inscription, "*Silentium et Obedientia.*"* In the great trading city of Milan, to which his benevolent course was next directed, he found but four prisoners confined for debt, whilst in London the number, at this time, could not have been less than a thousand. Besides the great prison, which contained twenty secret chambers for hardened criminals, and those condemned for life, there were two prisons here called *L'Argastro* and *La Casa di Correzione*, which did honor to the country. Both of them were for criminals condemned to hard labor, either for a term of years, or for life; the more atrocious working in chains in the streets, watering them, repairing the pavement, &c.; the others being employed in the house, at the various trades and manufactures carried on

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 57—9. Thomasson's MS. Journal.

there for the public benefit. Many of them were taught several of these occupations, so that there might be the greater probability of their becoming useful members of society, when the term of their imprisonment should be expired, which, as Mr. Howard truly observes, "should be the *grand object* in all such houses." To encourage them in their industry, they very properly received a third of their earnings for their own use. Their daily allowance of food was thirty-five ounces of bread, and a mess of good vegetable soup; their dormitory was airy; and they had a regular change of linen once a-week, so that their visitor remarked to one of them that they were cleaner than most working men, to which he very sensibly replied, "or else the confinement would be intolerable." They had each a chain to the leg, and if they made their escape, and were retaken, the term of their imprisonment was renewed, with the addition of half as much more. The house of correction was not quite completed, but the dormitory and work-rooms for the men were already occupied. The whole was on a noble and spacious plan. In one of the rooms forty looms were employed in weaving linen, cotton, and diaper, and in others, opening into it, were warping and twisting-mills, and winding-wheels, to prepare the materials, which, in their raw state, were beat and made ready for these processes by other prisoners. To complete the whole, the house was furnished with a calendar, and conveniences for bleaching the cloth, thus entirely manufactured within its walls. Such of the prisoners as were not engaged in any of the branches of this extensive manufactory were employed as masons and laborers in completing this noble edifice. The work-rooms for the women were just finished, and were large, light, and lofty; having, morever, stone basons in one corner of each, with water laid into them. Over those of the men was their dormitory, which was spacious, airy, clean, and sufficiently light, having three stone galleries round it, into which 120 good sized chambers opened, each of them having a window to the street, or court-yard, and another smaller one towards the room, so that a thorough air passed through the building. They

were furnished with a bed and bedding, a stool, and other conveniences; and both in the area of this hall, and in the infirmary were stone sinks, with water laid on. Near to the end of the room was an altar, opening from which, on the right and left, in the form of a cross, was the dormitory for boys, and the infirmary. There were already nearly 300 prisoners in this noble prison, twenty of whom were chained to the benches; but at the same time occupied in spinning, or in making and mending cloathes for the house: all the prisoners being also compelled to work in irons. With the exception of this practice, to which we may be assured he would have objected, this house of correction, not only in name, but in deed, was precisely of the description of those he would have wished to have seen erected as penitentiary-houses in his own country. He therefore took his servant with him to see it, and from his journal we learn, that he here exercised one of those acts of mercy upon which his own narrative of his visits to these places of confinement, which he seldom left without making some of their wretched inmates happy by some deed of kindness, usually preserves the silence of the grave. Amongst the number of its prisoners was a young man of superior talents, who was working upon a very fine gold brocade. On entering into conversation with him, Mr. Howard found that he was highly accomplished, and could speak four or five different languages. The crime for which he was confined here, was that of having more wives than one living at the same time,—an offence which, in Italy, does not seem to have been viewed in so serious a light as it is with us; since, on finding that the correction he had undergone in this prison seemed to have produced a salutary effect upon his mind, our benevolent countryman was permitted to purchase his ransom, and to furnish him with money to carry him to some other country, probably to that of which he was a native. For this unexpected generosity, the young man, who appeared not to be above four or five and twenty years of age, was very grateful, and shewed his benefactor all possible respect and attention during his continuance in Milan. Before he left it, he visited the great hospital, but the high expectations which

the extravagant accounts of former travellers had warranted him to form of its judicious regulations were completely disappointed; as its rooms were low, dirty, and offensive. Most of the chirurgical patients here had been wounded in assaults, or sudden quarrels.* Our traveller left Lombardy, by whose governor, the Count de Firmian, he had been furnished with every advantage for examining the prisons in that country, for Piedmont; where, in the citadel at Turin, he found 170 prisoners in irons, in which state they always remained without employ, till sent to the galleys at Villa-Franca:—their unhappy countenances plainly shewed the little attention paid to them.† In his way across the mountains, from this city, where he staid four or five days, into Savoy, he overtook a lady on horseback, accompanied by four servants, to whom, with his wonted gallantry to the sex, he offered his protection, and a seat in his travelling-carriage, which she politely declined; alleging as her reason, that she preferred travelling on horseback, or she could have brought her own coach. At Chamberry he staid but one day, in the course of which he inspected its prison, and was pleased to find that the salutary practice of frequently washing its rooms was here adopted. Besides their stated allowance of good bread, the prisoners were often supplied with soup, and in winter with clothes and coverlids, by one of those charitable societies of ladies, which did so much honor to the females of the southern part of the continent of Europe. At Geneva he spent five days, and was greatly pleased with the attention paid to the prisoners there, for whose use new floors were then laying down in the gaol, lest the rooms should be damp, and injurious to their health.‡

In entering Switzerland from this romantic town, as he himself now did, the "traveller," he informs us, "will be surprised to meet frequently with a gibbet on the road, if he be not informed that almost every *seigneurie* or bailiwick has a prison, and possesses the power of trying criminals and

* Appendix to State of Prisons, p. 59—63. Thomasson's MS. Journal. † Ib. p. 63.

‡ Ib. p. 63, 4. Thomasson's MS. Journal.

capitally convicting them." One of these prisons he visited, and found it to consist of four rooms, at the top of a castle, which were empty, as was commonly the case with prisons in this country, "in consequence," he tells us, "of the virtuous education and industry of the inhabitants." Thus it was with the gaol at Freyburg: but in its house of correction were a few male convicts, who, as was usual in Switzerland, were employed abroad in cleaning the streets.* In one of those at Bern, an old keeper having left the door of the men's ward unlocked, twelve of the convicts forced the outer one open, and walked off; the people suffering them to pass, because they thought they were going to their work in the city. When five of them were afterwards retaken, the magistrates ordered that they should not be punished, as every one must be desirous of gaining his liberty, and they had not been guilty of any violence in obtaining theirs; the punishment, therefore, fell, where it ought to fall, upon the keeper, for his negligence. Fifteen women were unemployed in this place, and seemed miserable for want of something to do. Of the practice which prevailed here, of setting them to work like the men, in cleaning the public streets, Mr. Howard expresses his disapprobation in terms more than usually strong. "I detest," says he, "the custom of daily exposing that sex to such ignominy and severity, unless when they are totally abandoned, and have lost all the softer feelings of their sex."† At Zurich was a prison for capital crimes, somewhat singularly situated in the middle of the river, but it contained only a single prisoner. In the room for examination were five different weights for torture, the heaviest of which, of 120 pounds,—if tradition may be depended upon,—was used in torturing a burgomaster of this city. In the house of correction, which was convenient and spacious, were about sixty prisoners; nineteen of the men working abroad for different citizens, who paid them at a somewhat lower rate than they would have done other laborers. The rest were spinning within doors, or at work at different trades; one woman at colouring botanical prints. They had

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 64, 5. † Ib. p. 65, 6.

a chapel, in which they attended divine service, and were catechised every Friday. Three times a day, such of them as did not work abroad walked under the arcades of a large court; during which time, by the advice of one of the physicians of the city, their rooms were thoroughly aired, the doors and windows being thrown open. They had good bedding, and were well supplied with bread and soup every day, but no meat. On inquiring of one of the magistrates if they ever banished any of their criminals, he seemed surprised at the question; and asked, in the true pithy style of Laconia, if he did not see in the mountains many manufactories. At Schaffhausen he found but three prisoners, and they were in the house of correction.*

From Switzerland Mr. Howard returned into Germany, to visit some prisons which he had not yet seen, especially those of the free, or imperial cities. That at Augsburg had engines of torture in two of its rooms, and dungeons for persons convicted of witchcraft, which were in a ruinous condition and seemed to have been as long without inhabitants, as we should have expected that these instruments of cruelty would have been without use. Condemned criminals were brought out, three days before their execution, into two light rooms, opening into a Roman Catholic chapel, in which, if Lutherans, a member of their own persuasion, with the liberality so general in Germany, was permitted to attend them. The same Christian spirit prevailed also in the house of correction, where Catholic and Protestant prisoners were confined in separate buildings on the two sides of a spacious court, each of them having a chapel for their use. The rooms were all clean and airy, being regularly whitewashed once a-year. At Munich, in one of the prisons, the instruments of torture were in a dark, damp dungeon, seventeen steps under ground. In the other they were in a room containing a table and six chairs for the magistrates and their secretaries, all covered with black cloth and fringe, and elevated above the floor by two steps of the same sable hue. Various engines of torture, some of them stained with

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 66, 7. 2d Edit. p. 88.

blood, hung round the room. When these were applied to criminals, or to persons suspected of being such, candles were lighted, as the windows were closed to prevent the cries of the sufferers from being heard abroad. "But it is too shocking," says our author, "to relate their different modes of cruelty: even women are not spared;" and he closes his short description of so horrible a scene by comparing the torture-room in the *free* city of Munich to that of the Inquisition at Madrid, which Limborch* very justly characterizes as "the very mansion of death, every thing appearing so terrible and awful." The house of correction here, afforded a scene but little less revolting to the humanity of its visitor, as the keeper ordered his servant to attend him with charcoal and frankincense, a sure sign of negligence and inattention, which the countenances of the prisoners confirmed. But he was agreeably relieved from the pain the inspection of these wretched places of confinement had occasioned him, by viewing the two hospitals of the brothers and sisters of charity, where all was neat, clean, and quiet, the great attention paid to the patients being also every where apparent, He saw the operation of bleeding performed here by the nuns with great dexterity and tenderness.† In the prison at Ratisbon most of the chambers were airy, and had stoves in them. There were no dungeons, but three dismal cellars for torture, at the infliction of which two of the senators, their secretary, and the hangman with his valets—a most goodly company—attended. At Munich, as in some other cities, a surgeon was also present, but Mr. Howard heard of no such practice—I will not call it a humane one, for in connection with a work of cruelty like this it were a profanation of the term—prevailing here.* Nurenburg contained one of the worst prisons he had ever seen, whose dark, unhealthy dungeons and dismal torture-chamber did no honor to its magistracy. The gaoler made use of a low trick to prevent the escape of his prisoners, by terrifying them with the apprehensions of falling under the power of witches, a bugbear which was not then without its effect in Ger-

* History of the Inquisition, translated by Chandler, Vol. II. 4to. p. 211.

† Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 68, 9. † Ib. p. 69, 70.

many, as down to the present hour it is not powerless with the vulgar of our own enlightened isles. In the house of correction the prisoners were chiefly employed in the unhealthy business of grinding spectacle-glasses, being allowed for themselves all they earned above eighteen pence a-week, which might amount to about sixpence each. Some of the women were working gold and silver lace on cushions.* The large house of correction at Schwabach, in the margraviate of Anspach, was clean and well regulated. Some of the men were grinding glasses, but others were employed, in different apartments, in polishing steel buttons, wire-drawing, and making spinning-wheels, at which the women were kept to work. Twelve of the male convicts were upon the roads. The gaoler readily supplied his visitor with a book containing the regulations of the prison, interspersed with many liberal and sensible remarks, some of which appeared to Mr. Howard, as they now do to his biographer, to be worth transcribing, in the hope that they may be of assistance in promoting that reformation in the disposal of our convicted criminals, which is every day but the more loudly called for. It was there truly remarked,—and this is a rock upon which our legislators and writers upon legislation have often split,—" that there is a great error in expecting that a house of this kind should be made to *maintain itself;* since with the strictest economy, a *considerable annual sum* will be found necessary for its proper support." With equal truth is the too prevalent notion deprecated as false, " that a man who lives upon bread and water can work hard and be kept in health;" and a daily allowance of hot provisions and beer, though none of meat, but on a Sunday, was therefore ordered for the criminals who were kept to hard labor in this well-regulated prison, those whose labor was lighter living upon humbler fare. For the preservation of order, and the prevention of abuses, it is also laid down as a most essential point, " that one of the city magistrates should every week in rotation visit the house, and closely inspect every thing relative to its management." In accordance with these and other similarly excellent rules, the greatest attention

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 70, 71.

was here paid to cleanliness, bathing-rooms being provided for the prisoners, and the expence of washing for them being justly considered an object not to be regarded, in comparison with the advantages it produced, in the preservation of their health. Such of the prisoners as had been publicly whipped were called *infames*, and were distinguished from the rest, by having a particular place appropriated to them in the chapel, and by being the last in receiving the sacrament.* In the large house of correction near Bayreuth, in Franconia, the male convicts were all employed in polishing and working up the marble of the neighbouring mountains, some abroad, and others in the house, a mode of employment similar to that which Dr. Fothergill, two years previous to this period, had proposed for our own convicts. Here, however, the pale countenances of the prisoners thus occupied, was but too true an indication, not only of their work being laborious, but of their keeper receiving the whole profit of it. The women were spinning worsted, but appeared to be objects of compassion, like the men. Their dirty rooms, sickly looks, and cutaneous complaints, evidently bespoke inattention and neglect. The rules by which this prison ought to have been regulated were good; "but of what advantage," asks Mr. Howard, "are the best rules when not enforced?" That at Wurtzburg was under much better management, the whole of its prisoners, men and women, being employed in a woollen manufactory for cloathing the soldiery, and for the use of the hospital and poor-houses, each of them being tasked to earn three pence halfpenny a-day. There was a Roman Catholic chapel here, and its attendant priest resided in the house, upon which account Roman Catholic prisoners were sometimes sent here from other states, for the term of their confinement; as were those of a different persuasion to Bayreuth.† In Frankfort on the Maine Mr. Howard found five prisons, but all of them either quite empty, or having but few prisoners in them. The house of correction, for instance, contained but two women and one man, the former being employed in the work-house, the latter in pounding a porous stone to

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 71, 2.

† Ib. p. 73—5.

powder to make cement. At Cologne a similar employment was adopted for the men, the women being occupied the while, in spinning, or in knitting stockings. In the prison in the tower of this city there were, however, neither felons nor debtors at this time confined, the magistrates never permitting a debtor who had no effects to be kept in gaol. The city had not the power of executing criminals, but when they were condemned, they were delivered over to a high officer of the elector, and confined in a dungeon in his house, where, three years ago, our traveller had seen a man incarcerated.* After continuing here for four days Mr. Howard proceeded to Aix-la-Chapelle, whose great prison he found unoccupied; but in that near the town-hall were two prisoners, one of whom was a very old man with irons on his hands, and who, though confined but on suspicion, had twice suffered the torture to force a discovery of his confederates.† During his short stay here we find the following devout ejaculation of praise to his Creator and Redeemer entered in his memorandum-book:—"Hallelujah, Blessing, Honor, Glory and power, be unto God, and the Lamb for ever and ever. Sunday evening Aix le Chapelle John Howard 8 Novr 1778." The next place he visited was Liege, whose prisons he found to be in a situation of wretchedness as to their condition, and cruelty as to their government, scarcely to be paralleled by any thing he had met with in the whole course of his extensive journeyings. His own unvarnished tale of what he saw and felt on their inspection will, however, be infinitely more affecting than any high-wrought picture of their misery from another hand could possibly be made, and I therefore give it without or note, or comment of my own. "The two prisons (distinguished by the names of the *old* and the *new*) near *Lá Porte de St. Leonard* in *Liege* are on the ramparts. —In two rooms of the *old* prison I saw six cages made very strong with iron, four of which were empty. These were dismal places of confinement; but I soon found worse. In descending deep below ground from the gaoler's apartments, I heard the moans of the miserable wretches in the dark dungeons.

* State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 75, 6. † Ib. p. 76.

The sides and roof were all stone. In wet weather, water from the *fossés* gets into them, and has greatly damaged the floors. Each of them had two small apertures, one for admitting air, and the other, with a shutter over it strongly bolted, for putting in food for the prisoners. One dungeon larger than the rest was appropriated to the sick. In looking into this, with a candle, I discovered a chimney, and felt some surprize at this little escape of humanity from the men who constructed these cells. The dungeons in the *new* prison are abodes of misery still more shocking; and confinement in them so overpowers human nature, as sometimes irrevocably to take away the senses. I heard the cries of the distracted as I went down to them. One woman, however, I saw who (as I was told) had sustained this horrid confinement forty-seven years without becoming distracted. The cries of the sufferers in the torture-chamber may be heard by passengers without, and guards are placed to prevent them from stopping and listening. A physician and surgeon always attend when the torture is applied; and on a signal given by a bell, the gaoler brings in wine, vinegar and water, to prevent the sufferers from expiring. '*The tender mercies of the wicked are cruel.*'—I will only add, that in this prison there are rooms appropriated to prisoners *en pension*; that is, to such as are confined by the magistrates, at the desire of their parents, guardians or relations. A shocking practice which prevails also in some of the neighbouring countries." To these gloomy dungeons and these cruel tortures, more characteristic of demons than of men, and fitter for their abodes, the house of correction here, presented in some points a pleasing contrast, and a great relief to the harrowed feelings of their humane inspector. All the prisoners were occupied in a manufactory of linings for soldiers' clothes, persons residing in the house to instruct them in its various branches. None of them were in irons, but they all had separate beds, and were supplied with good rye bread, meat three times a-week, two quarts of beer for each every day, and soup every other day. The chaplain, who lived in the house, accompanied our Philanthropist in his inspection of its various parts, and entering into the true spirit of the institu-

tion, noticed the propriety of solitary confinement for those who were riotous and refractory on their first coming into prison, as after four or five days of this discipline they become very tractable and submissive.*

Proceeding into Flanders, Mr. Howard spent a fortnight at Brussels, where he found the prisoners in the old house of correction all employed, under a careful and attentive keeper. Some who were tailors and shoemakers, were at work at their own trades; but the majority of the male convicts were occupied in the various branches of a paper-hanging manufactory which was carrying on in the prison. The women were entirely separated from the men, and were employed in making lace. All the prisoners had clean linen once a-week. They were soon, however, to be removed to the new prison at Vilvorde. From this city he passed on to Ghent, and going over the noble house of correction there with one of the magistrates, found the prisoners still employed on a well-regulated manufactory of cloth, specimens of which he purchased and brought home with him, as he did also of the paper-hangings made at Brussels, and the marble ornaments carved at Bayreuth, to counteract the unfounded notion which prevailed, and still prevails, in England, that no manufacture can be carried on by convicts, to any valuable purpose. The women were knitting and spinning in the dress of the house, and were attentive and quiet. The mode of rewarding the prisoners of both sexes for their industry was somewhat altered since his former visit to this admirable institution, as they were now allowed a fifth of their earnings, whatever might be their amount.† From this city he sent his servant home, whilst he himself went on to the Hague, to pay his respects to Sir Joseph Yorke. In his way thither, he inspected more attentively than he formerly had done, the prisons of Antwerp, and found in the principal one a cage, about six feet and a half square, into which prisoners were put before they underwent the torture, which was here administered in all its wonted severity, the prisoner

* State of Prisons, 1st Ed. p. 76—8. † Ib. p. 78, 9.

while he suffered it, being clothed in a long shirt, having his eyes bound, and being attended by a physician and surgeon, to ascertain the precise degree of racking pain which he could undergo, without risking the anticipation of that mercy which his tormentors did not yet intend him to experience at their hands—a release by death from all his sufferings. Should a confession be forced from him, he was required to sign it, and forty-eight hours afterwards he was executed. In a small dungeon of this gaol was a stone seat, like some Mr. Howard had seen in other old prison-towers, on which it was said that prisoners were formerly suffocated by brimstone, when their families wished to avoid the disgrace of a public execution. But no person in Antwerp remembered an instance of this kind; though about thirty years ago a private execution had very improperly been permitted in a prison, which, fortunately for the interests of humanity, had at this time but two occupants. The male prisoners in the house of correction here were all employed in spinning cotton, as were also some of the women, the remainder being engaged in making lace. They had the whole of their earnings, which amounted but to from eight to fourteen *sous* a week, for themselves; but out of that they were to purchase whatever food they chose to have, beyond the rye-bread and water, which was their only allowance from the public purse; and also to contribute a *sous* towards the washing of their linen, which they were obliged to change once a-week. There were three rooms for the ungovernable, one of which had a floor composed of triangular pieces of wood, a few inches asunder, to which the delinquent was chained in such a position, that, as he was allowed no shoes, whether he stood up, or laid down, he must needs be in a very uneasy posture. This room was, therefore, much dreaded by the prisoners, as indeed were the other two, so dark and solitary were they made. The regulations for the government of the prison, most of which were very judicious, were regularly read by the chaplain the first Sunday after the admission of every new prisoner.* In his way back, he found the prison at Lille under no proper regulation; the unhealthy coun-

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 79—82.

tenances of the prisoners at the citadel also intimating the pernicious effects of lying in damp rooms, under the fortifications; a circumstance which he the more particularly noticed, because he had reason to apprehend that some of the English prisoners of war at Dinan would be removed hither.*

Returning home through France, Mr. Howard revisited the prisons of its metropolis, in one of which he found an ingenious expedient adopted for preventing escapes, in a partition of lath and plaster, at such a distance from the brick wall as to admit of an aperture between them, through which the mortar, detached by the slightest perforation, would fall into the keeper's court beneath. The physicians and surgeons to the different gaols, he now learnt, were appointed and paid by government; but the fuel, broth, drugs, linen, and other necessaries for the sick, were principally furnished by those female charities, of which honorable mention has already been made. Here, as indeed throughout the country, no prisoner, who had received his liberty from the king, or from his creditors, could be detained a moment longer for his fees, the hire of his rooms, debts contracted in prison, or on any pretence whatever. Gaolers were nominated by the magistrates, and after strict inquiry into their character by the *procureur-general*, were fixed in their offices without paying any thing for their places, or their prisons. Their revenues were not small; "and all things considered," as a prisoner of rank and sense observed to our Philanthropist, "prisoners had no reason to complain of this class of men in France." He spent two mornings of his stay in Paris at the *Bicêtre*, in whose two halls he saw above 200 persons confined together in idleness, to the great corruption of their own manners, and the serious injury of the state. Many, he assures us, and on this point we might readily believe a less credible witness, have, at their unhappy end, ascribed their ruin to the flagitious examples they had seen, and to the instructions given them in this place. And has not this often been the case, we may ask ourselves, in our own country, and in our own times? Yet how

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 82.

seldom have we imitated the conduct of our neighbours, who, sensible at last to the bad policy of confining persons in idleness, had, within the last two years, set some of their prisoners here to work, on polishing plate-glasses, whilst a mill was then erecting for grinding corn, which was to be worked by sixteen men at a time. Sixty were then ill in the infirmary, chiefly of a cutaneous distemper, contracted from their confinement, which was so extremely close, that they were never suffered to go out of their rooms. The hospital of *St. Louis* and *l'Hotel de Dieu*, he describes as two of the worst he had ever visited: abominable, and a disgrace to Paris; being so crowded, that he himself had seen four or five patients in one bed, some of whom were dying. This city, nevertheless, contained, he tells us, many other charitable foundations which did honor to it, and from which this country might derive useful information. Some of these he briefly notices, though foreign to his chief purpose, as they certainly are to ours.* Whilst travelling through France, during the subsistence of a war between that country and his own, it is extremely natural to suppose, that a recollection of the sufferings which he himself had endured under similar circumstances, should induce him to ascertain, by personal inspection, the actual condition of such of his countrymen as were, at this time, confined as prisoners of war, in the power of an enemy, whose inhuman treatment of her captive foes had, he hoped, been softened, in consequence of the representations which, two and twenty years ago, he had made upon the subject to his own government. Nor in these hopes was he altogether disappointed. At Dunkirk, these prisoners still lay, as he had done, upon straw, though it was with the addition of a coverlid, to every three persons; and in the rooms of a prison supplied with firing, instead of a damp dungeon underground. Nor were they kept, as for a time *he* had been, without a drop of water, and hardly a morsel of food, being now regularly and sufficiently supplied with good bread, beer, and soup, and with tolerable beef, which is all an Englishman ever expects to meet with in

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 83—7.

France. Instead, too, of being treated with such barbarity, that hundreds of them had perished from hunger, from fever, and from damps, as they had done during the former war, the sick were taken to the military hospital, and had great attention paid them there. At Bergues the victualling-table was hung up in the prison, as at Dunkirk, but the provisions were not so good. At Calais the prison was excessively crowded, so that seventeen sailors lay in one room upon straw, without coverlids, and some of them even upon the bare ground. In consequence, however, of the manly remonstrances of our intrepid countryman, upon this gross neglect of his duty, the commissary promised to send immediately to St. Omers for coverlids for them. On his second visit, the rules issued by the French government for the regulation and treatment of its prisoners of war, were also hung up, both within and without-side the gaol, as he remarked that they were not, when he first inspected it. He found six-and-twenty of his countrymen in a spacious ward in the military hospital here, to whom the greatest attention was paid. In the prison at this, as well as at the other places he had visited, many of them, however, had no change of linen, whilst some were almost destitute of cloathes, being the crews of vessels wrecked on the French coast in the violent storm which had raged on the 31st of the preceding December.* These objects of compassion, though, with his usual modesty, his own works contain not the slightest hint upon the subject, we are assured from an authority which cannot be questioned, he generously cloathed at his own expence. We learn also from the same respectable quarter, that he, at this time, exerted himself, with that genuine, but unobtrusive patriotism for which he was so remarkable, in dissuading the English prisoners of war whom he visited from enlisting in the enemy's service, as they were strongly, but most ungenerously incited to do; by which means he gave great offence to the French government, who could not possibly persuade themselves that he did this in his private capacity, but as a spy, or secret agent of the English ministry; a

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 89—94.

supposition not very unnatural on their parts, but which we shall find to have had a more serious effect upon the benevolent schemes of the innocent object of it, than had the suspicion and illiberality with which he was always treated in that country, and for which Dr. Aikin very candidly offers this circumstance as some apology.*

At Calais, Mr. Howard completed his third journey of benevolence upon the continent, in the course of which he had travelled 4636 miles, for the sole purpose of mitigating the sufferings of the most abandoned, or the most wretched of his fellow-creatures, by softening the horrors of that confinement which they had merited by their crimes, or incurred by their misfortunes, and of rendering it subservient to the improvement of their morals, and the advancement of the best interests of society. Embarking for Dover, he proceeded direct to London, where Thomasson was waiting for him, in consequence of the orders he had given him at Ghent, to fetch his son from school, and take him to Cardington, and after continuing there six days, to go to town, where, if nothing unexpected should occur to detain him in Holland or in France, he hoped to arrive about that time: as, true to his appointment, he according did.† His first object, when he reached the metropolis of his own country once more, was to wait upon the commissioners for sick and wounded seamen, to report to them the representations of the commissaries for prisoners of war, and other French gentlemen with whom he had recently conversed, of very serious complaints having been made by their prisoners, of the treatment they met with in England; giving them, at the same time, an account of that, which those of our own nation experienced there, and announcing to them his intention of ascertaining, by personal inspection, whether these complaints were founded in truth. To assist him in the attainment of his patriotic object, these gentlemen, with a readiness which did them honor, accordingly furnished him with letters of introduction to their agents in the

* Aikin, p. 101, 2. † Thomasson's MS. Journal.

several prisons, in which persons of this description were confined, in various parts of the kingdom.* As soon as he had dispatched his business with the members of this board, he set off for Bedfordshire, where he had the happiness to find his dear boy in good health and spirits, and rejoicing in the opportunity of spending a few weeks with his father, after having been prevented that happiness by his absence on the continent during his last vacation, which he had, however, spent very pleasantly with his maternnal uncles, who, having no children of their own, were extremely fond of him, and always treated him with great, perhaps too great, indulgence. With him he continued during the remainder of his holidays, either at Cardington, or in travelling from place to place to visit his relatives, or those friends whom he would feel a natural anxiety to see after so long an absence; and on these occasions he always delighted to have his son with him, either in his chaise or, as he was now capable of managing it, on a pony by his side. As soon, however, as he had returned to school, he lost not an hour in commencing a fresh inspection of the English gaols, in order that he might be enabled to lay before the public, in an appendix to his former work, an accurate account of their condition, and of the alterations and improvements made in their construction and regulation since he last had visited them. His first journey was into the west of England, where he reached Exeter on the last day of January, in whose crowded and offensive gaol the men were still together, confirming one another in wickedness; and the women, during the day-time, obliged to associate with them, and to witness, if not to share in, every scene of iniquity here presented to their view. In the county bridewell, some improvements had been made in the separation of the women from the men, but all of them were unemployed, and their countenances were but too strongly expressive of misery and neglect. Since his former visit, the surgeon and two or three prisoners had died of the gaol fever.† On commencing his inspection of the prisoners of war at the Mill prison, at Plymouth, he was grieved to

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 94. † Ib. p. 169, 170.

find that there was but too much reason for the complaints he had heard in France, especially where the most humanity ought to have been exhibited,—during their sickness; the hospital here being dirty and offensive, and having but three pair of sheets in use for the whole of its patients, which at this period amounted to fifty. Too little attention was also paid to them on board the prison-ship, though an hospital-ship was fitting up for an infirmary, not before it was wanted. The bread here was heavy, and the meat bad; whilst in the prison on shore, the French, both in their accommodation and their provisions, seem to have been worse treated than the captives of other nations. The wards of the prison in Bristol were more spacious, and less crowded than those at Plymouth, and contained two day-rooms, in which several men were at work at their various trades of shoemakers, tailors, &c. an advantage which those confined at Plymouth had been very desirous of enjoying, but could not obtain. Their bread was good, but their sick were not much better attended to; as, from there being no infirmary in the prison, they were victualled in a small house adjoining, seven shillings a week being paid for each patient, five of whom were at this time lying in a dirty and offensive room.* The merited exposure of their criminal neglect of the health and safe custody of their prisoners, which Mr. Howard's former publication had made, seems to have had the effect of awakening the gentlemen of the county of Cornwall out of their long and disgraceful slumber; so that, accepting of the proffered bounty of their sovereign, which their own niggardliness, or want of a proper attention to the comfort of their fellow-creatures, had formerly induced them to decline, they had erected a new and, it would seem, a convenient, though small county gaol at Launceston, for the confinement of male felons, the old gaol being intended to be repaired for those of the other sex, as the additional 500*l.* of the king's munificent present was appropriated to that object. They had, however, done more for the effectual redemption of their character, by the erection of a very convenient and spacious county gaol and

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 95, 6.

house of correction at Bodmin, on an eminence, where there was a constant current of water, and furnished with separate rooms of confinement for each prisoner, a chapel, infirmary, and every other convenience. "By this spirited exertion," says the individual, but for whose humane remonstrances that exertion had never been made, or, at the best, had very long been deferred, "the gentlemen of this county have erected a *monument* of their humanity, and attention to the health and morals of prisoners."* So ready was he to give praise where praise was due, as he was fearless in employing censure where he thought it called for, and hoped its administration might be productive of a good effect. After revisiting several other gaols in these and in the adjacent counties of Somerset and Dorset, in which he found no alteration worth noticing, Mr. Howard returned home on the 11th or 12th of February.

After spending about a fortnight at Cardington, our Philanthropist, on the 25th of this month, commenced, at Aylesbury, what he terms his southern journey; in the outset of which he visited the county gaol at Oxford, on whose condition he observes, that "it is very probable, that the rooms in this castle are the same that the prisoners occupied at the time of the *Black assize*," in 1577, when the lord chief baron, the sheriff, and all who were present, amounting to about 300 men, died in the course of forty hours, in consequence of a disease with which the court was infected by the prisoners. "The wards are close and offensive, so that, if crowded, I should not greatly wonder to hear of another *fatal assize* at *Oxford*." At both the bridewells belonging to this county, at Thame and at Witney, the prisoners were now employed, instead of living in idleness, as they before had done.† In this respect, the adjoining county of Wilts seems, however, even to have retrograded; as, at the bridewell at Marlborough, its visitor found no one at work, though a prisoner complained to him, with evident concern, that "he had been there

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 170, 1.

† Ib. p. 158. State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 18. Baker's Chronicle, p. 353.

thirty weeks, and had not earned one halfpenny." In that at Devizes, the windows of the work-room were nailed up, an indication, it is to be presumed, of the intention of the magistrates never to have it used again. As they did not give the prisoners confined here the means of earning any thing, either for themselves, or for the county, they had, however, acted with the common justice of paying the keeper's fees for them.* In the town gaol at Portsmouth, he found that the debtors and felons had been very properly separated since his last visit. At Winchester 1062 French prisoners of war were confined in one large prison, the wards of which were lofty and spacious, but for want of work-rooms the prisoners were indolently lying in their hammocks in the day-time, both in this prison, and in that at Plymouth. Several prisoners were here put into the dark hole for forty days on half allowance, until, by that means, they had paid ten shillings to the person who had apprehended them after their escape; "a punishment," says Mr. Howard, "*which* seems to be too severe. On such occasions, the observation of the worthy magistrate at *Bern* always occurs to my mind, 'that every one must be desirous of regaining liberty," especially, he might in this case have added, those whom the chance of war has made captive in a foreign land, whose laws for their detention they are not bound by any moral obligation to respect, and from whose bondage they have, therefore, a natural right to break. The wards of the hospital, like those of the prison, were lofty and commodious; each patient was provided with a cradle, bedding, and sheets; and the surgeon paid them great attention. The agent was also very assiduous in his department, and mentioned to Mr. Howard that he thought it would be of advantage if one of the two French priests, who were then at a little distance, on their parole, were permitted to attend their prisoners, as their visits might be the means of comforting some, of awing others, and of giving information of any abuses of which there was just ground of complaint. These enlightened and prudent suggestions would perhaps, however, have been far too liberal for the British ministry of that, or

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 168, 9.

indeed of any day to have ventured to listen to, shamed as our countrymen ought to have been into the adoption of a more Christian practice, by the example of some of the Catholic states of Germany, where toleration, as a mere principle of civil policy, was much better understood and acted upon, than, as an essential doctrine of our purer faith, it was practically maintained with us. In a prison, not very convenient, at Forton, near Gosport, he found the bread deficient in weight; and the meat, on the day he visited the place, was also bad, but the agent had it exchanged. The straw, by long use, was turned to dust in the mattresses; and many of them here, as at other places, had been emptied to clear them of vermin. The floors of the bed-rooms and the hospital, being laid down in the rough, could not but be dirty, as, from the same cause, would inevitably be the case in the new prison erecting here.* At the bridewell for the county of Sussex, at Petworth, he had the satisfaction to learn that the representation he had given in his former publication of his having found the daily allowance to the prisoners but a penny loaf, weighing seven ounces and a half, had induced the justices to increase the food provided for each prisoner to two full pounds of bread a-day.†

After a respite of about ten days, spent chiefly at Cardington, Mr. Howard set out upon his eastern journey, which he commenced at Newport Pagnell, where was a bridewell for the county of Buckingham, consisting of two close and unwholesome cells, in the back court of a public-house; without water, or allowance for the prisoners, who had lately made their escape, owing to the keeper's living at a distance.‡ In the county gaol at Northampton, the chapel was now in a more convenient situation than when, on his former visits, he found so much occasion to complain of it. The whole prison was clean, its gaoler humane and attentive, and its prisoners all at work in spinning, making pegs for shoemakers, and other modes of employment. Two-pence a-day was now allowed to each of the felons for meat. In the town-gaol, the corpo-

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 96, 7; 168. † Ib. p. 130, 1. ‡ Ib. p. 133, 4.

ration had also made a court-yard for debtors and felons, with sewers, &c.; both of which conveniencies were wanting when he last was there.* In the bridewell for the city of Coventry, the old town-hall was now made into a work-shop, and two lodging-rooms for men, so that the women had a separate day-room and court-yard, the latter object having also been provided for in the county gaol for Rutlandshire, at Oakham; whilst in the miserable one at Leicester, garnish had been abolished.† The bridewell for the county of Norfolk, at Wymondham, contained four dirty, pale, and sick women, at work with padlocks on their legs, though never suffered to go into the spacious but insecure court of this prison, except on Sundays. The very small quantity of straw upon the floor of their room was almost worn to dust. Another of these bridewells at Aylsham, had in the floor of its day-room a trap-door into a dungeon, nine feet and a half by six. Above were three rooms, not secure, as was the case also with the court-yard. There was no fire-place in the prison, nor any straw, water, sewer, implements for work, or allowance, except two-pennyworth of bread a-day to vagrants. Another at Acle was equally insecure, and had two dark, close dungeons, down nine steps, without court-yard, allowance, straw, or water accessible to prisoners, of which fortunately there were none. In the gaol for the city of Norwich, the allowance to prisoners had lately been *increased* to twelve ounces of bread a-day, which was all they had. Its bridewell, Mr. Howard now learnt for the first time, contained dungeons fifteen steps under-ground, four for men, and three for women, but which he expresses his hopes that the corporation would bar to all but the refractory and the disobedient.‡ Those for the adjoining county of Suffolk, at Ipswich and Woodbridge, he found to be much improved by very considerable enlargements of their rooms and court-yards, and, in the latter, by the addition of windows and fire-places. In that at Lavenham, a prisoner had lately escaped, for which the keeper was fined, though the neglect lay in the magistrates, the prison being greatly out of repair. To

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 153, 5. † Ib. p. 146, 152. ‡ Ib. p. 138—140.

avoid a similar fate, the keeper of the bridewell for this neglected county at Clare, had put a heavy chain on each of his prisoners, three of whom were women, and a log besides on two impressed men in his custody. These prisoners paid him a penny a-day for straw, which those at Lavenham were entirely without; but his prison had not been inspected by a single magistrate for fifteen years past.* At Chelmsford the new county gaol, formerly most significantly characterized as a *stately* fabric, was now occupied; but the felons' apartments were out of sight of the gaoler's house; whilst a window opening from the debtors' court-yard towards the street, afforded an avenue for introducing, at all times, spirituous liquors, tools, &c. into the prison.† From this town he proceeded through Barking to London, where he arrived on the 8th of April.

His next journey, commenced on the 15th of this month, was into Kent, Sussex, Berks, and part of Buckingham and Hertfordshire. At Dartford, he found that his hints for the improvement of the confined county bridewell there had not been thrown away, as the keeper had been very properly deprived of a part of his garden to make a court-yard for each sex, furnished with pumps and sewers; a room in the men's court being also appropriated to the sick. The mats which, three years ago, were nearly worn out, had not, however, been replaced, so that, no straw being found them, the women were without bedding of any kind. That at Maidstone, which had not been erected more than three or four years, was already dirty and offensive, chiefly, it would seem, from the inattention of its keeper. The prisoners were at work, but were injudiciously allowed no part of their earnings. Two of them Mr. Howard saw ill of the small-pox, lying on loose straw, with no covering but common mats. In the town gaol at Dover, he did not find, as he had done upon former occasions, company drinking; and the keeper had now a salary of 10*l.* a-year. To a convenient temporary gaol for French prisoners at Deal, he made his first visit, as he always did, without the agents or contractors, and had the pleasure to hear the prisoners express their satisfaction at the treatment they met with;

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 141, 3. † Ib. p. 126.

their food being good, and great attention paid to their sick.* In the adjoining county of Sussex, the wretched bridewell at Horsham was discontinued, and its keeper discharged: in that at Lewes, the prisoners were occasionally employed in making whiting, but their keeper had the whole profit of their labor.† Crossing the country to Reading, Mr. Howard found the bridewell there still dirty and out of repair, and the men and women together in the day-time.‡ One of the bridewells for the county of Buckingham, at West (formerly at High) Wycomb, consisted but of two garrets in the keeper's house, the windows of which were almost closed up by strong planks nailed across to prevent prisoners escaping. In that at St. Alban's, he found two soldiers, and a girl, sentenced to a year's imprisonment, locked up all day together.§

Returning home from this journey but on the 24th or 25th of April, on the 5th of May, Mr. Howard left Cardington for the north of England, taking his way through Folkingham, Lincoln, Gainsborough, and Beverley, to York, where the grand jury had presented the county gaol, in consequence of which he found the ground marked out for additional buildings for the separation of felons, and rooms for the sick. In the city gaol, a new and convenient room had been made for prisoners committed on suspicion of felony, and water had also been laid on. The largest room in the horrible prison at Knaresborough was now boarded, so that rats could no longer make their way from the sewer, to maim and disfigure its wretched inmates.‖ The county gaol at Carlisle had undergone some improvements since our Philanthropist's last visit; amongst which was the providing a separate court-yard for the felons: two rooms, formerly used as taps, seemed also to be intended as a ward for the women, but three men and four women now lodged in one of them. In a large room in the debtors' ward, twelve French prisoners lay upon straw, without coverlids.¶ In the castle at Lancaster, he had the pleasure to find

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 128, 9; 98. † Ib. p. 130, 1. ‡ Ib. 156.
§ Ib. 131, 126. ‖ Ib. p. 172—4. ¶ Ib. 178; 98.

that a suggestion of his, for the conversion of the stable into night-rooms for men-felons had been promptly attended to; as had also another for adding an infirmary. In the county bridewell at Manchester, the prisoners were occupied in spinning candlewick at three-halfpence a pound, the keeper being a chandler.* It is a singular proof of the rapid increase of crime in this populous town and its neighbourhood, that at this time only eleven prisoners were confined in the house of correction here, whilst for the last two years, the average number of prisoners in custody, either for trial, or under sentence, in that which has since been erected in its stead, has amounted to at least five hundred. Returning into Yorkshire, Mr. Howard saw a new prison at Bradford, for debtors in the court of requests in that honor, consisting of four rooms and a work-room, yet without water, and with a court-yard, though newly made, not secure.† On his way homeward through the north-west of England, he found that in the county gaol at Hereford, the chapel was now boarded, and dry; but in the bridewell, the cross wall which, at his former visit, had parted from that it abutted upon, had since fallen in, so that the county was at last obliged to repair a place so confined, that it never could be convenient. In the county gaol at Worcester, which was as clean, as that for the city was dirty, a larger and more convenient room had lately been fitted up for a chapel.‡ The bridewell for the county of Gloucester, at Winchcomb, was still so ruinous, that its keeper told its benevolent inspector, that he should be obliged to put irons on all the prisoners to secure them. With this prison he concluded a tour, in the progress of which he had travelled 957 miles, in fifteen days.

The partiality which Mr. Howard always entertained for Bristol Hot Wells, induces me to conclude, that the period during which I am unable to trace him in his circuit of philanthropy through the whole of the three kingdoms, namely, from the 19th of May to the 1st of June, was spent at that place, or in its neighbourhood. On the day last mentioned, he visited the

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 179, 180. † Ib. p. 175. ‡ Ib. p. 163, 4.

castle at Gloucester, where he learnt that eight prisoners had not long since died of the small-pox; yet was there still no infirmary. Another very serious defect in this inconvenient gaol, was the want of a proper separation of the sexes, and of the bridewell prisoners from the rest. From the gross inattention of the magistrates to this point, the most licentious intercourse prevailed; so that all the endeavors of the chaplain to promote reformation amongst its wretched and abandoned inmates were thwarted and defeated, by the encouragement in vice which the less hardened offenders were daily receiving, from those who were further advanced in their profligate career. Five or six children had lately drawn their first breath in this hot-bed of iniquity.* Entering South Wales by Brecon, he found a new gaol building near the river; its situation was, however, so low, that at times it would be exposed to floods: the miserable and insecure bridewell was discontinued. The gaol at Cardigan, though built but three or four years, was very dirty, and swarmed with vermin, as was often the case where there was no water. In that at Carmarthen a number of idle and profane people were playing at tennis,—one of the bad consequences of granting licences to gaolers: the borough gaol here abounded also with vermin, and probably had never been washed since it had been a prison.† On the 5th and 6th of June, he was occupied with the inspection of the places of confinement for French and American prisoners in the town of Pembroke, 113 of whom he found in the gaol and in two old houses; most of them with neither shoes nor stockings on, and some also without shirts. There was no victualling-table, nor did they know what was their allowance; two or three of them receiving it in money, at the rate of three shillings, instead of three and sixpence a-week, as it ought to have been. The common men lay, in general, on the boards, or upon straw, which had not been changed for many weeks. Those in the gaol were often neglected in their supplies of water, and the provisions of the whole were rather scanty, and some of them not very good of their sort. In a house appropriated for an

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 165. † Ib. p. 189, 190.

hospital, twelve of them were laying upon straw, without sheets, mattresses, bedsteads, or any thing but a mere coverlid. Such observations as these convinced their benevolent visitor, that humanity and good policy alike required the appointment of an inspector of prisoners of war, who should be obliged to report quarterly their state, as to health, provisions, &c.* Returning into England, he finished, at Cirencester, in Gloucestershire, on the 9th of June, his sixth journey of inspection during the present year.

He had been at home but a fortnight, ere he set off upon another to Scotland and Ireland. In his way to the former country, he found in the gaol at Durham five boys, between thirteen and fifteen years of age, confined with the most abandoned of the felons: but he was gratified to learn that the bishop had filed bills in Chancery for recovering the legacies, which his account of former visits to this place points out as having been lost, for want of proper attention to their regular payment. The county bridewell was much altered for the better, as its prisoners were at work, and their looks bespoke the attention of a good keeper, now resident in the prison, instead of the old woman who, at his last visit, was put in there as the deputy of the county gaoler. To the bridewell at Newcastle six rooms had lately been added; but the walls of the court-yard, though newly made, not being secure, prisoners had no access to it.† Arriving in Edinburgh, on the 5th or 6th of July, Mr. Howard found in the two tolbooths ten felons, and eighteen debtors; and in the house of correction, fifty-three women, crowded into dirty and offensive rooms. In that at Glasgow, seventeen women, decently clothed, were employed in spinning; but in no other prison in this country did he find above four or five prisoners. This he attributes partly to the shame and disgrace annexed to imprisonment, partly to the solemn manner in which oaths are administered, and trials and executions conducted; and partly,—he might have said principally,—to the general sobriety of manners produced by the care taken to instruct the

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 98, 9; 102; 189. † Ib. p. 176, 7.

rising generation in that country. From these combined causes it appears that during the ten years and a half immediately preceding this visit only thirty-nine persons were executed in the whole of Scotland, a number which falls short of that of one of the smallest of our English circuits, whilst it does not amount to a tenth part of those who suffered in the metropolis alone during that period. The debtors confined in prison here were also but few, principally from the humane law of the country, commonly called the *cessio bonorum*, by which a debtor, after being a month in prison, might obtain his liberty, and be secured against execution for any previous debts, by making a surrender of all his effects o his creditors; though the property he might afterwards acquire was liable to be attached for his old debts. There too, if a prisoner declared upon oath that he had not the means of maintaining himself, his creditor was compelled to aliment him at three pence a-day at the least, though the magistrates generally ordered sixpence. Hence creditors seldom put their debtors in gaol but where they had good reason to believe that they were acting fraudulently. Criminals were here tried out of irons, and when acquitted, immediately discharged in open court; but, notwithstanding all these good signs, Mr. Howard observes that all the prisons which he saw in Edinburgh, Glasgow, Perth, Stirling, Jedburgh, Air, &c. were old buildings, dirty and offensive, without court-yards, and also generally without water. They were not visited by the magistrates, and their gaolers were allowed the free sale of the most pernicious liquors.* The treatment which the French prisoners of war experienced here was, however, far better than they generally met with in England; so that those whom he visited in the castle at Edinburgh had not a complaint to make. But very different was the scene which presented itself when he landed in Ireland, at Belfast, on the 13th of July, as they there seemed to be very much neglected, many of them being sick, but not taken into the hospital, from the want both of room and of accommodation. In Dublin, however, a temporary room was fitted up as a prison for their confinement, where their provisions were

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 103—108.

very good, and they themselves were treated with all the humanity and kindness that could be expected.* In this city Mr. Howard was happy to find that the new Newgate was almost ready for the removal of prisoners into its more airy and convenient apartments, in which the shocking intercourse he formerly had reason to complain of in the old prison would be avoided, as it had separate courts for men and women, well supplied with water. He hoped too that there would be no repetition of the dreadful scene he had witnessed there in the winter of 1775, when numbers of poor creatures ill of the gaol fever were unattended and disregarded. The sick rooms were too small, and likely to breed infection; and the stairs and passages were also so narrow as to require the greatest attention, lest they should become offensive, and produce the same mischievous consequences. In passing the old Newgate frequently, our patriotic countryman could not but observe, with regret, officers from the recruiting regiments waiting to receive offenders upon their discharge; and, as he observed it, he was filled with the most melancholy apprehensions of the dreadful consequences likely to result from the mixture of such characters, with persons of a sober education ,who had entered voluntarily into the service of their country, and also of the danger to society in general, by turning such a set of wretches loose upon the public at the close of a war. Upon this practice, prevalent also in England by the permission given to offenders to enlist into the army or navy, he makes this very pointed remark, —"if it be a necessary one, the legislature may receive some satisfaction from the effects of their late salutary laws respecting the health of prisoners. If this mode had been adopted while prisons were in their former state, it would have been the occasion of carrying the most fatal diseases into the midst of our seamen and soldiers." A new Marshalsea had been erected for this city about four years ago, but many debtors confined in the other prisons, not being alimented, were objects of compassion, though the most needy of them were relieved by the care of a humane society in Dublin, similar to that at the

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 100, 101. 2d Edit. p. 155.

Thatched-house in London. " Such societies," says our author, " deserve the highest praise. I wish however to recommend to compassion other prisoners, who, though they seem to deserve assistance less, yet need it more, to save them from the ruin to which the bad state of the *Irish* prisons exposes them." In those prisons the common and pernicious use of spirituous liquors generally prevailed; and acquitted prisoners were continued in confinement till they had discharged their fees to the clerk of the crown or of the peace, the sheriff, gaoler, and turnkeys, so that even boys under the age of twelve years, and almost naked, would sometimes be kept in prison for them, for two years, with the aggravated cruelty of generally losing their allowance of bread the while. Some of these boys Mr. Howard humanely released from the county gaol at Kilmainham, by paying half their fees, and procured the discharge of others from the Newgate at Dublin, on the sheriffs relinquishing the whole of theirs. But, as they had been associated with the most profligate felons for many months, their generous liberator was two well aware of the necessary effects of such company, to be the least surprized at the return of some of them to their former habitation, in the course of a few days. We cannot, therefore, wonder that the Irish gaols were very crowded, when so much pains seems to have been taken to find them inhabitants, whose number was increased by there being no houses of correction in this country, unless an exception were to be made in favor of a house adjoining to the Newgate, and another close to the workhouse of Dublin, in which their visitor found eleven young creatures, who, for trifling offences, were confined with outrageous lunatics of both sexes, notwithstanding a compassionate clause in an act of their legislature, expressly forbidding such an improper mixture.* An act had indeed passed the parliament here for the punishment, by hard labor, of offenders liable to transportation, about the same time that one for similar purposes was made in England; " but the *hulks* on the *Thames*," says our author, " having cruelly destroyed many healthy and robust young men, their cries probably reached the *Irish*

* 3 Geo. III. cap. xxviii. § 9.

shore, and prevented any proceedings upon it."* Returning from a country, the condition of whose prisons he had so much occasion, to condemn, and so little to commend, Mr. Howard made the best of his way through Carnarvon, Ludlow, and Oxford, to Cardington, where he arrived on the 30th of July, and remained until the 4th of August, when he proceeded to London, for the purpose of re-visiting its numerous gaols.

He continued in the metropolis about a fortnight, busily occupied with the work which led him there, though rewarded for his unwearied labors by comparatively few improvements in the condition of the places of confinement which he visited. Some, however, had been made; and others were projected. In the bridewell in Tothill-fields some of his suggestions had been attended to; and he saw with pleasure an additional day-room for women felons, and a separate yard, with water, &c. appropriated to their use; that for the other female prisoners having been enlarged, too, out of the keeper's garden: a workshop had also been added. "As I have seen several sick objects on the floors," he observes, however, with his usual gentleness of censure and promptitude to praise, where he witnessed a disposition for amendment, "the gentlemen, who are so ready to relieve the sufferings of their fellow-creatures will forgive the intimation, that an infirmary might be made over the women's ward." Adjoining to this bridewell a prison had recently been erected, in lieu of that usually called the Gate-house, but it was not yet inhabited. Provision was here made for the proper separation of debtors and felons; and in the court of the latter were four small rooms for the refractory: the keeper could easily overlook them both when locked up. The court-yard was to be plentifully supplied with water, laid on from the main: its walls were, however, too low, so that tools, &c. might easily be conveyed over them. The men's side of the New Prison, Clerkenwell, he found to be very clean; but there was a want of accommodation for such as had turned king's evidence, who, to

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 108—112.

secure them from the resentment of their fellow-prisoners, were improperly put into the women's ward. In the bridewell here, a small close room was now used as an infirmary for the men, and two of their dark, unwholesome night-rooms were made into one for the women. The prison was clean, and its prisoners were employed in picking oakum. Since the publication of his book; the allowance had been raised from a penny loaf to three-pence a-day. In the Marshalsea the chamber-rents wanted regulating, each prisoner having three shillings and sixpence a week extorted from him for half a bed. Some judicious rules for the better regulation of this matter in the King's Bench had lately been passed by the court, under whose jurisdiction that prison is placed; some of the old buildings also had been taken down, and a new wing and a chapel added, but no infirmary. In the well-regulated prison of Bridewell, a good rule had been made, restricting those committed there a second time to half allowance, which, where it was so ample, its visitor considered a very proper check upon the repetition of crimes. In the Savoy, the prisoners were healthy, from their rooms having been made more airy, and some others converted into an infirmary. Every part of Newgate was clean, and on the felons' side but three were sick: an infirmary was building. Of the 141 felons which this prison contained, ninety-one had only the prison allowance of a penny loaf a-day; but Mr. Ackerman, the keeper, with that humanity which distinguished him during a long life of active duty, contributed, out of his own pocket, to their relief. It deserves to be recorded as a proof of the anxiety which Mr. Howard felt, not to omit visiting any place of confinement, from which he could hope to derive information, that on his friend Mr. Aikin incidentally mentioning his having overlooked the Tower, he took an early opportunity of visiting it during his present stay in London, though he met with nothing there worthy of particular notice.*

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 117—124. Aikin, p. 210, 211.

After spending about five days at Cardington, this indefatigable man set out upon what he calls his tour into North Wales, though, in fact, he only visited some few gaols there, which lay out of the road, on his return from Ireland. In that at Dolgelly he had the satisfaction to learn that a chaplain and surgeon had been appointed since the publication of the work, in which the want of these two necessary officers was first pointed out. The county bridewell here consisted of two rooms under the town-hall, without court-yard, water, resident keeper, or employment for its prisoners, as was pretty much the case with the other at Bala, except that it had a keeper with the noble salary of two pounds a-year, and what he could make by the allowance of three shillings a-week each to the prisoners, passing through his hands, which, if he followed the example of some of his brethren, might be a pretty help, as the keeper of the gaol at Carnarvon regularly stopped sixpence from the meagre allowance of each felon, for what he called his trouble of weekly payments.* The county bridewell at Denbigh was a ruinous house, without court-yard, water, or sewer; and under the town-hall was the black chamber, twenty-four feet by ten, which was also used as a prison.† In Chester castle a room had been fitted up for a chapel, and the chaplain's salary had been increased from ten to thirty pounds, in consequence of which he now did duty on a Sunday. Twenty-three French prisoners of war, confined in this gaol, were healthy and well, and made no complaints. In the city gaol, the felons were again confined in the night-room, "very injudiciously," says Mr. Howard, "not to say cruelly, sunk several feet," in defiance of the act for remedying this, among other abuses in our gaols. To prevent the prisoners crammed into this wretched and unwholesome dungeon from being entirely suffocated for want of air, two leaden pipes, of about an inch diameter, were very *humanely* laid into it from the gateway.‡ Returning into Wales, he visited a bridewell for the county of Flint at Hanmer, consisting but of two rooms, in a ruinous

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 188. State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 462. † Ib. p. 186.
‡ Ib. p. 182; 99. State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 448.

thatched house, without court-yard, water, or employment for its prisoners. At Taunton, he found that in the county bridewell there, all the prisoners were in irons, which they were not at his former visit.* Here he seems to have finished his journey, upon the 2d of September.

It was not until the 19th of this month that he left Cardington again, to re-inspect the places of confinement in the counties of Nottingham and Huntingdon, making a circuit into Cambridgeshire, Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, and Herts, on his return. The gaol for the first of these counties had lately been still further improved, by making the court-yard of the felons more airy, and by an entire separation between them and the debtors. In the town bridewell was a mill for employing the prisoners in grinding horse beans.† In that at Cambridge, in the spring of this year, seventeen women were confined in the day-time, and some of them at night, in the work-room, whose extreme offensiveness occasioned a sickness, which so alarmed the vice-chancellor, that he ordered them all to be discharged. Two or three of them died, however, within a few days after their release. Two rooms, without fire-places, had since been added, in one of which were five cages about seven feet square.‡ At Thetford he learnt that, at the preceding Lent assizes, twenty-seven persons were confined four nights, most of them in the suffocating dungeon formerly described. In the county of Suffolk, one of the bridewells at Mildenhall was much out of repair, and consisted but of two rooms, without fire-places, with a court-yard, not secure, and no sewer. He also went over the work-house at this place, which he describes as the cleanest he had ever seen, adding that, "if all the parishes had been as careful to promote cleanliness and industry in their own work-houses, there would have been no occasion for *other* houses of industry, most of which *he had* visited in this and the adjoining county."§ Passing through Essex into Hertfordshire, he found that the new county gaol was judiciously provided with separate

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 159, 171 † Ib. 149, 151. ‡ Ib. 135—7. § Ib. 138, 143.

wards and courts for debtors, for men, and for women felons. He was informed here also, that a prisoner, brought out of the dungeon as dead of the gaol fever, on being pumped upon in the yard, recovered; and he assures us, that he had known other instances of the same kind. The last place which he visited previous to his return to Cardington, was Buntingford, where was a county bridewell, consisting of but two rooms, that for women having been newly erected; without water or court-yard, though the keeper had a large garden.*

His next journey, commenced on the 8th, and finished on the 14th of October, was through other parts of some of the counties he had last visited, and those of Lincoln, Northampton, and Buckingham. At Walsingham he inspected an insecure bridewell for the county of Norfolk, containing but one day-room, with two dark lodging-rooms about seven feet square, with nothing for their miserable tenants to sleep upon, but a little straw on the brick floor: the prisoners were in irons. The town gaol and bridewell at Boston, contained two damp offensive rooms for men felons, and had neither court-yard nor water. One of the bridewells for the county of Northampton, at Kettering, was in the back court of its keeper's public-house, with a night-room for men three steps under ground, into which no air was admitted, but through an aperture in the door of fifteen inches by elven. The floor of the women's room was of clay; its windows close glazed. Each sex had a separate court-yard, if court-yard it could be called, about nineteen feet and a half square, but they had neither water nor sewers. The gaol at Brackley in this county, consisted of a room called the dungeon, four feet square, under the staircase of the town-hall, with an oval aperture in its door of eight inches by six; of course it had neither court-yard, nor water.† That for Buckingham had no water, and the gaoler no salary; nor had he at this time any prisoners, except a raving lunatic.‡

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 125. † Ib. p. 152, 4, 5. ‡ Ib. p. 134.

Within two days after his return from this journey, our Philanthropist revisited the prisons of Bedford, in none of which had any alteration been made. A new town gaol had, however, been built, consisting of two rooms, but without any apartment for the gaoler, court-yard, or water.* About the 25th of October, he left Cardington for London, where he remained until the middle of November, busily employed in arranging his papers for publication, a work in whose first stages he was again assisted by his friends Mr. Densham and Dr. Price; and in occasionally visiting some of the prisons of the metropolis. On the 16th of November, he re-inspected the hulks, where he found the situation of the convicts greatly altered for the better; the ships in which they were confined being clean, and their own appearance in general healthy and contented. Bedding was now provided; none of them, as was the case upon his former visits, were without shoes or stockings, and their provisions were good of the kind, though their allowance of bread was hardly sufficient In the hospital-ship, one of whose decks was for the separate use of recovering patients, the cleanliness and quiet which pervaded every part did honor to its conductor. The few who were sick had their irons off, and they were all laid in single beds, their only want being better nourishment than was allowed them. About a hundred and fifty were at work in the Warren, decently cloathed in a brown uniform. Having completed, by this visit, the object of his journey to London, after spending about a week in Bedfordshire, Mr. Howard set off for Warrington, to superintend the printing of the Appendix to his State of Prisons, in which the result of his two years' extensive journeyings, at home and abroad, in the course of which he had travelled 10,955 miles, would be laid before the public.

Reaching this place about the 27th of November, he had no sooner, with Dr. Aikin's assistance, prepared a part of his work for the printer, than he proceeded to Liverpool, where he found the borough gaol much cleaner than at

* Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 135.

his former visits, but the unhealthy dungeon still in use. The surgeon informed him that many more prisoners had the gaol fever here in 1775, than he had mentioned in his publication. The bridewell erected in 1776, contained separate, but close rooms, and court-yards for the two sexes, with a pump in that of the men, to which the female prisoners were tied every week to receive the discipline of the gaol, which, it is to be presumed, was a severe whipping. In this court-yard was also a bath, with a new and very singular contrivance attached to it, consisting of a standard and a long pole, with a chair fastened at its extremity, in which all the female prisoners (and female prisoners only), after being asked a few questions at their entrance, were placed, with a flannel shift on, and, in this garb, underwent a thorough ducking, thrice repeated. "An use of a bath," says our Philanthropist, "which I dare say the legislature never thought of, when they ordered baths with a view to *cleanliness* and *preserving the health* of prisoners; not for the exercise of a *wanton* and *dangerous* kind of *severity*." The employment of the prisoners thus singularly purified, was picking oakum; their allowance two-pennyworth of bread a-day. In this town 453 French, and 56 Spanish prisoners of war, were confined in four or five rooms, crowded with hammocks three tiers high, but they had a spacious airing ground. Thirty-six others were sick in some of the small dirty rooms of a house, where they had no sheets to their beds, though they seemed to have great attention paid them by the surgeon, and made no complaints of their treatment. The meat and beer for the prisoners was fine and good, but their bread heavy.* During his stay here, the corporation of Liverpool presented Mr. Howard with its freedom, as a just tribute to the extraordinary benevolence which had induced him to make such sacrifices of his time, his wealth, and his comfort, and to risk, as he had done, his health, and even his life, for procuring a reformation of the abuses existing in gaols, and amongst others in the very defective ones under their superintendance and control. In about two months after this, his book was completed, bearing for its title

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 180, 181; 99, 100.

" Appendix to the State of the Prisons in England and Wales, &c. By John Howard, F.R.S. containing a farther Account of Foreign Prisons and Hospitals, with additional Remarks on the Prisons of this Country." Its motto was the admirable inscription in the hospital of St. Michael, at Rome, which so well expressed his own views of the proper object of prison discipline —" *Parum est coercere Improbos Pœna, nisi Probos efficias Disciplina.*" This Appendix forms a quarto volume of 220 pages; but as it is illustrated by seven plates, most of them double, and two very highly finished, its price was a guinea; which, had all the copies been sold, would yet scarcely have paid the expence of paper and print. After it was completed, he was detained several weeks longer in Warrington, superintending through the press a cheaper edition, in octavo, of his former work, with which the new matter in his Appendix was incorporated. He also printed, at the same time, in a small pamphlet of about forty octavo pages, a translation of a very scarce tract, containing an account of the Bastille, by a person who had been a prisoner there, but the sale of whose exposure of the severities of this inquisitorial gaol was strictly prohibited by the French government, under the severest penalties; so that it was not until after many fruitless endeavors, that he was at length fortunate enough to meet with a copy of it, in the course of his last journey upon the continent, nor without some hazard that he brought it with him to England, where he now presented its contents, in their own language, to his countrymen; " not merely as an object of curiosity, but as affording a very interesting and instructive comparison between the horrors of despotic power, and the mild and just administration of equal laws in a free state."* He also reprinted, in the same size and form, the French original; accompanying both these editions of the work with a copy of the engraving of the plan of the Bastille, with which the original was furnished, and which he has also inserted in his Appendix to the State of Prisons; together with the most material circumstances of the description it was intended to illustrate. Each

* Historical Remarks and Anecdotes on the Castle of the Bastille, translated from the French, published in 1774. Advertisements: Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 87.

of these detached, but fuller accounts of this celebrated prison, to the advertisement of which he boldly affixed his name, as having caused it to be reprinted and translated, was sold at the low price of sixpence; yet, upon the printing of them, he bestowed as much attention as he did upon the larger works, in whose preparation for the press he was at the same time busily engaged; and the better to secure the accuracy and neatness of the whole, he was at the expence of having the compositor brought from London who had printed his former work, but who had left the service of Mr. Eyres, and come to the metropolis, whither he returned at Mr. Howard's charge, as soon as he had accomplished the business he was brought down to Warrington to perform. Whilst these memoirs were passing through the press, I have conversed with the press-man principally employed in printing all Mr. Howard's works, and have learnt from him, that whilst engaged in their superintendence, he behaved with his usual liberality to the workmen in the printing-office, and to every one who rendered the smallest assistance to their completion. With himself, and to a journeyman with whom he worked, he always took the opportunity of their being separate, to slip half-a-crown into their hands, at least once a week; and oftener, if either they, or the compositor, to whom he was still more liberal, had made any extra efforts to complete the daily proofs, which he was always particularly anxious to take home with him every night. When the whole work was finished, he gave them two or three guineas each. The second time of his visiting Warrington (in 1779), instead of giving them their gratuities by a few shillings at a time, as he had done when he first went there, he made them each a present of a guinea, at such intervals as he thought proper, and as the exertions they made to meet his wishes might seem, to his liberal mind, to merit at his hands.

The contents of the Appendix, thus carefully prepared for the public eye, have been so completely interwoven with the preceding narrative of the journeys, in which the materials for it were collected, wherever they

present any thing of interest to the general reader, that little now remains to be said of them. In some additional remarks on the gaol fever, inserted in the body of this work, Mr. Howard ascribes the prevalence of this relentless malady in our English gaols, though he did not find it raging in any one of them in the course of his last general inspection, in a great measure, to the sudden change of diet and of lodging; the former of which is so low and scanty, as to affect the spirits of prisoners to that degree, that the powers of life soon become incapable of resisting so many causes of sickness and despair, as are to be found in the unfortunate situation in which they are placed. For purifying a prison in which this dreadful distemper has raged, he recommends the mode of fumigation practised by Dr. Lind in infected ships, the particulars of which he had obligingly communicated for the purpose.* The value of the observations contained in this volume upon foreign hospitals, have been so justly appreciated by a gentleman so much better qualified to form a just estimate of their merits than I can be, that I need make no apology for transcribing his remarks upon the subject:—"The tours now before us," says Dr. Aikin, "were rendered richer in utility by the comprehension of another great object, that of *hospitals*. To these institutions of humanity Mr. *Howard* had long been attached; he had been a promoter of them, and attentive to their improvement; and in his journeys through this kingdom, he had seldom failed to visit the hospitals and infirmaries situated in our principal towns. He had also, in his first publication, taken cursory notice of a few which he saw abroad. But he now made them an avowed object of his examination; a circumstance, it may be supposed, not a little pleasing to his medical friends. For, although the knowledge collected by a professional man with similar opportunities, would doubtless have been more applicable to the purpose of science, yet matter of fact, accurately stated by a sensible observer, must ever have its value. Besides, when can we expect to see the spirit and qualities of a *Howard*, united in one of our profession, with his fortune and leisure?"† In the conclusion of the work, thus rendered addi-

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 114—116. † Aikin, p. 91, 2.

tionally interesting to the public, its benevolent author states the determination he had formed of retiring, immediately after its publication, " to the tranquil enjoyment of that easy competence a kind Providence had bestowed upon *him*:—happy in the idea, that *he* had in some degree been the instrument of alleviating the sufferings of a numerous and unhappy set of people, and had excited the attention of *his* countrymen to an important object of civil policy." But the resolution he had thus formed " of resigning all further public concern in this matter, was broken in upon," as he himself informs us, " by the urgent persuasions of some, who were pleased to think *him* a proper person to assist in the superintendence of one of those great and useful plans *he* had recommended to the notice of the public. I was the more readily induced to comply with their solicitations," he continues, " from a confidence that the persons associated with me had the same general ideas with myself respecting the execution of the proposed plan, and would co-operate in it with the greatest zeal and intelligence. It remains now to be tried, how far the wise and humane intentions of the legislature can be accomplished in this country; and in what degree we can avail ourselves of those lights, which it was the particular purpose of my foreign journeys to collect."* Such is the concluding sentence of Mr. Howard's second work on prisons, in which he announces his appointment to an office he was so pre-eminently qualified for,—the superintendence, jointly with two other commissioners, of the execution of the act of the 19th George III. c. 74. for the erection of two penitentiary houses in Middlesex, Essex, Kent, or Surrey, which received the royal assent on the 30th of June, 1779.† How far the hopes he was so fully justified in cherishing, that this measure might produce all the benefit its humane projectors anticipated, were realized, it will be the business of the following chapter of these memoirs to trace; that of the present extending not beyond the publication of the work in which those hopes are expressed.

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 194, 195.

† Journals of the House of Commons, Vol. XXXVII. p. 456.

Of the particulars of the various tours undertaken by this indefatigable Philanthropist in the course of the years 1778, 9, little that is interesting remains upon record. In England he adopted the same mode of travelling as he had done upon his former tours, still ordering his meals and wine, as any other traveller would do, at the inns where he stopped, but directing his servant to take them away as soon as they were brought in, and to give what he himself did not eat and drink to the waiter. But on the continent he performed the greater part of his journeys in a German chaise, which he purchased for the purpose, never stopping on the road but to change horses, until he came to the town he meant to visit; travelling, if necessary to the effecting his purpose, the whole of the night; and sleeping, from habit, as well in his vehicle as in a bed. He always carried with him a small brass tea-kettle, a tea-pot, some cups and saucers, a supply of green tea, a pot of sweetmeats, and a few of the best loaves the country through which he passed could furnish. At the post-house he would get some boiling water, and where it was to be procured, some milk, and make his humble repast, while his man went to supply himself with more substantial food at the *auberge*.* The publication of the result of his former travels had caused him to be held in such deserved estimation, not only throughout his own country, but in every part of Europe, that upon entering on the tours whose progress has here been traced, he might allowably assume that tone of authority which enabled him to pursue his inquiries with more ease to himself, and more effect in securing the object for which they were undertaken. Upon these, as upon his former journeys on the continent, though he often thought it advisable to furnish himself with recommendations to persons high in rank or office, by whose means he might more effectually prosecute his researches, he preferred, whenever he could, entering the different prisons abroad as an unknown individual, whose visits were not expected, and therefore could not be prepared for. And it was his general custom, whenever he had obtained access to a place of confinement by means

* Aikin, p. 225.

of persons in authority, to remain for some days longer in the town, for the purpose of revisiting every part, alone and unexpected. "Thus careful was he," observes his friend and biographer Dr. Aikin, "to guard against deception; and with such coolness of investigation did he execute a design which it required so much ardour of mind to conceive."* Yet, notwithstanding all his caution, he was charged by some persons, not ill-disposed to give the just tribute of applause to his conduct, with being prejudiced, in the course of his visits of philanthropy, by first impressions, whose effects it was very difficult to remove;—with sometimes giving greater credit than they deserved to persons in inferior stations,—and with being, on the whole, more inclined to censure than to commend. But these charges, an attentive perusal of his books, and a proper consideration of the nature of the work in which he was engaged, will surely dispel from every candid and ingenuous mind. It is from superiors, and not inferiors, that abuses generally proceed; and it is always by their neglect that, in any concerns of a public nature, they can be permitted to continue unredressed; it is not, therefore, to them that any man in his senses would resort, in the first instance, for their detection. The high commendation which he bestows upon Mr. Smith, Abel Dagge, and many other gaolers, for their humanity and care of their prisoners, and the readiness with which he notices, in terms of approbation, the various improvements introduced into the prisons he inspected, proves, that if he justly censured, to improve, he never was backward to encourage by his praise, wherever praise was due. The scrupulous exactness with which he has corrected in the work just noticed, even the minutest errors he might have been led into in the hurry of his first inspection of our gaols, shews also that he never intentionally misrepresented, or was willingly deceived in the wish he felt to lay before the public an accurate description of scenes of misery which no one had ever visited before. It was in this spirit too, that, even before his first work was sent to press, he performed a second tour through the whole of England and Wales, that he might be quite accurate in his statements

* Aikin, p. 89.

of the condition of prisons, none of which he visited less than twice, and some of them as often as three, four, and even five times. " I was determined," said he upon this subject to a reverend friend, who has recently followed him into the world of spirits, " that no one should have to accuse *mad Jack Howard* (for so he would often call himself, in allusion to some sarcastical remarks which had already been made upon his conduct) of falsehood; and thus Religion should be disgraced in me."

The history of his private life during the two years which this chapter of our memoir embraces is not very fruitful in incidents, the principal part of his time having been spent in his journeys of benevolence at home or abroad. One letter written during this period has, however, been confided to my hands, an extract from which I shall here insert, as a proof of the minute attention he always paid to the keeping his grounds in order, and to the regulation of his private concerns;—of his continual remembrance of his friends in all those little civilities of social life of which great men are generally so unmindful; and of his never forgetting, under any circumstances, the numerous pensioners on his bounty. It is addressed to the faithful bailiff so often mentioned in the course of this narrative.

" John Prole

" I have settled the Account, you have now in hand 12 : 16 : 8 you will sign the inclosed receit for the Interest. Let Haines girls have each their half Guinea which you will directly pay to M^rs^ Preston for them; and lett their father make each of them a pair of Shoes which you will pay for. You keep the two Horses constantly at work, What Lime have you fetcht, the Dung in the Yard are you carrying into the Great Close; take John Joices and all you can buy, the great Close looks bad, we must get it in order. Have you gone down the Hedges with the Sheers. Has Jos took off any of the Turf, is any thing done at the Clumps, trench them very deep.—One of the Hatts (in the

Hamper) give to Jos Hopkins at finlake, the rest Ann will take care off. I have workt hard this week but cannot yet fix my journey.—

" Yrs

" Ormond street Oct 30 1779." " JN HOWARD."

" When the Cart goes for the Doors &c. Carry a Basket of Pears for M^rs^ Belsham and another for M^rs^ Gadsby."

The journey mentioned here was that he was about to take into Lancashire, to superintend the printing there of the work which was to give to the world the further results of that extraordinary plan of universal benevolence in which, for the last six years, he had been so actively engaged. It was, therefore, a trait not the least surprizing in his character, that whilst his heart was expanded to pity, and to succour the distresses of the most wretched and outcast of the human race, and every faculty of his being seemed to be absorbed in the glorious work of devising some general plan for their relief, he could yet individualize the objects of his private bounty, and administer to their wants with as constant and minute attention, as though he had no other pursuit to engage his time or his thoughts, and had been but the benefactor of his village, rather than of the world.

CHAPTER IX.

Mr. Howard's acting as supervisor of the penitentiary houses intended to be erected near the metropolis;—his resignation of that office;—his fourth journey upon the continent, in the course of which he inspected the prisons and hospitals of Denmark, Sweden, Russia, and Poland, and re-visited many of those of Holland and Germany;—his fourth general inspection of English prisons, and his third and fourth visits to Scotland and Ireland, 1780—1782.

THE valuable and novel information which Mr. Howard's two first journeys to the continent of Europe, in pursuit of the benevolent object to which he had devoted himself, had enabled him to communicate to his countrymen respecting the regulation of prisons in foreign states, could not fail to place before their eyes, in the most striking point of view, some of the principal defects in their own. With as strong a partiality to their institutions,—I might say with as proud a conviction of their superiority, as any nation under the sun, there is not, perhaps, on the face of the globe, a people more alive to the calls of humanity, or more ready to adopt any suggestion, not too revolting to their prejudices, for mitigating the sufferings of the distressed, than are the English. As soon, therefore, as they were aware of the excellency of the discipline employed in Holland for the correction of offenders, by rendering their imprisonment a means at once of their punishment and their reformation, our legislators determined to try the effects of a similar system in their own country,

and accordingly passed the bill, mentioned in the last chapter of these memoirs, for the erection of penitentiary houses for the metropolis and the adjoining counties, in such situations as to three supervisors, appointed by virtue of this act, should seem proper. In the execution of such a plan it was impossible but that the attention of government should be immediately directed to the individual in whose recommendation that plan originated, and who, therefore, was of all others the best qualified for its establishment on a solid and permanent basis. Mr. Howard was accordingly the first supervisor named for carrying into effect the purposes of the new act, having associated with him in this honorable and important office his intimate friend, Dr. Fothergill, and Mr. Whatley, the treasurer of the Foundling Hospital. For the appointment of the former of these gentlemen he made an express stipulation before he would consent to act upon his own; and even when his wishes on this point were complied with, as they were without much difficulty, other obstacles presented themselves to his acceptance of an office for the discharge of whose duties the whole kingdom, could the opinion of its inhabitants have been collected, would have pronounced him to be so admirably qualified. And though these obstacles would never have arisen in a mind less humble, or less selfish than his, it was with no small trouble that his unaffected modesty, and the low estimate which he at all times set upon his own abilities and exertions, yielded to the strong solicitations of his friends, particularly of the late Sir William Blackstone, the great promoter of the design, to take upon himself a duty which no man living could so well, or so satisfactorily perform. Determined, however, to adhere to that absolute disinterestedness which he had hitherto observed, in all his exertions for the good of his fellow-creatures, he declined accepting any recompense for his services upon this occasion, the trifling salary provided by the act for their performance having operated as an objection to his acquiescence in an appointment which would justly entitle him to its receipt. But these difficulties having, at length, been happily surmounted, he set himself, with his wonted zeal and perseverance, to

the execution of his important trust, and carefully inspected several pieces of ground in the vicinity of London, for the erection of the projected penitentiary houses. The spot he fixed upon for this purpose was Islington, and in this choice he was supported by Dr. Fothergill, whilst their colleague gave the preference to Limehouse, and adhered to his selection with so much pertinacity that his associates were about to refer their views to the decision of the twelve judges, when the advice of Mr. Justice Blackstone upon his death-bed, to adhere firmly to their own, left Mr. Howard, upon the decease of Dr. Fothergill, in the latter end of the year 1780, no alternative between the giving up an opinion, of the propriety of which he was every day the more firmly convinced, and the resignation of an office which had occasioned him little but trouble and vexation. His adoption of the latter was accordingly signified to Earl Bathurst, then lord president of the council, in the following letter, written in January, 1781 :—

" My Lord,

" When Sir *William Blackstone* prevailed upon me to act as a supervisor of the buildings intended for the confinement of certain criminals, I was persuaded to think that my observations upon similar institutions in foreign countries would, in some degree, qualify me to assist in the execution of the statute of the 19th year of his present Majesty. With this hope, and the prospect of being associated with my late *worthy* friend Dr *Fothergill*, whose wishes and ideas upon the subject I knew, corresponded entirely with my own, I cheerfully accepted his Majesty's appointment, and have since earnestly endeavoured to answer the purpose of it; but, at the end of two years, I have the mortification to see that not even a preliminary has been settled. The *situation* of the intended buildings has been made a matter of obstinate contention, and is at this moment undecided. Judging therefore from what is past, that the farther sacrifice of my time is not likely to contribute to the success of the plan, and being now deprived, by the death of Dr *Fothergill*, of the assistance of an able colleague, I beg leave to signify to your Lordship my determination to decline

all further concern in the business; and to desire that your Lordship will be so good as to lay before the King my humble request, that his Majesty will be graciously pleased to accept my resignation, and to appoint some other gentleman to the office of a supervisor in my place. I have the honor to be,

"With great respect &c.

"JOHN HOWARD."*

This resignation having been duly accepted, it is natural to suppose that Mr. Howard would gladly have availed himself of the opportunity now afforded him, of passing the remainder of his days in the retirement he loved, the charm of whose seclusion from all the bustle and inquietude of public life, would have been heightened by the recollection of the incalculable benefits he had been the means of conferring on thousands of the most miserable of the human race. But it was not his disposition to rest satisfied with what he had accomplished in the great cause to which he had consecrated some of the best years of his existence, whilst any thing remained to be done for the further advancement of his benevolent design. Vast regions were still unexplored, and he therefore determined to visit, without delay, the northern courts of Europe, and to carry the torch of philanthropy to Denmark's seas of ice, and Russia's fields of snow. In prosecution of this design, he reached Ostend on the 27th of May, 1781, and entering Holland by way of Rotterdam, spent a few days in re-inspecting the prisons there. In the rasp-house he found the men's rooms very close and offensive, their inhabitants being taken out only once in the week. At the whipping-post, which was in the middle of the court, in full view of the male criminals, some of our dexterous countrymen, but a few months before, had undergone a severe flagellation for melting their pewter spoons, and forming them into keys, for the purpose of opening the doors of their prison. The metal was hardened with a mixture procured from an apothecary as a remedy for the tooth-ach. The scheme was defeated, however, by the treachery of an English Jew, who, for this service, obtained his liberty,

* Account of the Lazarettos of Europe, p. 226.

though he had been committed for thirty years. In the house of correction at Leyden, fourteen men and twenty women were employed in spinning wool, the task for each being thirty-two stivers (nearly three shillings) a-week.*

At Bremen, the first town he stopped at in Germany, our traveller was obliged to apply to the magistrates for permission to visit the prison, one of the keepers having lately been confined for fourteen days to bread and water, for suffering a townsman to converse with a prisoner. In the gaol in the tower of one of the gates, he found a prisoner in the same cell in which he had seen him five years ago: he had made his escape, but been retaken. The doors to the cells here were five inches thick, and had plates of iron between the boards: the windows were only very small apertures. In another prison, descending by ten steps from the street, were six close dungeons, without windows, one of them but six feet nine inches, by four feet and a half, and seven feet high. This dismal abode of human wretchedness contained at this time no prisoners; one who had been confined there having lately beat himself to death against the wall, which was stained with his blood. The poor-house in this city was so admirably conducted that it could not but give pleasure to its benevolent visitor, as he assures us it would do to all who should inspect it, so liberally were the poor accommodated in the decline of life, and so cheerful were their countenances. Not long before this visit, Bremen was remarkable for the number of children begging in the street, but a workhouse had lately been established for the purpose of employing them, the expence of which was defrayed by voluntary contributions, collected weekly from house to house. Here he saw about 170 of these little urchins from six to nine years of age, clean, cheerful, and happy, whilst busily employed in spinning at small wheels, under the direction of proper masters and mistresses, being allowed twelve sous ($6\frac{1}{2}d.$) a week at least, but neither boarded nor lodged in this well-regulated house. At Harburg, thirteen slaves were working on the fortifications with irons on one leg, and chains, supported by girdles round their waists. They were guarded by

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 2, 3, 6; 101.

soldiers, who had orders to fire on them if they attempted to escape; but, notwithstanding this, when the Elbe was frozen over in the preceding year, five got away to Hamburg. In the Bütteley in the latter city, were only two criminals and one debtor. Mr. Howard saw them at chapel, where divine service was constantly performed every Sunday and Thursday, and they seemed very attentive and much affected. The prison was clean, but its visitor perceived by the countenance of the gaoler, and his unwillingness to shew him the torture-room again, that he had seen his publication. The whole number of prisoners in the great house of correction for the reception of the poor, beggars, and petty offenders here, was about 600, and Mr. Howard was happy to find a great alteration in the countenances of the inhabitants, and the state of the house, as to cleanliness. One of the regents gave him a copy of the regulations of this institution, which are very excellent; great care being taken to instruct all persons confined here in their moral and religious duties, and to make them orderly and industrious citizens. Such of them as had learned a trade, and appeared to be reformed and diligent, were, upon their humble petition, discharged. Their diet was good, and the sick were allowed whatever was ordered for them by the physician. The hospital in this city was formerly the pest-house, a name which, from its close and crowded wards, its visitor thought that, even now, it might properly bear.*

At Rendsburg, the first town in the Danish territories of which we have any account, our benevolent tourist found seventy-seven slaves, who, when not prevented by sickness, were employed on the fortifications, receiving the while the same quantity of bread, and half as much money as was allowed to the soldiery. Their countenances were more clear and healthy than those of the common people, who had opportunities of procuring spirituous liquors. At the entrance of this, and many towns in Denmark, a whipping-post stands conspicuous, on the top of which the figure of a man is placed with a sword

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st Edit. p. 23—8.

by his side, and a whip in his hand; an exhibition which induced Mr. Howard to suggest the propriety of some such intimation of the punishment that will follow crime, in his own country. But the success of such a measure in England would perhaps be problematical; though one of the modes of punishing offenders in the lower walks of life, resorted to in that country, would hardly fail of being beneficial, if introduced with some modifications here. It is that of walking them through the streets, attended by the officer of justice, in what is called a Spanish mantle; which, as well as words can describe, what Mr. Howard has accurately represented in a plate, resembles, as near as possible, one of those tubs used for ale in some parts of England, which are formed of unbent staves, narrowing from the top to the bottom, through a hole in which the delinquent puts his head, his body being covered to the knees by the tub, whose weight is supported on his neck and shoulders. So much is this disgraceful punishment dreaded in Denmark, that it is one cause of night-robberies never being heard of in Copenhagen. In that country gibbets and wheels are also placed on eminences, on which the bodies of malefactors are sometimes left after execution, to deter others from their crimes; but criminals are never put in irons there before their trial, unless when apprehended in the act of murder, or some other little less atrocious crime. The common mode of execution is beheading; but for the more heinous offences, the barbarous custom of breaking on the wheel, was still resorted to. After the sentence of a criminal was confirmed by parliament, he was allowed, from eight, to fourteen days to prepare himself for death, as the chaplain might think that he required. Executions in this country were, however, rare: a great number of women for the murder of their children, being condemned to the spin-houses for life; a sentence so much more dreaded than death itself, that since its adoption, this crime had been of much less frequent occurrence. Since 1771, the punishment of grand larceny had been whipping and slavery for life.* In Copenhagen, where Mr. Howard arrived early in the month of July, he observed, in the state prison of

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 28, 9.

the citadel, a prisoner guarded by an officer and a soldier, in the room with him, and another soldier at the door, though the guard-room was below. The weather being very warm, the window was thrown open, and this was all the fresh air ever allowed to prisoners here, who were not suffered to stir out of their rooms: they had, however, an ample allowance for diet from the king. In one of the rooms of this prison, which, though close was clean and white-washed, Mr. Howard observed chains fastened to the wall, which had been used to render more irksome the confinement of Counts Struensee and Brandt, who were immured in this prison on account of the infamous and unfounded charge which her weak but tyrannical husband thought proper to prefer against the unfortunate Caroline of Denmark, the sister of our venerable sovereign. In the prison at the state-house, which contained several damp dungeons, the female delinquents were at work in their several apartments; their allowance being two shillings a week. A resident chaplain read prayers to the prisoners every day. In the prison in the blue tower, for the servants of the court, as in that at the state-house, Mr. Howard could not but remark a striking contrast between the cleanness of the women's apartments, and the dirtiness of the men's, which he attributed to the gaolers' wives inspecting those of their own sex, and being more attentive to their duty than their husbands. The allowance of prisoners confined here was two-pence a-day, with which they purchased what they chose from the gaoler, who kept a public-house. In the prison in which criminals from the garrison, and slaves, were confined, two rooms, though only ten feet high, contained two tiers of barrack beds, dirty beyond description; the place being so crowded as to be very unhealthy; as were also two close rooms for the sick, over them. Here were 143 male slaves, who never put off their clothes at night, and therefore, having new ones but once in two years, and those very slight, many of them were almost naked. Some had light chains upon one leg only, others heavier ones upon both, and some iron collars. One was chained by his wrists to a wheelbarrow, the punishment of these who had attempted to escape. On another side of

the court were seven dungeons, descending by ten steps under ground, with a small window in each, and containing amongst them eleven prisoners. "The distress and despair in the pale and sickly countenances of these slaves," says our author, "were shocking to humanity." On the Sunday he attended public service in the chapel of the gaol, where, of the few convicts whom he saw, the man chained to the wheelbarrow was one. A guard of twenty men always attended them at chapel, and at their work upon the fortifications, where they were kept to hard labor for eleven or twelve hours a day, their pay being a stiver each, or a stiver and a half when they worked more hours, with seven pounds of black bread in five days. In returning from their work, some of the worst among them, who had passed under the hands of the executioner and been branded, were chained to each other, in pairs, with loose chains. At his third visit to this prison, our Philanthropist was pleased to find that it was put in better order, and swept: such was the effect of his remonstrances, even in foreign countries, where he was comparatively unknown. Its offensiveness, however, always gave him a head-ache, such as he suffered from on his first visits to our English gaols. In the spin-house, about three or four hundred prisoners were employed in sorting, carding, and spinning wool for the king's military cloth manufactory, an immense establishment, which employed from five to six hundred persons, and consumed all the wool spun in the various houses of correction throughout the Danish dominions. The rooms of this prison were spacious, but close and offensive, the windows never being opened. In the court-yard were several small rooms, with a man in each, employed either in chopping or raspping logwood. Sixty-six women were confined here for life, and all at work in carding or spinning wool, in one room. Separate rooms were assigned to the sick. The mode of providing for the poor in this city, was one which our author justly characterizes as good, but not common, nearly a thousand of them being lodged in the great hospital, where they were employed by a Scotch manufacturer, mostly in spinning worsted; and being

allowed to keep all they could earn, they purchased their own provisions, according to the regulations, and at the prices fixed by the directors. The hospitals here were generally clean and well regulated, except the orphan-house, in which were 225 boys, most of whom had cutaneous disorders upon them, and were very sickly in their appearance; the rooms being close and dirty, and the whole establishment without proper management. When the director shewed our illustrious countryman the sick-rooms, he told him, with his usual plainness of speech, that they were all such. He remained in Copenhagen six days, and then crossed the Sound at Elsineur, for Stockholm.*

In travelling through Sweden, Mr. Howard found the houses much cleaner than in Denmark; whence he was very naturally led to hope that he should see the same difference in the prisons, especially as he was told that they were visited every Saturday by an officer from the Chancery. In this reasonable expectation he was, however, completely disappointed, as he found them full as dirty and offensive as those he had recently inspected. In Stockholm he visited three prisons, none of whose prisoners were ever in irons: if their offence was capital, they were sent, after condemnation, to the great prison, whence they might appeal to parliament, which, as in Denmark, must confirm their sentence before it could be executed. The general mode of execution was by the axe; women being beheaded on a scaffold, which was afterwards set on fire, and consumed with the body. The reigning king, Gustavus III. had humanely abolished all torture in his dominions, and had ordered a dark cellar applied to this purpose, in one of the prisons of Stockholm, to be bricked up; but, strange to say, that order had not been obeyed; for on Mr. Howard's insisting on seeing the wall, to assure himself of the fact, he found it still open. The prison for the southern district of the city consisted of six rooms, four of which were so dark, dirty, and offensive, that five prisoners immured within their walls were almost stifled, in consequence of receiving no air but through

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 28—35. Thomasson's MS. Journal.

a small aperture in the door of each room: the other two were light and airy, and were sometimes used as an infirmary. The gaoler here, as in all the prisons of this country, sold liquors; so that his room exhibited a scene which our Philanthropist had but too often witnessed with a vain regret at home, being filled with idle people drinking with the prisoners. In the felons' prison for the city the rooms were very dirty, and the windows of all but one shut, so that it was not at all surprising that the countenances of their wretched inmates should bespeak neglect and oppression. In one of two rooms appropriated to criminals sentenced to confinement on bread and water, were two persons who seemed to be almost starved, being allowed only two pennyworth of bread a day, and that sold to them by an unfeeling gaoler. Seeing these miserable objects thankful for a small donation of bread, which his own liberal hand no doubt bestowed, Mr. Howard remarked, that "a sentence for twenty-eight days must be very severe;" to which the savage brute replied, that "it was good for their health." There was no chapel in this gaol, nor were its prisoners ever allowed to leave their noxious cells. Coffins were here kept ready for the dead, a precaution which, in such a place, and with such a keeper, was any thing but needless. The Smed garden, or prison for condemned criminals, already mentioned, was more spacious, and better regulated. It was in an airy situation, and furnished with a court-yard, in which the men and women were each allowed to walk an hour every morning, and another in the afternoon. The latter were never put in irons, as, except when very refractory, they never should be: five of them were employed in their rooms at needle-work. In a room on the other side of the court were two barrack beds, in which were three men loaded with irons. Their allowance was two pence a-day, with which they could purchase thirty ounces of bread, though they were, perhaps not very judiciously, allowed to spend it as they pleased. In a bed in the chapel convicts rested till their execution, which was sometimes three weeks after their sentence was definitively pronounced: two days before they suffered their irons were taken off. The rooms of the prison for debtors being

all open, their inhabitants associated with each other as they pleased, so that from the want of a proper separation of prisoners, a practice, very unusual on the continent, prevailed here, of taking garnish, according to the custom so general in England, wherever a similar intermixture was allowed. Being in a close part of the city, this was one of the unhealthiest gaols in Stockholm, but it was about to be removed to a more airy situation. The spin, or rasp-house contained about 180 prisoners, who were employed in sorting, carding, or spinning wool, and were paid for whatever they did above their task, at the rate of a half-penny a pound; and, as a further encouragement to industry and good conduct, became entitled to an abridgement of their confinement, in proportion to their diligence. The women's rooms were clean; but the countenances of the men and boys sickly; and the younger prisoners of both sexes were very improperly confined with older, and more hardened offenders. The rooms employed as an infimary were clean, but the scurvy very generally prevailed here, owing to close confinement, the want of cleanliness, and the use of salt provisions. The prisoners were obliged to attend prayers in the hall every day, morning and evening. An inspector resided on the premises in a convenient house, and with what in Sweden was considered a large salary, being four times that of the gaoler; but neither the condition of the wards, nor the general appearance of the prison did him any credit, so that by what he witnessed here, Mr. Howard was but the more confirmed in the opinion he had long entertained, that it was only in houses of correction, where there were not resident inspectors with large salaries, that humanity, care, and attention, could be looked for. During his stay in the Swedish capital he visited many of its charitable institutions, though he particularizes but one, where all was neat and clean, the floors of its wards, as was the case also with the rooms of most private houses, being strewed with the shoots of the spruce fir, or of the juniper tree, to prevent infection.*

* Appendix to State of Prisons, p. 36—9. Thomassons's MS. Journal.

Whilst in Sweden, Mr. Howard had been exposed to more than the usual hardships of travelling in that cold and inhospitable clime, as he could get nothing to eat but sour bread and sour milk, neither fruit nor garden stuff being frequently to be met with; though confirmed habit confined him to a vegetable diet, and the resolution of his earlier life, to which he always inflexibly adhered, prevented his ever taking either wine or spirits on his journeys. His principal, and almost his only support was, therefore, tea, and the unwholesome bread of the country, which he was compelled to eat, so that he had little reason to regret quitting Sweden for Russia, a country whose rapid march from barbarism to civilization, and from insignificance to importance among the nations of the globe, had at this time powerfully directed the eyes of all Europe to her movements, and rendered the uncontrolled power, which was directing the energies of an immense population to plans of grandeur and of public utility, an object of general curiosity. Her rising institutions could not, therefore, fail to interest a man, to whom, more justly perhaps than to any other of his race, might the adage of the Roman poet be applied, "*humani nihil à me alienum puto*;" for it was upon this principle, sublimized by the purer motives of the Christian faith, that he was now traversing a country whose inhabitants, scarce half a century before, were looked upon as semi-barbarians, unknowing and unknown to all the refinements of civil and of social life. In the modern capital of that country, which was of itself a proof of the magnificent spirit of its late and of its present ruler, rising as it had done in the space of a few years from the midst of a desert into one of the largest cities in the world, he spent three weeks in inspecting its prisons and its charitable institutions. He entered it, however, in the most private manner, having himself told the late Dr. Lettsom that, as he approached the city, he left his carriage and horses at some short distance from it, and walked in alone, in order that he might remain unknown, and visit the prisons in the state in which they were commonly to be found, not in one prepared for his inspection. The Empress had, however, gained intelligence of his arrival, and sent him a permission to come

to court, of which he never availed himself, as he told the messenger who brought it, that he had devoted himself to visit the prisons of the captive, and not the courts, or the palaces of kings. At this time all the peasantry and servants of Russia were the bondmen, or slaves, of their feudal lords, who might inflict upon them any corporal punishment they thought proper, short of death, or banish them to Siberia, on giving notice to the police of the offence they had committed. If, indeed, in the severity of their chastisement they should even be the cause of their deaths, the punishment of the law was easily evaded by those who had any interest at court. Yet, even in such a state of wretched degradation as was this, kindness and humanity lost none of their native influence on the human heart; and Mr. Howard was gratified in learning, that instances of the most devoted attachment of peasants to their lords, when they had been kindly treated, were by no means uncommon; in proof of which a gentleman was pointed out to him in Petersburg, whose peasantry, hearing of his intention to sell his estate, gave him all the money they had saved, on condition that he should keep his land, and still continue to be their master. So interwoven, indeed, was the spirit of slavery with the whole fabric of the Russian laws, that debtors were very often employed as slaves by the government, who paid them the yearly wages of twelve roubles—about forty-eight shillings of our money—which went in discharge of their debts. In some cases, if any person chose to give security for the payment of this sum so long as the slave should live, or till his debts should be discharged, he might take him out of confinement; but if he failed in producing him when demanded, he would be liable to pay the whole debt immediately. What a pity would it seem to the devisers of so ingenious a method of paying off old debts, that they could not pursue their victim beyond the grave, but must end their devices "where the *cruel* cease from troubling—where the weary are at rest." Yet Mr. Howard reminds us that a very similar plan had lately been suggested by a writer in our own free country; but I am rather proud, than ashamed of my ignorance, alike of its principles and its author. Whoever he may have been,—and if I

ever read his work, I have forgotten it,—I hope he lived to follow the example of the Marquis *de Beccaria,* who, in the first edition of his celebrated Treatise on Crimes and Punishments, proposed the adoption of this very principle, but being afterwards convinced of his mistake, very candidly confessed that he had injured the rights of humanity, and was heartily ashamed of ever having avowed so cruel an opinion. It was perfectly characteristic of so despotic a government as that of Russia, that there should be no regular gaolers in any of its prisons, but that they should all be guarded by the military: nor can we be surprised that, when the lower orders of the people were looked upon as slaves, little or no attention should have been paid to the reformation of their morals, when they had sunk, if sink they could, a step lower in the scale of society by becoming criminals. No capital punishment was there in use for any crime but treason, though that of the knout was often dreaded more than death, so that it sometimes happened that a criminal would endeavour to bribe the executioner to kill him. In connection, however, with this subject, I have been favored with a very curious anecdote, communicated by Mr. Howard himself to Dr. Brown, and by his kindness transmitted to me, very nearly in the words in which I now relate it.

Mr. Howard had heard it repeatedly asserted, that capital punishments had been abolished in the Russian dominions, and had even read that they were so, in books of very high authority, but suspecting that this boast was not correct in all the latitude which had been ascribed to it, he determined to satisfy himself of the fact. He did not, however, look for exact information to the courtiers of the empress, or to the chief ministers of justice, because he judged that they would be disposed to exalt by their representations the glory of their sovereign; but taking a hackney-coach, he drove directly to the abode of the executioner. The man was astonished and alarmed at seeing any person, having the appearance of a gentleman, enter his door, which was precisely the state of mind his visitor wished to find him in; and he endeavoured to

increase his confusion by the tone, aspect, and manner which he assumed. Acting, therefore, as though he had authority to examine him, he told him that if his answers to the questions he should propose were conformable to truth, he had nothing to fear. He accordingly promised that they should be so; when Mr. Howard asked, "Can you inflict the knout in such a manner as to occasion death in a short time?" "Yes, I can," was the answer. "In how short a time?" "In a day or two." "Have you ever so inflicted it?" "I have." "Have you lately?" "Yes; the last man who was punished with my hands by the knout, died of the punishment." "In what manner do you thus render it mortal?" "By one or more strokes on the sides, which carry off large pieces of flesh." "Do you receive orders thus to inflict the punishment?" "I do." At the close of this curious dialogue, Mr. Howard left the executioner, fully satisfied that the honor of abolishing capital punishment had been ascribed to the infliction of a cruel, lingering, and private death, in lieu of one sudden and public. It was most probably to this very instance of the fatal infliction of this barbarous punishment that he himself was an eye-witness, and which he thus describes: "August 10, 1781, I saw two criminals, a man and a woman, suffer the punishment of the *knoot*. They were conducted from prison by about fifteen hussars and ten soldiers. When they arrived at the place of punishment, the hussars formed themselves into a ring round the whipping-post, the drum beat a minute or two, and then some prayers were read, the populace taking off their hats. The woman was taken first; and after being roughly stripped to the waist, her hands and feet were bound with cords to a post made for the purpose, a man standing before the post, and holding the cords to keep them tight. A servant attended the executioner, and both were stout men. The servant first marked his ground and struck the woman five times on the back. Every stroke seemed to penetrate deep into her flesh. But his master thinking him too gentle, pushed him aside, took his place, and gave all the remaining strokes himself, which were evidently more severe. The woman received twenty-five, and the man sixty: I pressed

through the hussars, and counted the number as they were chalked on a board; and both seemed but just alive, especially the man, who yet had strength enough to receive a small donation with some signs of gratitude. They were conducted back to prison in a little waggon. I saw the woman in a very weak condition some days after, but could not find the man any more." The kind of weapon from which he no doubt received his death wound, is thus described amongst the instruments of punishment which the governor of the Petersburg police himself showed to our illustrious countryman, and explained to him their use. "The *knoot* whip, is fixed to a wooden handle a foot long, and consists of several thongs about two feet in length twisted together, to the end of which is fastened a single tough thong of a foot and a half, tapering towards a point, and capable of being changed by the executioner, when too much softened by the blood of the criminal." But besides this savage scourge, he was shewn the axe and block; the machine then out of use for breaking the arms and legs, and the instrument for splitting the nostrils of offenders; that for branding them, by punctuation, and then rubbing a black powder on the wounds; and another called a cat, which consisted of a number of thongs varying from two to ten. From examining the instruments of a punishment, at whose severity his heart sickened, he turned to inspect the prisons in which those who had been, or might be subject to their cruel discipline, were confined; —but there his harrowed feelings met with no relief. In the fortress were many vaulted rooms, used as a prison for deserters, and criminals of various sorts, who worked on the fortifications, or in drawing wood out of the Neva. Thirty-five of these poor wretches were crowded into one room, insufferably hot, from having no air but what was admitted through two small apertures of ten inches by nine. In another part of the building, 75 slaves, with logs fastened to both their legs, were lodged in four rooms still more close and offensive. Every room was, however, furnished with an oven, or stove, and most of them with barrack beds, conveniences which the gaols of our more humane and civilized country were but too generally without. In two low cellars of the police prison, very hot and offensive,

Mr. Howard saw fifteen men, most of them in irons, and all subsisting on voluntary contributions collected in boxes before their grates, and at the adjoining church, which was of no other use to them, as they were never permitted to go out of their rooms, except on particular occasions, when they were attended by a guard of soldiers. The new government prison exhibited a scene of equal wretchedness; for there, sixty-eight prisoners, including two confined for debt, and twenty-seven male and female vagrants, were crowded together into one little room. The suburbs of the city contained another prison, consisting of several timber houses, surrounded by high pallisades, in one of which were twenty-five prisoners, all of them with irons on both legs. Their whole number was near eighty, some being out at work. Amongst them were many boys of twelve or fifteen years of age, all of them seeming to be under close confinement, though there was a large court, in which they might be allowed to walk with safety. Nor was this the lot of felons only, but of debtors also, none of whom were ever permitted to go out of their rooms in the prison appropriated to their use, subsisting there entirely on what alms they could collect in the boxes hung out of their windows, as is still the case with many an unhappy wretch confined in our English gaols. Government, however, supplied them with wood for fuel, but with nothing more. One of them told his benevolent visitor, that he had been confined five years for a debt of fifteen roubles (three pounds); and another for four years, for one of five pounds. A house of correction was, however, building in this city, whose external construction, at least, augured something like an attention to the improvement of its prisons. It was an elegant though plain building, with wide stone staircases, good sized and lofty rooms, with windows, and an aperture in the ceiling, to each. But, disgusted as he was with the places of confinement already in existence here, and slender as were his hopes, that by so despotic a government any radical alteration would ever be effected in the internal arrangements of those now erecting with an exterior splendor, that would but belie their inward wretchedness, he viewed several of the hospitals of Peters-

burg with pleasure; the rooms even of the insane being as clean as those of Holland, and the attention paid to their patients as exemplary. In his account of these institutions he has noticed, with proper commendation, a wise expedient peculiar to this country, of providing summer-rooms for convalescent patients, by the use of which the evil common to all other hospitals, of contaminating their walls by a constant succession of sick, was avoided. But still more was he delighted with an institution of the reigning empress, for the education of the female children of the nobility, and of a limited number of commoners, on a plan most admirably adapted to preserve their health, and to promote their instruction in every branch of learning, every accomplishment of social, and every duty of domestic life, which would be useful to them in the stations in which they were likely to be placed. On his visit to this noble establishment, its royal protegées made him a present of a very curious piece of their work in ivory, which long adorned his favorite root-house at Cardington. Of the plan upon which it was conducted, he has given a very minute and interesting detail, furnished by his countryman, Dr. Guthrie, at this time physician to the military cadet corps of nobles. Its benefits had very recently been extended to 280, instead of 240 children of commoners, by the generosity of General De Betskoi, "the enlightened and liberal head and director-general of this, and all the other institutions of the same kind, established by" the munificent but eccentric Catharine.* To the public worth of this excellent man no higher tribute could possibly be borne, than such a commendation from such a man must necessarily convey. But I am happy in having it in my power, through the kindness of Dr. Brown, to lay before the public another proof of the diffusion of a spirit of genuine benevolence through this northern clime, which, whilst it reflects the highest credit upon one of this gallant veteran's companions in arms, evinces how correct an appreciation of the merits of our great Philanthropist had even then been formed in this distant region of the globe. A public society in Russia had

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 40—7.

testified to General Bulgarkow the high sense they entertained of his worth, by presenting him with a gold medal, for the services he had rendered to his country, by endowing and enlarging some of her noblest and most useful charities, especially a seminary, upon a very large scale, for young ladies without fortunes. With a liberality which does him honour, he evinced how well this mark of public gratitude was bestowed, by declaring, that what he had done regarded his own country only; but that there was another gentleman, whose extraordinary philanthropy was well known to the world, who had extended his humanity to all nations, and was therefore alone worthy of this distinction; and he accordingly sent the medal to Mr. Howard.

From Petersburg our traveller made an excursion to Cronstadt, the principal station of the Russian navy, where he found 151 slaves, malefactors, debtors, and peasants sent here by their lords, busily occupied in removing ballast from the ships. They had healthy countenances, and were robust and strong, though their diet seemed but scanty. They were coarsely, but warmly clad by government, who also allowed them fuel. Of the prison here Mr. Howard says nothing, the ground being already marked out for a new one, which was to be erected under the superintendence of our countryman, Admiral Greig. The naval hospital contained many spacious rooms, all perfectly clean; whilst the appearance of the patients lodged in them gave plain proofs of the care and attention with which they were treated.* It was not until after he had repeatedly visited every prison and hospital it contained, that Mr. Howard made preparations for leaving the modern capital of the Russian empire, where he had been, if possible, more than usually diligent and minute in his inspections; because the first man in the empire had assured him, that the publication which gave an account of them would certainly be translated into the Russian tongue. Before he set off, he was, however, attacked by a fit of the ague; but he did not suffer so unpleasant a visitor to prevent his pursuing a long and

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 47, 8.

fatiguing journey through this inhospitable climate, and at an inclement season, in the course of which, to use his own expression, " he travelled *his ague* off." The roads from Petersburg to Moscow were intolerably bad, and not very safe, yet did he decline an offer pressed upon him by the Russian government, of the sure protection of a soldier, as his escort on the way; but seating himself, with his servant, in a light and easy travelling carriage of the country, which he purchased for this purpose, he set off upon a journey of 500 miles, which he accomplished in less than five days, never having his cloathes off for a moment, either by night or day. During this extraordinary expedition,—the first, beyond all doubt, performed with such rapidity, on a line of road, and upon an errand so singular as this,—I am informed by two friends of Mr. Howard, who, whilst this work was passing through the press, have rejoined him in a better world, that a little circumstance occurred strikingly characteristic of his habitual generosity, whilst it shows the wretched condition of the lower orders of the people, through whose bleak and barren regions he was thus hastily passing. On arriving at the end of one of the stages of his journey, in which he had been driven more than usually well, he was anxious to reward his drivers for the attention they had shewn to his wishes, and therefore offered them each a sum equal to about half-a-crown of our money, where others would have given but a few copecs, perhaps to the value of two-pence or three-pence of English currency. The poor fellows were, however, afraid to accept so unprecedented a gratuity; but Mr. Howard told them, that he had committed his life to them, and he therefore must insist upon their taking the money; as, after some little hesitation, they eventually did. " This," says Mr. Kingsbury, upon whose authority, and that of his excellent relative, the late Mrs. Taylor, of Caversham, but formerly of Portswood, I have related those particulars of his journey to Moscow, which his own letter does not supply, " was like Howard." Of the fidelity of the Russian peasantry to their trust, another anecdote has been communicated to me by a female friend of his, still living. In his way to Moscow, he met with a young

lady on a journey of several hundred miles, under the protection of a Siberian of the lower order, to whose care she was committed, and who, he was convinced, from the attention he showed her, would sooner lose his life than she should receive any injury which he could prevent. "We," said Mr. Howard, as he related this circumstance, "call such persons savages; but in this respect they are not to be compared with some of our own people." In the course of this journey, though he delayed not its progress for a single hour to take either rest or refreshment, he visited the prisons at Wyschnei Wolotschok, and at Tver; in the former of which he found sixteen prisoners employed on the public works, all except one in irons, two of them being even chained together by the neck. The rooms of the latter were so offensive, that a medical gentleman who visited them with him did not choose to look into more than one; though, fearless in the path of duty, *he* ventured into all. This was a new prison, but the state he found it in, induced him to express a hope that it might not be a model for others, as it was reported that it would. The poor wretches confined in both these prisons subsisted entirely on charitable contributions.* These were also the chief, though not the sole support of the seventy-four prisoners in the great prison at Moscow, which consisted of a number of wooden houses, containing one, two, or three rooms each; furnished with a barrack bedstead, or shelves, for its inmates to sleep upon. In the day-time they were allowed to walk in the courts, excepting those in the houses in the two upper courts, in one of which a Russian gentleman was always locked up by himself, for having cruelly whipped his slaves. In another part of the prison were four wooden cages, in which two men, with irons on their legs, were chained by the neck to the wall. The prison was guarded by soldiers, and provided with a hut for the sale of a sort of sour small beer, the favorite beverage of the Russians, apples, and bread, the only articles, it would seem, in which the alms collected at the begging boxes were allowed to be spent. The women were in a separate court, but none of them in irons; and in two cha-

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 48.

pels in the prison divine service was regularly read. In the new government prison, in this city, sixty-nine petty offenders subsisted on charitable donations, and looked dirty and sickly. In a room upstairs Mr. Howard saw eight criminals with irons round their necks, each of them being also fastened by a heavy chain to a log. In every room a soldier stood with a drawn sword in his hand. The prison for debtors was very dirty, and in five of its rooms its benevolent visitor saw above a hundred miserable wretches lying on the floor, most of them half naked; whilst, at a little distance, were six criminals in one of the most offensive rooms he ever entered. Nor did even the soldiery of this absolute government meet with more merciful treatment at its hands, for the military prison of its ancient capital consisted of but one room, into which, though its dimensions were only twenty-nine feet by twenty-six, and nine feet high, 130 prisoners were crowded, sleeping upon two tiers of barrack bedsteads without beds. The pale sickly countenances of these unhappy men bespoke oppression and misery, and prepared their compassionate visitor to witness, with the less surprise, the crowding of fifty-five of their sick into one small ward in the military hospital. In another prison he found fifty-seven men and seventeen women huddled together in a single room. The latter were employed in weeding the garden, the former in emptying a moat at a palace near the place of their confinement, all of them without irons, and distinguished but by a black cross on the back of their cloathes. They worked from morning till night, except for two hours at noon, and were allowed nearly three halfpennyworth of bread a-day, but were denied salt by way of punishment. One of his visits happening to be on a Sunday, our pious countryman was surprised to find these prisoners at work as upon any other day, some of them in cutting the barberry hedges of the palace garden. In that garden the female prisoners confined for petty offences in the convent prison, about a mile out of the city, were also employed in weeding, the men being engaged in sawing wood. An unoccupied palace, consisting of near a hundred rooms, had been used as a lazaretto when the plague was raging here in 1772, and in going over it Mr.

Howard could not but think that it was well adapted for a healthy prison. The hospitals at Moscow were much better regulated than its prisons, and in some points exhibited an attention to cleanliness, from which the directors of similar institutions in England might have learned a useful lesson. Their principal defect was the want of air, from the injudicious practice of keeping the windows constantly closed. Some of these Mr. Howard flung open whilst walking round the military hospital with its physician, which purified it more than all the shoots of fir with which its rooms were plentifully strewn. In the garden of this hospital he met with a wooden building for drying herbs, the completest of the kind he had ever seen, and his partiality to botanical and horticultural pursuits induced him to give in his work an accurate representation of it from a drawing by his countryman, Mr. Dickinson. Whilst here he also frequently visited the great Foundling Hospital, at the particular desire of his friend the good General De Betskoi, but lest a description of it should be thought a digression from the main subject of his work, he refers his readers, as his biographer must also do, to Mr Coxe's "Account of the Prisons and Hospitals in Russia, Sweden, and Denmark," for further information on the rules and regulations of this celebrated institution.* During his stay in this city, our Philanthropist addressed a letter to his friend the Rev. Mr. Smith, conveying to him the intelligence which, of all others, he knew would be the most interesting to himself, and to his other friends at Cardington—by whom, from his great aversion to letter-writing, he always wished that his communications to his pastor should be considered as a kind of epistles general—that he was well; had succeeded in the objects of his journey; and was now turning his steps homeward.

"Dear Sir "Moscow Sept^{r} 7th 1781

"I am persuaded a line will not be unacceptable even from such a

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 48—53.

Vagrant, I have unremittedly pursued the object of my journey and have lookt into no palaces or seen any Curiosities—so my letters can afford little entertainm^{t} to my friends: I staid above three weeks at Petersburg. I declined every honour that was offered me, and when pressed to have a soldier to accompany me, I declined that allso. Yet I fought my way pritty well 500 miles and bad roads in less than five days; I have a strong, yet light and easy Carriage, which I happily bought for 50 Rubles, (ab^{t} 10 Gu^{s}) This City is situated in a fine plain totally different from all others, as each house has a garden which extends the City 8 or 10 miles, so that 4 and 6 horses are common in the streets; I content myself with a pair, tho' I think I have drove to day near 20 miles to see one Prison and one Hospital; I am told sad stories what I am to suffer by the Cold yet I will not leave this City, till I have made repeated visits to the Prisons and Hospitals, as the first Man in the Kingdom assured me my publication would be translated into Russian. My next step is for Warsaw ab^{t} 7 or 8 Hundred miles—every step being homeward I have spirit to encounter it, tho' thro' the worst Country in Europe: I bless God I am well, with calm easy spirits, I had a fitt of the ague a day or two before I sett out from Petersburg, but I travelled it off, the nights last week being warm—I tho' I could live where any Men did live, but this Northern Journey especially in Sweden I have been pincht, no fruit no garden stuff, sour bread, sour milk, but in this City every luxury even pine apples and *potatoes*. Baron Dimsdale and his Lady will be on his return ab^{t} my time, we purpose meeting at Berlin, but I am under a promise to visit Professor Camper and Mr. Hope in Holland, who has sent me into Russia an order to see the Prisoners of Warr so that I cannot accompany them; I must allso review some places in Flanders before my return; a line to the Post house at Amsterdam would be a cordial to me; I have no time yet to write to John Prole, please to acquaint my boy I am well and will write to him from Warsaw; I hope Mrs. Smith has any thing she chuses out of my Garden. Remember me to our friends Mr. Gadsby Mr. Belsham

Leachs Mr. Costins &c. How does Mr. * * * * * * * go on at * * * * * * * * * * *, shall I find him a usefull Neighbour, relative to my Schools &c.? Accept the best wishes of

" D^r Sir

" The Rev^d M^r Smith, Bedford

" Your Affectionate friend

" Par Londre én Angleterre."

" JOHN HOWARD."

The unhappy country to which our philanthropic countryman now turned his footsteps from the ancient capital of that empire, the hands of whose warriors, so deeply dyed in blood, put the finishing stroke to the disgraceful partition which blotted out her name from amongst the nations of the world, furnished nothing to divert his mind from the scenes of wretchedness which, with an almost unvarying constancy, had presented themselves to his observation since he entered on his inspection of the prisons of the more northern states of Europe. In that in the town-house at Warsaw, he saw eight new dungeons for criminals, four on each side of a passage only six feet wide; whilst in another, five, out of seven prisoners were in irons; the allowance there being little more than three-halfpence a-day. The entrance to a third was through a guard-room full of soldiers. In one of its rooms, only twenty feet by ten, in its dimensions, were twenty-six miserable objects, some of them sick upon the dirt floor. That near the Vistula, contained eighty-one prisoners, who were most of them employed in sawing wood, and in other occupations in the streets, for the inhabitants, who got their labor at one-third less than that of others, by which means the public were eased of a part of the expence of supporting them. In the suburbs of the city was the spin-house, improperly so called, many of the miserable wretches confined there seeming to have nothing to do. Such of them as were employed, for working eleven hours a-day, were paid 3½*d.* each, which went to their keeper for *feeding*, " or rather," says Mr. Howard, " as appeared by their looks, for *starving* them." The sick were lying on floors of dirt, without medical or any other assistance, a circumstance which gave our Philanthropist so unfavorable an opinion of the police of this country, that he felt no

inclination to visit the prisons in its provinces; or, as was his constant practice in other places, to revisit those of the capital. Nor were the hospitals of Warsaw in a much better condition than its prisons, as, with the exception of the clean rooms of the great hospital, in which 800 patients were attended to by the Sisters of Mercy, with their wonted kindness, they were in general crowded, close, and offensive; that of St. Lazarus, in particular, being characterized as the worst he had ever seen.*

Proceeding into Silesia, our traveller was gratified to find a somewhat more humane mode of treatment adopted towards persons under confinement there. At Breslau none were in irons, though most of the rooms in the city prison had a staple in a strong timber of the floor, to which criminals might be chained if they should be refractory; and also two dungeons, ten steps under ground. Their general allowance here was near two pounds of bread a-day; in addition to which, those confined in another small gaol near the guard-room, were provided with fire and candle. These latter were employed for seven or eight hours a-day out of doors. The spin-house contained thirty-six poor people, besides eighteen persons committed for slight offences: the latter, fed upon soup or bread, were occupied in spinning for eleven hours a-day; and were required regularly to attend the chapel of the work-house every Sunday and Thursday. The regulations of one noble hospital here did great honor to the Brotherhood of Mercy, to whom it belonged; but the others contained nothing remarkable.† In the capital of the Prussian dominions, which was the next place he visited, several of the more atrocious criminals in the city prison were in irons, and chained to staples in the wall of dungeons ten steps under ground, which were solely used for their confinement, the others being kept in different rooms, never containing more than three or four each. The allowance to criminals was near $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ a-day; and after trial, which, except on extraordinary occasions, must be within three months from their commitment, they were

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 53—5. † Ib. p. 55, 6.

allowed to go into the court-yard, the men for three hours a-day, an hour each time, the women but for one. Previous to trial, to avoid confederacies, they were, however, kept in close custody, and a very singular custom prevailed of compelling them to pay the gaoler on their discharge, a grosche (about $1\frac{1}{2}$ *d.*), or, after three months confinement, half a grosche a-day for this period of their imprisonment, unless the judge should order otherwise. Debtors were alimented by their creditors, at $3\frac{1}{2}$ *d.* a-day; and on failure of payment but for one week, were immediately discharged. Besides a resident inspector of this prison, which was under very excellent regulations, one of the judges was compelled to visit it once every week. In one of its rooms was an alphabetical list of the prisoners who had been confined here, in order that, if they should come a second time, they might suffer a severer punishment; a practice which I have known to be adopted with great advantage in some of our English gaols, particularly in the houses of correction in the county of Lancaster, where the black book of the gaoler regularly lays before the chairman of the quarter-sessions, as a guide for proportioning the punishment of the court to the character of the offender, who may have been more than once under its correction. In the court, as in the city prison, all the rooms contained barrack beds and German stoves; and on Mr. Howard's observing to the gaoler the propriety of having fires in the latter, though it was then early in October, the man asked whether criminals had no firing allowed in England; and on being told that in some prisons they had not, he exclaimed with evident astonishment, "how then do they *exist* in winter?"—a question very natural for him to ask, but rather more difficult for those who withheld this necessary accommodation to answer. Here our traveller saw two Spanish vests, one of them weighing fifty, the other seventy-five pounds, which were sometimes worn by criminals at the gate of this prison, and by smugglers confined here, at the custom-house, for one, two, and even three, hours. The vigilance of the police of this well-governed city, in clearing its streets of beggars, had, since his former visit, increased the number of prisoners in its admirably-regulated house of correction from 450 to 546.

In its orphan-house, forty-six boys and forty-one girls, all healthy and cheerful, were employed in spinning wool, in two spacious rooms; and looking into their bed-rooms, its visitor was pleased to observe, that they were all clean and airy. The infirmary contained but one sick child, and the whole appearance of the place was so clean and healthy, as to exhibit a striking contrast to the institution of this description at Copenhagen, though Mr. Howard's conductor pretended that the employment of the children, which was precisely the same as at Berlin, was the cause of the cutaneous disorders prevailing there. In the house of correction at Spandau, he learnt that a distinction was very properly made, by confining such prisoners as were reckoned infamous in a room by themselves. On inquiring here, as he had done at similar places of confinement elsewhere, whether the work of the prisoners maintained them, he received the same general answer as he had before done of—no, no.* In proceeding hence into the Hanoverian electorate, he had an opportunity of exhibiting that determined spirit which never forsook him, whatever might be the circumstances in which he was placed. "Travelling in the King of Prussia's dominions," says Dr. Aikin, whose account of this characteristic adventure agrees, in substance, with two or three manuscript ones by some other of Mr. Howard's friends, now in my possession, "he came to a very narrow piece of road, admitting only one carriage, where it was enjoined on all postillions entering at each end, to blow their horns by way of notice. His did so; but, after proceeding a good way, they met a courier travelling on the king's business, who had neglected this precaution. The courier ordered Mr. *Howard's* postillion to turn back; but Mr. *Howard* remonstrated, that he had complied with the rule, while the other had violated it; and therefore that he should insist on going forwards. The courier, relying on an authority, to which, in that country, every thing must give way, made use of high words, but in vain. As neither was disposed to yield, they sat still a long time in their respective carriages: at length the courier gave up the point to the sturdy Englishman, who would on no account *renounce his rights*."†

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 57—60. † Aikin, p. 219.

At Brunswick, Mr. Howard re-visited the prison for slaves, and was pleased to find that a material alteration had taken place for the better; their appearance being now healthy and clean, and their cloathing good. The prison for the confinement of citizens (for debt it is to be presumed), in the town-house, and that for capital offenders, were alike unoccupied, and had been so for a considerable time; nor had any execution taken place here for fourteen years past. The house of correction contained about seventy prisoners, who were always locked up, and furnished with very curious dormitories, in rows of boxes in the passages. It was Sunday when Mr. Howard visited this wretched place; he was surprized, therefore, to find all the prisoners, except some lunatics in chains, at work in carding and spinning wool; a circumstance which sufficiently accounted for the keeper's preventing him seeing the chapel, on pretence that no person was admitted during service time. After it was over, he was, however, suffered to go in, when he concluded, from the sand on the floor near the prisoners' benches, that few or none of them had attended. His conductor insisted on carrying a pan of charcoal through the rooms, but his fumigation could not overcome the offensiveness of this dirty house, which in all probability was but seldom visited, notwithstanding the public notification upon its doors, that any decent people might inspect it, on putting a florin (about 2*s.* 6*d.*) into the box, to assist prisoners whose terms should be expired, on their journey, without begging or stealing by the way. Nothing was, however, to be given to the keepers, or to the prisoners. In the prison at Hanover, he found twenty-nine prisoners, many of whom had been confined six months, and others even a year, without being brought to trial; a delay of justice which would seem to have been peculiar to England, and to the countries under her dominion. The seven lower rooms of the prison were appropriated to the more atrocious criminals, one of whom Mr. Howard saw in each room secured by chains on his feet, fastened to the walls, and by irons on the wrists, with a bar between them, two feet long, so that he could neither make use of arms or legs. The keeper was old and infirm, and as he grew older, his prison evi-

dently grew dirtier. It was with grief he learnt that, in the electoral dominions of the sovereign of his own free country, the horrid and execrable practice of the torture, on whose discontinuance, at his last visit to them, he had felicitated himself, had lately been revived, a prisoner having twice suffered the Osnaburgh torture in the gaol here, about two years ago. The executioner had already torn off the hairs from his victim's head, breast, &c. when a confession was wrung from him by the excruciating pain he endured, and an end was then put to his sufferings by his execution. The time for performing these deeds of darkness here, as in other countries, in which they were still permitted to disgrace humanity, was two o'clock in the morning,—the scene, the gloomy cellar of the prison, in which the horrid engines of this fiend-like cruelty were kept. On such occasions, a counsellor of justice and a secretary attended, with a doctor and surgeon, an Osnaburg executioner; and sometimes the gaoler. If the criminal fainted, strong salts were here applied to him, instead of the vinegar used in other places. Such was the refinement in barbarity practised in a country under the government of George the Third, when he had been eighteen years seated upon the British throne! Very different, however, was the scene which presented itself on turning from this wretched gaol to the house of correction for the Hanoverian capital, which, within the last two years, had been founded by its director, Burgomaster Aleman, to whose memory, says the kindred spirit of a Howard, this prison "is the best monument that can ever be erected." This house, appropriated to vagrants, children and petty offenders, was in an airy situation, and under careful inspection. The children, fifty-four in number, were cloathed in a neat uniform made in the house; where, besides the cloathes of all its inmates, the coverlids of the beds had been manufactured. The girls were all employed in spinning cotton and wool, the boys in carding and spinning linen and wool, and in making list shoes and carpeting for sale; specimens of which Mr. Howard brought with him to England. In one room, six boys, the eldest only twelve years of age, were working at so many looms for saddle-girths and cloths. In two others

the women were spinning, and there were smaller rooms for the men, who were occupied in rasping hartshorn and logwood. The rules for regulating the hours of work, learning, recreation, &c. were hung up in the school-room; both old and young were neat and clean; and every thing in the house appeared quiet and orderly.*

This was universally the case in Holland, whenever he visited its well-regulated places of confinement, of which he commenced a review upon his return homeward, at Utrecht, where he found the criminals in the stadt-house confined to bread and water; and in the spin-house nine women, who had been publicly whipped, very properly separated, both in their work and bed-rooms, from the other prisoners. The prison at Zwolle, in Overyssel, had no felons, nor had there been an execution there for many years. The house of correction was a neat building, in which, however, the male prisoners were injudiciously set to work, at spinning or weaving, in their sleeping-rooms. In two separate working-rooms the women were knitting and spinning; but nine of them, who had been branded, were working in a room by themselves, and had also a separate lodging-room. As Mr. Howard examined this prison at the express desire of his friend Professor Camper, who thought it one of the best in Holland, he procured a plan of it, from which he afterwards had an engraving made.† At Dort he inspected the prison in the stadt-house, which seldom contained any prisoners, though the jurisdiction of its magistrates extended over thirty villages; and he was credibly informed, that for the last thirty or forty years there had been but one debtor here, and he continued in confinement but for fourteen days.‡ At this time it had, however, for a wonder, one solitary criminal within its walls. But one criminal, either, did he find, and that one a boy, in the prison at Breda, though thirteen villages, and some of them large ones, were under the jurisdiction of this city: its house of correction contained, however, fifteen men and four women. At Groningen, on the gallows, placed on an eminence at a little distance from the

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 21—3. † Ib. p. 15—17. ‡ Ib. p. 18.

town, he saw a criminal hanging, who had been executed the year before; malefactors being often left, in Holland, to hang thus, until they dropped into a deep pit underneath, which was designed for the reception of their bones. In the rasp-house at Leeuwarden he noticed two closets for the refractory, the bottoms and sides of which were composed of pieces of wood placed edgeways, so that prisoners confined there without shoes must be in a painful situation.* From the latter town Mr. Howard proceeded to Amsterdam, to pay his promised visit to Mr. Hope, and to avail himself of the order for inspecting the prisoners of war in that country, which this gentleman forwarded to him in Russia, as he did by visiting the few English sailors confined in the Admiralty at Rotterdam, who appeared healthy, though several had died but a short time before, owing in part, perhaps, to their being confined in a small, close, and dirty room, misnomered an hospital. Their allowance was eight stivers (about 7½d.) a-day; they had each a bed and coverlid, and on most days were allowed to walk for some hours in the court-yard of their prison. In the pest-house, near Leyden, the crew of the Barker East Indiaman, just wrecked on this coast, were confined. One of its large rooms was fitted up with beds, &c. for wounded seamen, but it had been very injudiciously contracted, by two partitions through its whole length. During his stay at Amsterdam he learnt, from good authority, that in the eight years preceding his visit only five criminals had been executed there, of whom two had been beheaded, one broke on the wheel, and two hanged.† In London, the number had been 302—a disproportion disgraceful to our national character, and shocking to humanity.

Entering the Netherlands by way of Antwerp, Mr. Howard re-inspected the prisons, and visited the hospital and orphan-house of that city; the former of which, though commodious, was offensive; but the latter was spacious, and quite clean.‡ In Brussels, he visited the prison for debtors, to whom their

* State of Prisons, 3d Edit. p. 63. † Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 2, 3, 9. ‡ Ib. p. 103.

creditors were compelled to advance a month's aliment. The old house of correction here was at this time empty, its prisoners having been removed to the new one at Vilvorde, where they were confined in apartments less airy and convenient. That prison was then occupied by 186 men and 86 women, cloathed in an uniform; and principally employed in spinning cotton, though some of the men were weaving, others making cloathes, or shoes; and some of the women spinning flax, making lace, or mending the cloathes of the house. Each of the three classes, into which the prisoners were divided, had a separate refectory and work-room, which Mr. Howard found to be offensive, from the windows being all shut, though the weather was calm and fine. But the passages into which all the bed-rooms opened were more offensive still, as, when he saw this house before it was inhabited, he thought they would be. Most of the floors were of plaster, and could not be washed. The prison contained a room for the magistrates, but, on account of its distance from Brussels, they too seldom visited it: the countenances of the prisoners, indeed, evidently bespoke inattention and neglect. The hospital *de St. Jean*, which was under the care of the *religeuse* of the order of St. Augustine, was in a still more wretched condition; the wards being close, and, as the surgeon himself observed, "offensive beyond description."* At Alost the gaol, for a territory which included 137 villages, contained but seven prisoners; three of whom were confined in a dark room, one in another still more horrid, and the remaining three in a strong cage, notwithstanding the security of which, two of them were wantonly loaded with irons: they were never permitted to go out; though one of them said that he had been confined for four months, another for seven. The pale sickly countenances of the whole bespoke inhumanity and misery.† The male prisoners in the house of correction at Ghent were considerably increased in number since Mr. Howard's last visit, as they now amounted to 206, beside 106 petty offenders. The former were occupied

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 97—9. † Ib. p. 103.

in spinning, weaving, making nets, making, mending, or washing cloathes, or working in the bake-house and kitchen. They all appeared clean and healthy, the greatest pains being taken to keep them so. For this purpose the doors of the bed-rooms were left open while the prisoners were out of them, so that they were not in the least offensive. In another, and quite a separate quarter of the building, the petty offenders were employed in the same way as the criminals, except that some of them worked as carpenters, turners, and smiths, for the use of the prison. The bread, soup, and meat provided for the prisoners were good and sufficient, and every thing in the arrangement of the house bespoke the care and attention of its director. "If, however," says the minute inspector of this noble prison, "I venture to point out some defects in so good an institution, that others may avoid them, I hope to be excused. The rooms and corridors are too low—the infirmaries are not sufficiently detached—there are not proper work-rooms—the women have not separate dormitories—the sewers are improperly placed—the distribution of provisions, being but once a day, is not frequent enough—and the bowls, being of wood, cannot easily be kept clean."* In the rasp-house at Bruges, he found fifty-eight men, spinning and weaving, each of them having a separate dormitory over the work-rooms. A man had been confined in this prison thirty-four years, for an attempt to set fire to it; since which the ceilings had been arched with brick between the joists: it was now in the care of four friars and the same number of nuns; under whose management few of the prisoners earned more than two-pence a-day. The hospital of this city, a spacious and airy room, with a wainscot partition, dividing the men from the women, was attended by twenty nuns, who, rising every morning at four, were constantly employed about their numerous patients. The directress of the pharmacy had celebrated but the last year her jubilee, or fiftieth year of residence. These charitable sisters asked their visitor whether he was a

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 99, 100.

Catholic; to which, with his wonted liberality, he replied, "I love good people of all religions." "Then," said they, in the true spirit of those who think their faith *the right one,* "we hope you will die a Catholic."*

This appears to have been the last place whose prisons Mr. Howard visited during his present tour, in the course of which he had travelled 4,465 miles, and he most probably returned to England, by way of Ostend, about the middle of December, time enough to fetch his son home for the Christmas vacation, part of which was spent at Cardington, and part in London. During their short visit to the metropolis, he inspected the prisons erected in lieu of those destroyed by the populace in the alarming riots of 1780. The King's Bench was rebuilt on the plan of the former new buildings, but still without an infirmary. Many good regulations had been recently introduced for putting a stop, in a great measure, to gaming, and to the illicit practice of selling spiritous liquors and smuggled goods. The keeper of the Borough Compter, whose prison was destroyed in the general wreck, had hired an adjoining house, in which twenty-three prisoners were crammed into one lodging-room, but sixteen feet in length, and fourteen broad; the women sleeping in the common day-room, about the same size, with a stone floor, and none of the prisoners having any bedding.† The Fleet was also rebuilt, nearly upon its former plan, and with some of its former abuses, for the tapster still had the cellar floor. The billiard and Missisippi tables were now, however, put down, and the code of laws enacted by the master-side debtors was very properly abolished.‡

After continuing about a week in London, Mr. Howard returned to Cardington with his son, for whom he was anxious to mark out some plan for the completion of his education, which, whilst it should give him all the advantages he had such frequent occasion to wish that he had himself enjoyed, should

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 103, 4. † Ib. p. 177, 180. ‡ Ib. p. 170.

keep his morals uncontaminated by the admixture of the vicious with the virtuous, the idle with the industrious, which must inevitably take place in all seminaries of public education. It has been said, I know not on what authority, that it was Mr. Howard's intention to have brought this young man up for the ministry amongst the Protestant dissenters; but that this was not the case must, I should think, be pretty evident from his having determined to send him to Eton, and even proceeded so far in the execution of his purpose as to have arranged every thing for his comfortable residence there, when, on asking the master with whom those arrangements were made, what care was taken of the morals of his pupils, and of their religious improvement, and learning that there was none, or, at least, that in those respects their tutors could have no effectual control over them, the negociation was completely broken off. He then took a journey into the north of England, to advise with his friends on the course he should adopt, when, on the recommendation of a highly respectable dissenting minister at Liverpool, by whom I have been favored with the conversation which he then held with him upon the subject, he was induced to place him for a while under the care of the Rev. Mr. Walker, of Nottingham, "whose great abilities," says another gentleman whose opinion, I believe, was asked upon this occasion, "*were* only equalled by the amiableness of his manners."*

To this new seminary Mr. Howard himself conducted his son, and it was this circumstance which induced him to commence his third general inspection of its gaols in the north, rather than as he formerly had done, in the west of England, as he accordingly did at Nottingham, on the 21st of January, 1782. After spending a couple of days here with his son and his new tutor, he proceeded into Derbyshire, where, in the bridewell at Chesterfield, he saw one sickly object in the cellar in which the women were confined.† In the prison for debtors, at Sheffield, a cutler was at work, whose debt was only fifteen

* Dr. Aikin's Letter.—Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LX. Part I. p. 289.

† Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 213.

pence, though the charges of recovering it, for which he was imprisoned, were 17*s.* 6*d.* In the fortress at Hull he found the Dutch prisoners of war duly sensible of the kindness with which they were treated, as were seven others in Lincoln castle of the assistance they derived from a charitable collection made for them by the chancellor of the cathedral there, when they were taken ill upon their march from Hull to Shrewsbury, to which place a great number of their countrymen had lately been removed.* The court-yard of the bridewell for the county of Norfolk, at Swaffham, had been enlarged since Mr. Howard's last visit to it, and a work-room erected, yet had the prisoners no employment; and were still confined to their rooms. In the gaol at Ely the debtors and felons were together; one of the former, who had a wife and five children, being kept in prison for the costs of his debt, which amounted to 4*s.* 9*d.* and for 3*s.* 6*d.* more as the gaoler's fees. There can be no doubt but that he was soon set at liberty when his situation was thus made known to one who, in similar cases of distress, had so often proved himself the prisoner's friend.†

Finishing his northern journey on the 7th of February, on the 22d of the same month Mr. Howard set out upon a tour to the west of England, in which he was occupied until the 5th of March. At Winchester he found that many improvements had been made in the place in which prisoners of war were confined, since his last visit, the whole prison being also much cleaner than it then was; though on inquiring for the surgeon, with whose attention to his patients he had been so highly delighted, he was sorry to learn that he had died of the gaol fever, which had been fatal to many persons confined here. Very different was it, however, at Bristol, where the wards of the newly-erected prison were dirty; the bread of the prisoners was not good; and less attention was paid them than in the old one.‡ At Devizes, the bridewell for the county of Wilts at this time contained a weaver, who had five children, confined there for a debt of 10*s.* 2*d.* and the costs, amongst which was a charge of 10*s.* 6*d.* for bringing

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 251, 112. † Ib. p. 201, 199. ‡ Ib. p. 136, 7

him to prison, though from a distance of but seven miles. The same charge was made for bringing a woman hither, whose original debt was only 2*s.* 3*d.* In the other bridewell at Marlborough, on their visitor's asking the prisoners whether they should like to work, they readily answered that they should, one or two of them adding, that their wives had even brought them wool, but that the keeper would not permit them to spin it.*

Mr. Howard's third journey, in the course of this year, was into Scotland, on his way to which country he re-visited, on the 25th of March, the bridewell at Newcastle-upon-Tyne, where the prisoners were at work, as indeed he always found them, beating hemp and flax by a machine, the keeper having the profits of their labor, instead of any salary. The prisoners of war in the castle at Edinburgh were well treated, though some of them were rather too closely confined. This was not the case, however, with the *poor* criminals in the Tolbooth, who were crammed into a horrid cage, the condemned being chained to an iron bar. "I say *poor*," observes their compassionate visitor, "because such as have money have too much liberty. For in the same prison, I lately saw some, who were confined for a riot, drinking *whiskey* in the tap-room, in company with many profligate townsmen, who were readily admitted, as they promoted the sale of the gaoler's liquors." Their visitor, however, touches but lightly on these faults, because the late lord provost, Mr. Stuart, was using his best endeavours to get a new gaol built, in a more airy situation, and under better regulations. With the Royal Infirmary here he was much delighted, few hospitals in England exceeding it in airiness and cleanliness, whilst the greatest attention was paid to its numerous patients. He also noticed, with particular commendation, the Orphan-house, every part of which was clean, as were also the children, who looked cheerful and healthy. During his continuance in Edinburgh the freedom of the city was presented to him, a compliment which he duly acknowledges in his work. As he considered that it

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 236, 7.

would answer no end to describe all the prisons he saw in this country, Mr. Howard has only given us the particulars of those at Dumfries, Aberdeen, and Inverness, the two former of which, having been burnt down, the one wholly, the other in part, some few years since, by persons confined in them, had now their rooms very properly vaulted with brick. The Tolbooth at Aberdeen was a neat and clean prison, but that at Inverness was the dirtiest and most offensive in Scotland.*

Shortly after his return from this journey, early in the month of April, our Philanthropist proceeded to London, where he remained about ten days, in the course of which he re-inspected a few of its prisons, and amongst them that for the manor of Stepney and Hackney, which, in consequence of the act, in the preceding year, for diminishing its fees, and regulating the proceedings of the court which committed hither, was in a ruinous condition, and but rarely had a prisoner or two within its walls.† On the 24th of this month he set out upon a tour into the north-west and midland counties of England, commencing at Worcester; but affording nothing new or interesting until he arrived at Warwick, where the debtors' rooms, in the county gaol then erecting, opened into passages but three feet wide. From that part of it which was already executed it seemed, indeed, that the whole place was more adapted for show than for security, health, or convenience. He was also surprised to learn that to the prisoners still confined in the old gaol, divine service had not been performed for two years, except to the condemned, yet was there a regular chaplain appointed, and in the receipt of a salary of fifty pounds, the largest the county could by law be charged with. In the bridewell the prisoners were now all at work, beating hemp, spinning flax or jersey, or carding wool. In the city gaol at Coventry one of the felons had received his Majesty's *free* pardon, on condition of going to sea, but the clerk of assize wrote on the letter which inclosed that pardon, " the secretary of state's fee is

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 114; 151, 3, 4. † Ib. p. 174, 5.

£1 : 7 : 0 and my fee £1 : 1 : 0 which you'll take care to receive on the back of the pardon from the officer who receives him;" but as no officer would take him on condition of paying these and the gaoler's and under sheriff's fees of 19*s.* 4*d.* Mr. Howard found this poor wretch still languishing in prison on his pound of bread a-day, more than eight months after this *free* pardon had been received.* At Leicester, a suggestion in the first edition of his Appendix had been attended to, by building a wall to its county bridewell of brick, instead of clay, to prevent the necessity of a chain and a log to secure the prisoners while in the court-yard, which, as he there recommended, had been enlarged. The prison was kept remarkably clean, but a proper separation of the men and women was still wanting. At the back of the county gaol and bridewell at Huntingdon a hemp-dresser was provided with a small house, and allowed a salary of eleven pounds a-year, on condition that he found work for the bridewell prisoners in beating hemp at three pence a stone.† The prisoners in the bridewell for the county of Essex, at Newport, now had an allowance of two pounds of bread a-day each; whereas formerly they had none at all. On the 7th of May Mr. Howard finished this tour at St. Alban's, in whose borough gaol debtors from the court of requests were confined with felons, and though cleared in forty-two days, as the act does not specify the gaoler's fees, these unfortunate beings were kept in this loathsome prison until they had paid whatever he thought proper to exact.‡

After a respite of a fortnight, this indefatigable man resumed his laborious undertaking, by a journey to Ireland; and on his way thither, inspected the prisons at Chester, where, both in the castle and the city gaol, he found that there still was no proper separation of the sexes. The county gaol at Beaumaris had been much altered for the better, and had now a separate court-yard for debtors, but was still unprovided either with water or straw.§ On his arrival

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 208—210. † Ib. p. 198. ‡ Ib. p. 181.
§ Ib. p. 259, 260, 265.

in Dublin, the attention of the House of Commons was immediately directed to the object of his benevolent visit, and much to their honor, a bill was instantly brought in by the secretary of state, the Right Hon. John Hely Hutchinson, for discharging the prisoners then in custody for their fees, a committee having been previously appointed to inquire into the general state of the Irish gaols. To that committee, Mr. Howard reported the condition of several of the prisons in the metropolis which he had re-visited, especially the new Newgate, which he assured them that he had found in every respect the reverse of any idea he could form to himself of a well-regulated gaol; as he even saw two or three of its prisoners dying upon its stone floors, destitute of all assistance. It contained a chapel, it was true, but from the best information he could obtain, there had been no service in it for two years; no wonder, therefore, that the morals of the prisoners should be, as he considered they were, totally neglected. Such indeed was the licentiousness permitted here, that spirits were openly sold in the gaol, and he found fifteen or sixteen male felons mingled with the women on their side of the prison, and three women on that appropriated to the men. The day-room of the women was always locked up, and those sentenced to hard labor were confined in a room in which they could not work. The gaol was dirty beyond description, so that he was persuaded that should it be crowded with prisoners, confined in the under-ground cells as they now were, the gaol fever would break out here, and destroy many of its wretched inmates. On the 11th of June, two of the committee accompanied him to this scene of misery, and vice, when they were most fully convinced that his account of its wretchedness was not at all exaggerated; but though the prison was extremely dirty then, he assured them that it was much cleaner than it had been at his former visits. Several of the men they found living almost entirely among the women, having free access to their cells in the day-time; they were not, therefore, surprised to learn that many illegitimate children had been brought into the world in such a sink of iniquity.* The old Newgate here contained

* Journals of the Irish House of Commons, Vol. X. p. 369, 385; DXXXIII: Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 159, 160.

at this time thirty-two prisoners of war, in one large room, on an allowance of sixpence a-day each; but they were soon afterwards removed to Kilkenny, where the crews of several privateers were confined, and on Mr. Howard's visit to them they all looked healthy, and had no cause of complaint.* At Trim, the only building designed for a bath which he saw in the prisons of Ireland was turned into a stye for the gaoler's pigs. Whilst in this country, he directed his philanthropic labors into a new channel, by inspecting most of the Protestant charter-schools in the kingdom, in which he found the greatest abuses to prevail, though it was not until he had visited the whole, in 1787, that he laid before the public a minute account of them. Upon the present occasion, he took with him the sermon preached before the society incorporated for their management in 1781, to which was annexed an account of the several schools; and he was greatly surprised to find that this official statement gave a very false representation of their condition; as in the two schools near Dublin, he found the actual number of scholars was only 80, instead of 140, at which it was there stated; and there was a like deficiency in some others; but the committee of general management learning that these misrepresentations were detected, and would be exposed, discontinued the practice, and in their next annual account gave the true number, which was 700, or near a third less than that which they had formerly presented. The schoolmasters contracted for clothing and dieting the children, but at prices so low that the condition in which their visitor found most of them, sickly, naked, and half-starved, was so deplorable as, to use his own strong, but just expressions, "to disgrace Protestantism and encourage Popery in Ireland," rather than the contrary. Indeed so wretched and so disgraceful was that condition, that he expresses his decided conviction, that nothing but a thorough parliamentary inquiry could remedy an evil of such extent, and productive of consequences so injurious. And having suggested this measure, he quits the subject by offering some hints for the improvement of these institutions, characterised by his usual minute attention to the health, cleanliness, and

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 115, 160.

comfort of the objects of his benevolent regard, especially where the interests of the rising generation were concerned.* In a nation so grateful as are the Irish for any concern for the promotion of their real interests without attacking their national prejudices, we may be assured that the attention paid by our illustrious countryman to the reform of their gaols and their charter-schools could not fail to be highly acceptable; and as a proof that they were so, the university of Dublin conferred upon him the honorary degree of doctor of laws, a mark of respect on which he has publicly declared that he "*should* always reflect with pleasure." Never certainly had such a distinction been more richly merited, and never could it be more worthily bestowed.† On returning into England through North Wales, Mr. Howard inspected the new gaol at Ruthin; which contained separate courts for debtors and felons, each of them furnished with a pump of excellent water, and a bathing-room, with a copper, &c. made so convenient as to be in constant use. The gaol, however, was not yet white-washed, a fault too common in new prisons, nor was a proper separation made between the male and female prisoners.‡ In the county gaol at Shrewsbury, the men and women felons were together in one common day-room, and amongst the convicts was one not yet delivered in execution of the sentence of transportation passed upon him at the summer assizes of 1777, so that five years of imprisonment had thus been most unjustifiably added to his term. The bridewell here was the only one for the county of Salop, and the gaol adjoining to it being too small and confined, Mr. Howard suggested that if the whole were converted into a house of correction, where every convenience might be made for labor and solitary confinement, the county would have an opportunity of erecting a gaol which would do them credit, which the present one certainly did not.§ A large, elegant, and convenient building, erected here upon the banks of the Severn, in 1765, for the reception of children from the Foundling Hospital in London, contained at this time 338 Dutch prisoners of war, twenty-seven of whom

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 161, 3. † Ib. 157. ‡ Ib. p. 263, 4. § Ib. 227, 8.

were in a very roomy hospital, where they had the greatest attention paid them. Most of them were without shoes or stockings, having received no supply from the States, as the French and Spanish prisoners had from their courts. A subscription had, however, some time since been set on foot for the purpose of supplying them with necessary cloathing, but at the time of his visit there was great difficulty in applying its produce to the objects for which it had been raised. Yet that difficulty was surmounted by his perseverance; and as his conduct upon this occasion evidenced both the benevolence and the firmness of his character, I shall give the particulars of it as they are to be collected from a letter from the gentleman who had the management of the business, published some years since in the Monthly Magazine, and from Mr. Howard's own account of the transaction, as communicated to his friend Dr. Brown, and by him very obligingly transcribed, from a minute made at the time, for the use of this work. Learning from the surgeon who attended these prisoners, that such a subscription had been made for them, but that the commissary had forbidden the articles purchased for their use to be given them, in order to compel them to enter into our navy with an officer whom he had in readiness to receive them, Mr. Howard went to the prison, and ascertained that this statement was correct. He then called upon the gentleman who had the chief direction of the subscription, requesting that he might be allowed to deposit ten guineas in aid of this fund, and that if a second collection should be necessary, further application might be made to him: he learnt also from him that access to the prisoners could not be procured. He then desired that the shoes and stockings which had been purchased for them might be brought to the prison next morning, and the commissary not daring to resist him, in consequence of the orders which he bore from the Transport Board for free admission into every part of the prison, and also no doubt from the weight of his own character, he then had all the prisoners assembled together, and after distributing the different articles of cloathing amongst them, told them, that if any of them should so far forget their duty to their

country as to serve against her, though in the pay of *his*, he would take care that their names should be transmitted to Holland, where they might be assured that if ever they should be taken they would inevitably be hung. Charging some of the petty officers to take care that the cloathing now given to the men was properly applied, and, giving them each a small gratuity to quicken their diligence, he then dismissed the assembly which had been convoked by his sole authority.* But connected with this proof of the love of justice, and of the liberal spirit of a citizen of the world, which actuated this great man in all his public proceedings, is an anecdote of his private benevolence which cannot fail to be acceptable, even to such of my readers as may have met with it before. Amongst the unfortunate men whose distress he was thus the chief instrument of relieving was one, of a singular character for a common sailor. He was extremely attentive to those of his fellow-captives who were ill, in sitting up with them at night, administering their medicines, praying by them, and in discharging, in a very rational and consistent manner, the offices of a nurse, and of a spiritual physician. It cannot, therefore, be surprising that Mr. Howard should have been most forcibly struck with the conduct and conversation of such a kindred spirit, nor that he should feel a particular inclination to do every thing in his power to make his temporary confinement as comfortable as it could be. And the manner in which he did it furnished a striking instance of that minute and delicate attention to the feelings and the wishes of the objects of his bounty, in the mode of its bestowment, which always characterised his deeds of benevolence, and which, to the feeling mind, is often more valuable than the relief bestowed, In answer to his repeated inquiries of how he could serve him, this modest, but interesting prisoner told him, that when the necessities of his fellow-sufferers were provided for, he himself should feel no want, nor regret the deprivation of those little indulgences which he could not expect in his present situation. At length, however, he drew from him a confession, that when at home his greatest enjoyment was to partake of a

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 142. Dr. Brown's MS. Monthly Magazine, Vol. IV. p. 339.

comfortable dish of tea with his wife and family. About a week after this visit the gentleman upon whose authority this anecdote is related received a letter from Mr. Howard, informing him that he had consigned a parcel from London to his care, which he requested him to deliver to this Dutch sailor. That parcel contained a small sugar loaf, a pound of tea, and, that nothing might be wanting to enable the poor fellow to enjoy his favorite beverage, a tin tea-kettle with the other necessary apparatus.* From Shrewsbury this benevolent being proceeded to Birmingham, where he inspected the prison of the court for the recovery of small debts, whose prisoners were not permitted to work; the keeper informing him that he himself had been obliged to pay the debt and costs of a shoemaker committed to his custody for sixteen or seventeen shillings, for permitting him to finish a piece of work which he had begun before his confinement. Yet every prisoner was expected to pay eighteen pence a-week for his bed, though this absurd system of forcing the payment of a debt, by keeping the debtor in idleness, or of clearing him from it by a confinement of forty days, absolutely prohibited his using the means to procure it. Here was but one day-room for men and women; and only one very small court-yard.† In returning to London Mr. Howard stopped awhile at High Wycomb, to re-examine the county bridewell, which had been removed again to this place, though it still consisted but of two back rooms in its keeper's public-house.‡

After remaining in London somewhat more than a week, he proceeded into Norfolk, where he learnt with pleasure that, at the preceding Lent assizes at Thetford, Lord Loughborough had laid a fine of twenty pounds upon the gaoler for putting irons on a woman, a practice which he himself every where most strongly reprobates, and which seems to have been almost peculiar to England. In the city gaol at Norwich two ounces of bread had been added to the daily

* Mr. Wood's Letter to the Editor of the Monthly Magazine, Vol. IV. p. 339.

† Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 210, 211.

‡ Ibid. p. 195.

allowance of the prisoners, which even now was but fourteen; those in the city bridewell had, however, two pennyworth of bread a-day, and two hot dinners a-week. By a local act, debtors from the court of conscience of this city might be detained in the prison here until they obeyed the orders of the court, *i. e.* as long as that court should think proper to keep them there, though their debt might be only a few shillings. At Yarmouth, the prisoners of war looked healthy and well, but most of them had been brought in but a few days. Their provisions were good; but their rooms, court-yard, and infirmary, were too close.* From the ruinous bridewell belonging to the adjoining county of Suffolk, at Lavenham, two more prisoners had lately escaped; and the magistrates, instead of repairing the prison, had sent the gaoler some *thumb-screws*, to secure those which remained.† That this was not the conduct of a board of Spanish inquisitors, rather than a bench of English magistrates, it requires a character for veracity high and unimpeachable as that of Mr. Howard, to induce us to believe; yet, on his testimony, the fact, surprising as it is, cannot be doubted. At Halstead, the wretched bridewell for the county of Essex was destroyed by fire, in March, 1781, when four of its prisoners unhappily perished in the flames: a new one was now erecting. In returning home to Cardington, he re-inspected the county gaol at Bedford; where he learnt, with pleasure, that in winter the justices allowed firing both to felons and debtors, a practice which he strongly recommended to general adoption, not only as one which humanity demands in our climate, but as essential to the preservation of the health of prisoners, by promoting the circulation of air, and preventing those mortifications in the feet to which they are so liable. "I well know," he adds, "that the want of firing joined to scanty provision has been the cause of great mortality in our prisons during the winter.‡

Allowing himself but a week or ten days of tranquil enjoyment in his peaceful retreat, this unwearied Philanthropist re-commenced his tour of

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 200, 201; 143. † Ib. p. 207. ‡ Ib. p. 184, 196.

examination at Exeter, on the 27th of July. The sheriff's ward in that city contained a woman prisoner, who had been there for nearly two and forty years. In the offensive town gaol at Plymouth, two prisoners were confined in a little narrow room, with a window but eighteen inches by fourteen in size, and a wall two feet eight inches thick; one of whom assured his visitor, that he had been shut up there upwards of seven weeks, sometimes with four or five other prisoners, when they were almost suffocated. The new gaol for prisoners of war was now finished and occupied, the old one being disused. It stood on a hill; the wards were spacious, and it had a large area, circumstances which greatly contributed to the health of the prisoners, who had also the advantage of Dr. Farr's frequent visits.* With the new gaol and bridewell at Bodmin, the more closely he inspected it, the more was he delighted. Situated on a fine eminence, at a little distance from the town, where there was a constant supply of water; it contained separate rooms and courts for each sex, of debtors, of felons, and of bridewell prisoners; and each prisoner had a separate lodging-room, furnished with a bedstead, a straw bed, two blankets, and a coverlid. It had both a chapel and an infirmary, and two of the court-yards were furnished with baths. Male prisoners confined for petty offences were here employed in sawing and polishing stone, and as they received the county allowance, they had only a sixth of their earnings for themselves. "By a spirited exertion, the gentlemen of the county," says our Philanthropist, "have *here* erected a *monument* of their humanity, and attention to the health and morals of prisoners:"† but when we look at what was the condition of the wretched gaols whose place this noble building was to supply, when, in the course of his journeys of benevolence, a Howard's steps were first directed thither, and recollect too the condition in which, for at least three years after that visit, they were suffered to remain, we cannot fail to see to whom the cause of humanity was indebted, for calling those exertions forth. And had his labors been crowned with no other success, we

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 239, 240; 136. † Ib. p. 241, 2.

may be assured that he would have considered himself well repaid for all his fatigue, and trouble, and expence, in producing such a general reformation in the construction and management of prisons as, in a particular instance, he had here the pleasure to see accomplished. In Somersetshire, the justices seem, however, to have repented them of the liberality for which he formerly gave them so much praise, as they had reduced the salary of the chaplain to the county gaol from fifty to thirty, and to the bridewell at Taunton to twenty pounds; whilst that at Shepton Mallet was without any chaplain at all, the late one having been dismissed for neglect of duty, and no other appointed in his stead. The town gaol at the former place consisted of two insecure and offensive rooms, without court-yard, sewer, or water, in an old house, rented at ten pounds a-year by the keeper, who, being without a salary, was left to pay his rent, *per fas aut nefas*, out of his fees and emoluments.* At Dorchester was a town gaol, consisting of two small and offensive rooms, in one of which a debtor, the only prisoner in the gaol, had been confined for fourteen weeks; and though he had eight children, he had not earned a halfpenny during the whole of that time.†

For reasons which have before been assigned, it is most probable that Mr. Howard availed himself of the opportunity of being in the west of England, to spend, at Bristol Hot-wells, the greater part of the interval between his inspecting the gaols at Dorchester, on the 3d of August, and his setting off upon a second visit to Edinburgh, where we find him re-examining the state of the prisoners of war confined in the castle, on the 17th of the same month. He also re-visited the prisons of that capital, and of Glasgow, Perth, Stirling, Jedburgh, Haddington, Ayr, Kelso, Nairne, Bamff, &c. but without gaining any new information by the tour. At Inverness he saw a small vaulted room, in one of the piers of the bridge, intended for a prison, but it had not been opened for three years before he entered it. It had a small window, and two

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 245—7. † Ib. p. 237, 8.

apertures for dipping water from the river; the entrance being by a trap-door near the wall of the bridge, leading to an iron one, which opened on the stairs descending into this subterraneous dungeon.* Returning into England on the 1st of September, he found that the city gaol of Carlisle had lately been repaired; but the yard of the county prison was graced by the too common nuisance of a dunghill, which seemed to have been accumulating for a year or two. In the castle at Lancaster many alterations were still carrying on; and, from what he witnessed there, he was induced to express a wish, which has since been most amply realized, that much good would result from the exertions which were then making by the gentlemen of this large and public-spirited county for the improvement of their prisons. Their magistrates were amongst the first,—I believe, indeed, that they were the very first,—to adopt his prudent suggestions for the abolition of the baneful practice of suffering the keepers of gaols and houses of correction to sell beer and wine to their prisoners; so that, both at Preston and Manchester, he had now the satisfaction to learn that the salary of these officers was increased, in consequence of the adoption of so salutary a measure. In the bridewell at Liverpool he was also gratified to find that the improper use of the bath, which he noticed at his last visit, had ever since been discontinued, though the severe correction of the women prisoners was still persisted in. Here, as at every other place where he had visited prisoners of war, he found that the French government, very much to its credit, allowed its subjects, according to their rank, from a penny to three-pence a-day; besides supplying them with cloathes, linen, and shoes. He was afterwards informed that this practice was adopted by his own court towards English prisoners in France, so far as an allowance of money was concerned, which, to the common men, was even more liberal than that of the French government: it did not, however, provide them with cloathes.†

From this port he sailed for Dublin, to re-inspect the gaols of that city, the

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 144, 7; 154. † Ib. p. 255, 8; 141.

prison at Kilkenny, and many of the places of confinement, and schools, which he had before visited. He had also the pleasure to learn, that the two bills for the regulation of gaols, and the discharge of all their prisoners in confinement for their fees, in progress there in June, were, in the following month, duly passed into laws; and that the committee for the further improvement of gaols was still pursuing its inquiries, from which he hoped the perpetual abolition of fees would result. By one of these acts, 21 and 22 Geo. III. c. 42, the judges were required to give in charge to the grand juries at the assizes two former acts of the Irish legislature, for preventing the extortion of gaolers, and preserving the health of prisoners; and on their default in presenting any gaol which was out of repair, or wanted enlarging, were empowered to lay upon the county or city to which such gaol should belong, a fine not exceeding 500*l.* to be applied to that purpose.* Returning through North Wales, he saw, in the county gaol at Dolgelly, a man who had been sentenced to fourteen years' transportation six years before, but whose term was not yet begun. That for Radnorshire, at Presteign, had been greatly improved since he last saw it: amongst other enlargements, the keeper's garden having been taken into the prisoners' court-yard. From the day on which he inspected this gaol, the 27th of September, to the 18th of the following month, we lose sight of this benevolent traveller in the round of inspection in which he was engaged; and as it is still in Wales that we meet with him again, it is unreasonable to suppose that he went home in the interim: he must therefore either have been stopped in his progress by illness, or have availed himself of the salubrity of the air and the beauty of the scenery of South Wales, to have snatched a short repose from his labors, with which he was not often in the habit of indulging himself. It was at Brecon that those labors were resumed, under the gratifying circumstance of being called to the inspection of the new county gaol, which was now finished there, and was,

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 145, 157, 161. Journals of the Irish House of Commons, Vol. X. p. 285. Irish Statutes of 21 and 22 Geo. III. c. 41, 42.

upon the whole, a very convenient building; though, as he had predicted, its low situation had so exposed it to floods, that the water had been as high as three feet in its cells: precautions were, however, taken to prevent the recurrence of such a mischief. The gaol was not kept clean, but the new bridewell, which adjoined it, was perfectly so. This building was in every respect convenient, being furnished, as was also the gaol, with separate court-yards, and with work-rooms for men and women, with a pump and bath in each of them, an infirmary, and a chapel common to both prisons. The keeper was a weaver and dyer, and kept the prisoners at work at spinning-wheels, and cards for wool, found by the county, they receiving two-thirds of their earnings for themselves. In another new gaol for the county of Pembroke, at Haverford-west, the cells, though roomy, were four feet under ground, and damp; and there was no infirmary or bath. A third was erected at Pembroke for prisoners of war, but its rooms were dirty and offensive, though containing only six Frenchmen, who had been confined to their rooms, on short allowance, more than five weeks, for attempting to escape. They complained of being half-starved; their bread was very brown, and the weight of their daily allowance only sixteen ounces: their bedding was on the floor, and the straw in some of their mattresses had not been changed for eighteen weeks. A fourth new gaol at Cardiff was without water in the felons' court, or bath in any.* In his way home through the counties of Monmouth, Gloucester, and Oxford, the only alteration in the prisons which Mr. Howard visited worth noticing, is that in the bridewells at Witney two *new* cells had been built, with apertures in their doors of but nine inches square; whilst two small rooms were provided up-stairs for the sick, on whose feverish frames not a breath of heaven could blow, but what could find its way through a similar opening of fourteen inches by twelve.†

It was to the counties of Herts, Berks, Hants, Dorset, Sussex, and Surrey,

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 266—271; 140. † Ib. 223.

that, after remaining but three days at Cardington, our Philanthropist's footsteps were next directed. In the prison at Forton, for prisoners of war, he found the wards dirty; and on weighing the bread with a pair of steelyards, which he always carried with him for the purpose, all the loaves wanted some ounces in weight.* At Portsmouth he was informed, that the sick in one of the hospital-ships were grossly neglected by the surgeon, and though this was an abuse not exactly falling in with those whose correction had brought him there, he no sooner learnt that any of his fellow-countrymen were suffering from the inattention of those whose duty it was to attend to them, than he hastened to their relief, and going through the whole ship, and inquiring of every sick sailor what was the treatment he met with, he found that the report which had accidentally reached his ears was but too true. Having satisfied himself upon this point, he sent for the surgeon, and represented to him in the strongest terms the infamous dereliction of duty of which he had been guilty, when the man pleaded in excuse for his conduct the danger of going among so much contagion as was then raging in the ship to which he was appointed. "Then," said Mr. Howard, "you should not take government wages for doing that which you are afraid to do; and I assure you that when I get to London, I will represent your conduct to the admiralty, and have you dismissed from a station whose duties you do not choose to perform."† At Horsham he very carefully inspected the new gaol, with which he could not fail to be highly delighted, as, in its every particular, the gentlemen who had the superintendence of its erection, seem to have adopted the plan for a county gaol which he had himself recommended. The county of Sussex had set a noble example of abolishing all fees, and had also put down the privilege of the tap, in consequence of which its inspector found this new prison as quiet as a private house. But from this pleasing scene he passed to one of a very different description, and he himself tells us that he was most forcibly struck with the contrast which the wretched condition of

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 138. † Dr. Brown's MS.

the prisoners in the bridewell at Kingston exhibited, many of whom were lying sick upon the floors. One woman was in bed on the men's side, and two others in the room for faulty apprentices; a privilege for which they paid the keeper. There was a door from the men's court into the women's, the key of which was kept by one of the male prisoners, who could let himself, or any other person into the women's apartments.* With this ill-regulated prison Mr. Howard ended his tour, and proceeded on to London, to put in execution his threat against the Portsmouth surgeon, who was instantly dismissed the service.

Four days only could have been spent at Cardington after the completion of this tour, ere this extraordinary man set off upon another and a longer one, into Yorkshire, and some of the midland counties. The representation he had given of the horrid gaol at Knaresborough had not failed in producing its proper effect; for on visiting it now, he found the doorway altered, the floor paved with flag-stones, and the drain covered. Its town gaol was also enlarged, and made more convenient. In the gaol for debtors at Bradford, which now consisted of four rooms at the back of the keeper's public-house, a poor wretch was confined for a debt of 4 s. though he had never been in prison before, and had a wife and five children, to whom we may be assured he was soon restored, without completing the sixty days confinement which would clear him from his debt.† At Nantwich a *new* town gaol had been erected in the course of this very year, containing two dungeons, twelve steps under ground, with an aperture in each for air, only twelve inches by nine. The wretched bridewell at Wolverhampton had undergone no alteration, though fourteen or fifteen prisoners were sometimes confined there, and almost suffocated.‡

Returning home from this tour on the 27th or 28th of November, by way of Daventry, where his son was now placed, Mr. Howard entered upon his

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 188, 9; 192. † Ib. p. 251, 2. ‡ Ib. p. 262; 226.

Kentish and Sussex journey, upon the 1st of the following month; in which he found that the town gaol at East Grinstead, consisted of a single room only six feet eight inches square, and five feet eight inches in height; so that during the Lent assizes the prisoners were confined in the garret of an alehouse.* From this place he returned to London, where, from the 13th to the 20th of this month, he was busily occupied in re-inspecting its gaols, which presented nothing worthy of particular notice.

The last journey which Mr. Howard took in the course of this year was one, on the 23d of December, into Gloucestershire, to re-inspect the insignificant gaol of St. Briavel's, which had undergone no alteration since he last was there. In his way back he visited several bridewells and town gaols in Oxfordshire and Berkshire; and the day after his arrival in London went on board the hulks, which he found to be clean, and much better regulated even than when he last inspected them. He then closed his labors for the year by re-inspecting the Fleet prison on the 30th of December.†

In the course of that year he had travelled 8,165 miles in re-visiting the prisons of the British Isles; and when we add to this 4,465 miles of the European continent, which he traversed nearly from one extremity to the other, in the course of the preceding year, upon a similar errand of mercy, we must readily admit the justice, as well as the eloquence of the eulogium pronounced upon him, during that period, by the most powerful orator that ever graced the senate of his country, when in quoting his authority to justify himself from a charge made against him by his mercantile constituents, of having favored a bill for the relief of debtors, he made use of this energetic language: "I cannot name this gentleman without remarking, that his labours and writings have done much to open the eyes and hearts of mankind. He has visited all Europe,—not to survey the sumptuousness of palaces, or the stateliness

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 190. † Ib. p. 233; 164, 5; 171.

of temples; not to make accurate measurements of the remains of ancient grandeur, nor to form a scale of the curiosity of modern art; not to collect medals, or collate manuscripts:—but to dive into the depths of dungeons; to plunge into the infection of hospitals; to survey the mansions of sorrow and pain; to take the gauge and dimensions of misery, depression, and contempt; to remember the forgotten, to attend to the neglected, to visit the forsaken, and compare and collate the distresses of all men in all countries. His plan is original; and it is full of genius as it is of humanity. It was a voyage of discovery; a circumnavigation of charity. Already the benefit of his labour is felt more or less in every country: I hope he will anticipate his final reward, by seeing all its effects fully realised in his own. He will receive, not by retail but in gross, the reward of those who visit the prisoner; and he has so forestalled and monopolised this branch of charity, that there will be, I trust, little room to merit by such acts of benevolence hereafter."* This was a panegyric worthy the lips of a Burke to have pronounced; but who will say that it was not one which the extraordinary benevolence of a Howard as richly deserved to receive.

* Speech at the Guildhall, in Bristol, previous to the election in 1780.– Burke's Works, Vol. III. p. 380, 1.

CHAPTER X.

Mr. Howard's fifth journey upon the continent, for the purpose of inspecting the prisons and hospitals of Portugal, Spain, France, the Netherlands, and Holland;—his fifth journey to Ireland;—the completion of his fourth general inspection of English gaols; and the publication of the second edition of his Appendix to the State of Prisons, 1783, 1784.—*With the history of his private life to the close of the year* 1785.

"*Nil actum credens, dum quid superesset agendum,*" is a maxim which could never be more correctly applied than to the illustrious subject of these memoirs. He had visited every state in Europe whence he could hope to derive assistance for the completion of his great design, except the two southern kingdoms of Spain and Portugal, and towards them he now determined to direct his course. Accordingly, after he had spent nearly the whole of January, 1783, with his friends, and with his son at Cardington, he took his departure on the last day of that month, by way of Falmouth, for Lisbon, whither his steps were now allured by a sublimer object than that by which they had been attracted there seven and twenty years ago. His object then was to witness the grand, but melancholy, spectacle of a city smoking in its ruins, under a dreadful chastisement from heaven;—now it was to pierce into the depths of dungeons, in which man had unfeelingly immured his fellow man; to cheer with a ray of mercy their drear and solitary gloom; to unveil the secrets of the torture-chamber, shrouded in the sable robe of night, that they

might wither in the blaze of day; to lighten the load of human suffering; to wipe the tear from the prisoner's eye; and to set many a captive free.

In Portugal none but criminals were to be met with in the prisons, confinement for debt having been prohibited by an ordinance of 1774. Both in the gaols and infirmaries an entire separation was made between the sexes In the former no garnish was allowed, but the same bad custom prevailed here as in England of detaining prisoners for their fees, though those of Portugal had the advantage of being frequently released, by their payment by a charitable society, or order, of which many families of the first rank were members. They sent provisions twice a-week to several prisons, and, like the Brotherhood of Mercy at Rome, paid great attention to condemned criminals. It was no uncommon thing here to detain prisoners several years in custody before they were brought to trial, and even after condemnation they were sometimes left years longer in gaol before they were executed. Previous to the vigilant administration of the celebrated Marquis de Pombal gaolers were in the habit of letting even capital convicts out upon parole, and it is said that a person who had obtained this indulgence was actually ordered for execution seven years after sentence of death had been passed upon him. He was then at work in the country, but upon the gaoler's summons he immediately returned to prison to meet his doom, when, for his punctual regard to his promise, he obtained a pardon. Convicts were very frequently transported hence to the Brazils and the Indies: for those enrolled to serve as soldiers in the latter country a house was provided on the banks of the Tagus, where they were kept for some weeks to bathe, and be better clothed and fed, to prepare them for so long a voyage. The great prison at Lisbon, *Limoiero*, formerly a palace, was used for the reception of prisoners from the provinces as well as from the capital, the number at this time being no less than 774. None of them were in irons; the poorer were on the ground-floor, but in the rooms above were many who paid for better accommodations, and received no assistance from the *Miserecordia*. The prisoners slept

in the large hall, in which civil and criminal causes were tried, and used it also, when the courts were not sitting, as their day-room. The infirmaries were spacious, clean, and airy. In the prison at the castle, as well as the *Limoiero*, were several secret chambers, in which prisoners were closely confined; and neither of these gaols had any court-yard. At the former was a manufactory for the employment of vagrants and deserted children in carding, spinning, and weaving, making lace, embroidery, &c. at which about a thousand children were at work. The two latter employments Mr. Howard has significantly marked in italics, and, with his rooted aversion to all finery in dress, asks whether it would not be better if greater numbers were employed in the arts which are most useful and necessary? He forgets, however, that the object of such establishments is to enable the subjects of their discipline to get their living by their own industry; and that in Portugal that object may be more easily secured by making lace and embroidery than by spinning wool or weaving broad-cloth. The fault, if fault there be, in consuming so much time in the manufacture of mere ornaments, is not in those who make, but those who wear them. The ecclesiastical prison contained six priests and three women, a goodly company, committed hither, it is to be presumed, by the most holy church *pro salute animiarum*. This too was the object of the Inquisition, into the secrets of whose prison-house Mr. Howard was not allowed to penetrate. When it was re-built, after the earthquake of 1755 had buried it where it ought to be buried again, a person, who saw the rooms for the confinement of its hapless prisoners, told our traveller that they opened into a long passage like those of the prison near the rope walk, but they were smaller and under-ground. That prison, in which many noblemen and priests were confined during the administration of the Marquis de Pombal, contained nineteen vaulted rooms, separated by walls six feet two inches thick, with three doors at the entrance to each of them, the middle one being an iron grate. Over each of these doors was an aperture for the admission of light, except in two rooms called *secrete*, which were totally dark. In the arsenal were four large rooms

for slaves or convicts, most of them Moors. Some worked at the rope-walk; others carried water to the prisons and infirmaries, guarded by the military; a few were closely imprisoned, and three or four chained to one spot, one of whom had been so for eight years, and another for four. The rest were chained two and two, and those who went out had a running chain between them, which was taken off as soon as they returned into the arsenal. Their allowance was a pound of biscuit a-day, and some rice, with half a pound of meat three times a-week. The infirmary for their use, and that of the marines, consisted of two remarkably good rooms, lofty, clean, and quiet, even the slaves having each of them a bed, with sheets to it, and the greatest attention paid to them. In another prison at Bellem, about two miles from the city, criminals of a less atrocious description were confined, and subsisted on charitable donations. The hospitals of Lisbon were generally spacious, but some of their rooms were too close: that for English seamen in the merchants' service was particularly clean and well regulated, under the careful inspection of six visitors named by the consul. At Evora and Elvas, the prisoners subsisted entirely by charity, and, like several other prisons in Portugal, the gaols there had a passage to the street, and to the lodging-rooms secured by iron grates, at which most of the prisoners were begging.*

Mr. Howard entered Spain by Badajoz, on the 9th of March, and he found the country, which he now for the first time visited, abounding with charitable institutions, and having few or no beggars in it. Most of the prisons had courts for the men, with fountains, or running water in the centre, and corridors surrounding them for shade. The same separation of the sexes was here observed as in Portugal, and in another point the customs of the two countries in the regulation of their prisons were alike; for fees were demanded by the gaolers from discharged prisoners in both. But in the execution of justice upon the guilty, another and a more commendable course was adopted, as a

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 105—109.

condemned criminal was here seldom pardoned by the king, but being called into the chapel of the gaol, where his sentence was read to him, a friar attended to administer spiritual consolation, and never left him till he was executed, which was generally on the Monday after his sentence had been communicated to him on the preceding Saturday. When a confession was extorted from a criminal by torture, a practice which was only in use in some provinces, it was always read to him twenty-four hours afterwards, that he might either confess or retract it. At Badajoz, the prisoners in one of the prisons, consisting chiefly of deserters and smugglers, looked unhealthy. Those at the other were begging at the grates, as they subsisted partly by alms, and partly by selling purses and other articles which they made in prison.* The city of Toledo contained two prisons, in the larger of which were 220 prisoners, most of them lying under the corridors of a small court, all looking unhealthy, and many loaded with irons. In two sick-rooms on the first floor, several miserable objects were dying in their beds. On Mr. Howard's observing to the gaoler that his prison was crowded, he informed him that a fortnight before it had been more so, 100 having then been removed to the arsenal at Carthagena. The hospitals here were spacious, airy, and covenient.† Proceeding hence to the capital of the kingdom, he found in the principal prison several rooms with stone bedsteads, and iron hooks for chaining the prisoners to. Some of the men had irons on both legs, with a strong bolt between them. These lay on barracks in dungeons down twenty-two steps, in one of which the gaoler had beds, which he let at a real vellon and a half (3¾*d.*), a-night. The women, however, were in a large room, and none of them in irons. The gaoler had the privilege of taking such of the prisoners as chose to pay him twenty-five dollars for the term of their confinement, into his own house, and was also empowered to take off the irons of any who should pay him ten dollars. This gaol was clean, and the gaoler humane and attentive to his prisoners, who all looked healthy. Their provisions were

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 3d Edit. p. 110. † Ib. p. 111.

good, their bread fine, and the allowance of it exactly a pound a-day; the prison had also two courts to it with arcades. The city prison resembled in its construction the *Carcel de Corte* just described, except that it had only one court-yard. Its rooms and dungeons too were offensive, and very dirty, and the walls of one of its torture rooms were stained with blood. "I was sorry," says our Philanthropist, "to see such traces of this practice among a people, in other respects generous and humane." In the prison near the Prado, was one long room furnished with barrack bedsteads, and containing upwards of 100 prisoners, some of them chained to the floor, or to their bedsteads, whilst others worked on the roads, bridges, &c.; and some having been marines, were sent to the docks. These three classes had a daily allowance of different amount; and on asking some of them whether they preferred working or confinement, he was readily answered the former, though they added, that they were not forced to work hard. On one of his visits to this place, two of the privy council were there, as it was often their custom to go to the various prisons of the capital, to reverse or alter the sentences of the inferior judges; a power which, at this time, they carried so far as to change an imprisonment of eight years into one of four months, whilst in another case they exercised the prerogative of mercy with which they were invested, in behalf of a man who had been sentenced to confinement for six months, but who, on account of his having a large family, they now released. At *San Fernando*, about eight miles from this city, was a house of correction for petty offenders, vagrants, and beggars, some of whom were employed in carrying stones to a lime-kiln; others in spinning linen and worsted; and the women in making and washing the cloathes of the house. The apartments of the men were clean, but, as was generally the case in the Spanish prisons and hospitals, those of the women were much cleaner. Every prisoner had a bed, a mattress, and two coverlids. The women had a court as well as the men, and both were very properly commanded by the keeper's balcony. The provisions of this well-conducted house were good and sufficient; there was a shop attached to it for the sale of

wine of a fixed quality and price; but no spirituous liquors were permitted to be sold. The prison was regularly attended by a physician, a surgeon, and a chaplain, and had attached to it a guard of thirty horse and eight foot, changed every month. No fees were taken, either at the entrance, or on the discharge of a prisoner, and the keeper seemed humane and attentive. A very similar institution existed in Madrid itself, which served the double purpose of a prison, and a well-regulated manufactory for the idle and the destitute. A considerable number of men advanced in years were there employed in picking the wool, which in one room 150 boys were spinning into worsted; and in another sixty were engaged in carding; forty or fifty looms were also employed in weaving linen or wide cloth. In two rooms Mr. Howard observed stocking and waistcoat frames; in others some boys were engaged in carding and spinning hares' and rabbits' down for gloves, and in the different branches of a pin manufactory. A number of men were at work also as tailors and carpenters, whilst fifty of the boys, at least, were under instruction in the school, so that the lazy Spaniards, as we are apt, with our national surperciliousness, to call them, here set an example of training to habits of industry the idle and the dissolute, from which the notable English might learn a very useful lesson. The sexes were here entirely separated, and the provisions of the whole were good and sufficient. The hospitals of this capital were most of them upon a scale of splendid magnificence, the *Real* hospital-general being attended by one principal, and eighteen other physicians, six surgeons, with 200 assistants, and twenty-three priests, all of them lodged and boarded in the house, which contained somewhat less than 900 patients. This immense establishment, and the multitude of visitors admitted to its patients, rendered the wards dirty and noisy; whilst here, as in some institutions of a similar description in Portugal, convalescents were put into the closest and worst rooms. In this country, the old popish custom of fleeing for refuge from debt, and for a sanctuary from crime, to the porch of a church, still existed, though comparatively few of its sacred edifices were prostituted to such a purpose; the large city of Madrid

containing but two, one for men and another for women. The former sheltered five persons, one of whom had been there for two years: at the latter there was but one. In both cases, a pavement of about three feet wide was the verge of this dangerous privilege. In inspecting the public institutions of the Spanish capital, Mr. Howard was indebted for facility of access to their every part, and for the liberty of making the most minute inquiries into their regulations, to the introduction to Count Compomanes, with which he was kindly furnished by Count Fernan Nunez, the Spanish ambassador at Lisbon. By his orders, every prison was thrown open to his inspection, except one, to which the mandate of a secular minister could not reach,—that of the Inquisition. Yet even here the effort was made, and our fearless countryman was introduced to the grand inquisitor, who receiving him at prayers, at seven in the morning, conducted him to the tribunal of his dreadful court, which was hung with red, having over the inquisitor's seat a crucifix, and before it a table, with seats for the two secretaries, and a stool for the prisoner, on his examination before them. Beyond this room Mr. Howard could not prevail upon his guide to suffer him to go a single step, but he told him that he himself went round the prison once a month, attended by a secretary, and asked every individual prisoner whether he had any complaint to make.* At Valladolid he was, however, somewhat more fortunate in gratifying the curiosity he felt to penetrate into the secret chambers of that dreadful engine of ecclesiastical tyranny, whose object was to forge fetters for the mind, and to prohibit men from speaking, or even from thinking, but as a Pope should dictate, or an assemblage of priests, calling themselves the church, should think proper to approve. Yet even here his success fell far short of his wishes, though it went beyond his expectations. His admission to the prison of the Inquisition in this city was owing to letters with which he was furnished to every town in the provinces through which he purposed to pass, on whose receipt the gates of every other prison were flung wide open for his entrance; and even

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 111—117.

those of this *sanctum sanctorum* of the church turned further on their hinges than they ever had done before for the admission of a heretic, whom they were not to enclose for ever in the gloomy caverns to which they led, or open for him again but on his passage to a martyr's grave. He was received here by two of the inquisitors, their secretaries, and two magistrates, who conducted him into several rooms, one of which was graced by a fit ornament for such a place—a representation of an *Auto de Fé* in 1667, when ninety-seven persons were burnt in presence of the Spanish court, whose residence was then at Valladolid. This scene was well characterised by Pegna, himself an inquisitor of no small note, as *horrendum ac tremendum spectaculum;* yet was it here enshrined as a memorial of the church's power, and of the zeal with which this most holy court then earnestly contended for the faith. The tribunal-room resembled that of Madrid, except that it had an altar, and a door, with three locks, into the secretary's room, over which was inscribed the greater excommunication denounced against all strangers who should presume to enter there. In two other tribunal-rooms were the insignia of the holy office; whilst a large room near them contained many of the books, whose pages these saintly guardians of the public morals and of the public faith had, in the plenitude of their power, forbidden all who did not wish to feel its weight, to venture to peruse;—some because their tendency was vicious, but many more because it was what they thought proper to style heretical: many of the latter were English. Another was filled with crosses, beads, and small pictures, together with the painted cap and vestments of the unhappy victims of the tender mercies of the church. After much deliberation amongst his conductors, he was permitted to go up the private staircase by which prisoners were brought to their dread tribunal, and which led to a passage with several doors in it, which he was not allowed to enter. So ardent, however, was his desire to ascertain what was the cruelty and rigor of confinement practised here, that on one of the secretaries assuring him that none but prisoners ever passed their threshold, he courageously answered, that he would willingly be confined there a month to

gratify his curiosity; but being told that none ever came out under three years, he was compelled to rest satisfied with what he had seen. By walking in the court, and conversing with the inquisitors he learned, however, that the cells of this horrid prison had double doors, and were separated by two walls, to prevent prisoners communicating with each other; and that over those walls was a sort of funnel, inclosed at the top, but having perforations in the sides, through which some air, and a glimmering of light, might enter. They were double barred, and one of them served two cells; the passages having also small apertures for the admission of light. A gloomy area at the back of the prison contained but a great mastiff dog. From the sentence of the court to which these cells of hopeless misery belonged, no appeal could ever lay: the irrevocable certainty of its doom, the horrid severity, and the impenetrable secrecy of its proceedings, excited, therefore, such general alarm in those who, for aught they knew, might the next hour be its victims, that the very sight of the walls of this inquisitorial gaol struck terror into the common people as they passed; yet, by a monstrous perversion of language, the tribunal, whose house of incarceration, of torture, and of death it was, styled itself a holy and apostolic court! But in Valladolid the prison of the Inquisition was not the only place of torture, nor its familiars the sole ruthless janitors. In the city prison most of the prisoners were crowded into one long room: nor did it want for dungeons, as its benevolent visitant passed through two, into another dark, damp, and dismal one, in which he saw a poor creature lying on his back, chained to a great stone. Yet in such miserable places prisoners often were confined for a long time before they were brought to trial, and if then discharged, were compelled to pay their gaoler's fees. Not long before Mr. Howard visited this wretched gaol, a man had been put to the torture, on his denial of the crime he was charged with, in which he still persisted; but confessing that he had committed a murder, of which he never had been accused, he was executed for that.* At Burgos, the next place he visited,

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 117, 118.

such a mode of administering justice could not have been resorted to, as its prison, which was spacious and convenient, was without a torture-chamber. The women here, as in the other gaols in this country, were always locked up. In the *Hospicio,* which answered the double purpose of a house of correction and a hospital for foundlings, were some dark rooms, where the disorderly were confined. A woman was at this time undergoing such wholesome discipline, and having requested, with tears in her eyes, the interposition of her visitor in her behalf, he applied to the chaplain and superintendant of the house, who readily consented to her release. The hospital *del Rey* he characterises as a noble one, and the three others resembled it. The prison at Pamplona was an old building with three small courts, but provided with stocks and a dark vaulted room, for the punishment of offences committed there. The prisoners lay in boxes, without mattresses or bedding, their allowance being about two-pence a-day. Their rooms were dirty and offensive, and Mr. Howard learnt, that about eight years since, eighteen or twenty prisoners had died here in a short time. The upper floor of this prison was used as a house of correction for women, and in it twenty-eight were spinning. Their rooms were clean. Each prisoner had a bed to herself; the bread was good, and the allowance of it to each a pound and a half a day. The term of imprisonment was from four to eight years; but if any man should think proper to select one of these slight offenders for his wife, the magistrates were very ready to suffer him to redeem her at such a price. One of those magistrates told our philanthropic countryman that he regularly visited this prison every week to hear any complaints that might be made, but it appeared that he injudiciously took the gaoler round the prison with him. Neither in this city, nor in any part of the province of Navarre, was the torture used; but a very singular custom was established there for the viceroy, twice a-year, to release such of the prisoners as he thought fit. The day before Mr. Howard reached Pamplona he had there released thirteen; and but a few years before, to the great surprise of the magistrates, he took it into his head to set them all at liberty. Two out of the

four churches in this city were asylums for debtors and criminals, to one of which a felon had fled for sanctuary. The citadel contained 120 slaves, or convicts, crowded into five or six rooms. Those in the upper rooms had only a ring upon one leg, but on the lower floor, though sickly, they were chained together, two and two, some of them for very slight offences. Their daily allowance was a pound and a half of brown bread each, and about five farthings in money. Those who had only the ring on, found sureties for not escaping, and were sometimes employed in the houses in the citadel, and paid for their labor. If they did escape, their sureties were obliged to put on their ring and take their places until they were re-captured, when the term of their imprisonment was doubled. Those who had been guilty of the more atrocious crimes were sent, some of them to Carthagena, and others to the African settlements of the Spanish crown. This city contained also a large building, called the *Misere-cordia,* in which beggars, vagrants, and refractory children were confined, whilst workmen were here engaged, and apprentices taken, to assist in carrying on a manufactory of coarse cloth, established for their employment. Near to this institution was another hospital, for orphans and children of the poor, supported in part by the contributions of those who played at ball in a building erected by the city for that diversion; a similar appropriation prevailing at Madrid of a part of the money collected at the play-house and the bull-feasts. In the great hospital was a ward for sick prisoners, to whom as much attention was paid as to any other patients. Near the women's ward Mr. Howard saw nine or ten infants, bound hand and foot, in a smoky kitchen, their governess lodging the while in a spacious room close by. On his mentioning to the physician, in her presence, that the children should be in that room, she said it was too cold for them; but, with his usual bluntness when the cause of truth and humanity required him to speak plainly, he told her that the true meaning of her not wishing to have them there, was that she thought they would disturb her rest.* Pamplona was the last place whose prisons Mr. Howard visited

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 119—121.

in Spain; but whilst taking a day or two's rest there, before he crossed the Pyrennees, he addressed to his friend, the Rev. Mr. Smith, the following account of his journey, and plan of his future course:—

" Dear Sir " Pamplona April 17 1783

" I am still in Spain, the manner of traveling with mules is very slow, I was 14 days betwixt Lisbon and Madrid (400 Miles) You carry all y^r^ provisions; the luxury of milk with my Tea I very seldom could get, I one morn^g^ robbed a Kid of two Cups of its mothers milk:—but I bless God I am pure well calm spirits; the greatest kindness I rec^d^ from Count fernan nunez the Spanish Ambassador at Lisbon, thro' whose recommendat^n^ to Count Compomanes, every Prison has been flung open to me, I have a Letter to one of the Magestrates thro' every City that I pass; I have been here three days, but must stay a few days longer before I cross the Mountains. The Spaniards are very sober and very honest, and if he can live sparingly and lay on the floor, the traveller may pass tolerably well through their Country: I have come into many an Inn and paid only 5 pence for the Noise (as they term it) I made in the House; as no bread, eggs, milk, or wine do they sell. Peace has not been declared, many will hardly believe it; they talk of Gen^l^ Elliot with a spirit of Enthusiasm, never were two Nations so often at Warr and Individuals have such esteem and Complacency one towards another. I travelled sometime with an English Gentleman, but my stops for the Prisons &c not being convenient he went off with his Spanish servant—I go thro' Bayonne, stoping only one day, and pitch my tent at Bourdeaux where I have much business, some horrid dungeons &c. I am still in time for my Irish Journey in July and Aug^t^ as I promised the Provost, that Parliament meeting in October, I have very little more to do in England before I go into the press, after which I hope to be in comfort at my own fire-side Remember me to Mr. Barham, Gadsby, and our united friends. " With much esteem I remain

" Your friend and serv^t^

" John Howard."

" I hope you have fine weather, as I have every Shutter open till night, many Towns have not one pane of glass—Thermom^{r} 68° in the shade"

" The Rev^{d} M^{r} Smith at Bedford

" viâ London."

The anticipations he had formed of the wretched state of the prisons at Bordeaux were too fully realized; for reaching that city about ten days after this letter was written, he found in its town-house three rooms, or rather dungeons, twenty-seven steps under ground, in which were fifteen prisoners in irons, who never were permitted to go out of the holes in which they were confined, either by night or day. In two rooms, still four steps lower, he saw ten men, and in another, on the same level, a solitary woman, pent up in custody as close and as destructive of their health. The ground floor was appropriated to those confined for slight offences. In the *Palais*, the prison for the province, the men, however, were permitted the use of the court; and in the house of correction, which was in a convent, the rooms were both neat and clean: twenty-four women were here at work at their needle, but when Mr. Howard entered their hall they put on their veils.* Proceeding to the French capital he found two of the worst prisons there, the *Petit Châtelet* and *For-l'Evêque*, with their horrid dungeons, entirely abolished, debtors now being sent to a new prison called *L'Hotel de la Force*, and criminals to the *Conciergerie*, or the *Grand Châtelet*. The declaration issued by the king for this alteration, promulgated some of the most humane and enlightened sentiments on the conduct of prisons, amongst which was the construction of airy and spacious infirmaries, separate places of confinement, and court-yards for men and women, and for offenders of different classes, and the total abolition of under-ground dungeons for the confinement of prisoners who had not yet taken their trial. Pity but that the same humanity had gone a little further, and prohibited the use of such unwholesome places at all. But this was not the case, as the dungeons of the *Conciergerie* were dark and offensive, yet contained sixteen

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 131.

wretched inmates. To the honor, however, of the police of the metropolis, a tap-room, formerly much used, was now abolished, and a new infirmary had been added. At the *Grand Châtelet*, as at the prison just described, prisoners paid for their rooms according to their goodness, even those who lay upon straw being compelled to raise a sous a-night for this indulgence. There were eight dungeons here, opening into dark passages, and they now shut out from the breath of heaven sixteen prisoners, two of them in irons, but all lying upon straw. With his wonted attention to the comfort of the objects of his bounty, he always chose to visit prisoners who were thus immured, on meagre days, because their allowance then being only bread, the present of a little wine was the more acceptable. Of these wretched dungeons, the military prison of *L'Abbaye* had six very small ones, into which fifty prisoners were sometimes crammed. To such miserable places of confinement, the *Hotel de la Force* exhibited a striking and agreeable contrast, being an airy and spacious building, with several courts and areas for the separation of the men from the women, and of prisoners of different kinds, debtors, vagrants, deserters, and petty offenders, from each other. Those courts were all clean, and well supplied with water. For debtors, beds were provided at from five to thirty sous a-night, and rooms and beds of an inferior description were also furnished to those who could not pay; each of these being allowed a pound and a half of bread and a mess of soup every day. Here was a chapel and an airy infirmary for each sex, together with a well-furnished apothecary's shop, from which the other prisons were supplied with drugs. The *arrêt of parliament* for the regulation of this prison was ordered to be read in the chapel on the first Sunday in every month, and to be fixed up in several conspicuous parts of the building. Amongst other judicious rules, it contained one which prohibited the payment of fees. Taking advantage of a longer continuance in this city than at most of his former visits, Mr. Howard inspected several other prisons, either newly erected, or which he had overlooked. In that of *St. Martin*, where loose women were confined for a period seldom exceeding fourteen days, he found no less than

115 prisoners; so that its rooms, of which there were but ten, were very crowded. The refractory were punished by solitary confinement. Another prison for women, called *Saint Eloi,* contained thirty-eight prisoners, some of whom had been confined for three or four years. All of them were troubled with a cutaneous disorder, some to a very great degree. They had a pound and a half of bread a-day, and, from a charity, a mess of soup four days in the week. The water, which at the *Bicêtre* was formerly drawn up by horses, was now drawn up by seventy-two prisoners, each working five hours in the day, and earning for himself about eight sous. In consequence of their being thus employed, they were much healthier than at any of Mr. Howard's former visits. The great hospital, or *Salpêtriere,* near this city, for women and girls, amongst upwards of 5,000 poor, insane, and orphans, contained 820 juvenile delinquents of the female sex, most of them sent here by their relatives, and kept quite separate from the rest; generally unemployed, and seldom seen by strangers. The other girls were at work, chiefly on the finest embroidery, and owing to the very great attention of the religious sisterhood who resided in, and had the superintendence of the house, every part of it was kept clean and quiet. In the very minute inspection which he now bestowed upon the hospitals and other charitable institutions of this celebrated metropolis, our benevolent tourist was much gratified; as, upon the whole, he found them clean, airy, and well-regulated; so much so indeed, that to some of them he paid repeated visits, to gather that useful information which he thought his own country might derive from institutions which did so much honor to that in which they were found.* After passing about ten days in Paris, Mr. Howard proceeded to Lille, where, on the 24th and 26th of May, he visited the citadel, where the scurvy had already made great havoc among the prisoners; though 340 men, most of them deserters, were still left in confinement here. Eighty-six of these were in the sick-rooms, some of whom, though dying, were in irons. These rooms were very close and dirty, and the general

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 122—9.

state of the prison induced its visitor to make a remark which those whom it may concern, in England as well as France, will do well to observe, namely, that "particular attention should be paid to air and cleanliness, where prisoners have no employment: humanity to them, and also to their keepers and visitors, demands this." The general hospital, or work-house for the poor, and the infirmary of this city, were well regulated; upwards of 300 girls being employed in the former in making lace, for each piece of which they received a small gratuity. Many of the boys, though lodged and boarded here, learned trades in the city; and at twenty years of age both sexes were discharged from this useful institution, taught to get an honest livelihood. But very different was the condition of the *Tour de St. Pierre*, an old building, in which were three debtors, five smugglers, and five vagrants, a motley group, but none of them in the small and dark dungeons, fifteen steps under ground, which were now, as they always should have been, unoccupied. Four of them, however, were sick in a very offensive room, with only one bed in it; and in repeating his visit to them for the benevolent purpose of administering to their wants, this good Samaritan had nearly fallen himself a victim to the malignancy of their disorder. But he was mercifully preserved for some few added years of usefulness, and he has thus publicly recorded his acknowledgments for so gracious an interposition in his behalf: "I have abundant reason for thankfulness to Divine Providence, for recovering me from a fever which I caught of the sick, in this prison, at my last visit."* But his private expressions of gratitude are still more fervent; for in his diary he thus gives utterance to the feelings of his heart: "Record and remember the mercy and goodness of God, for many days I have been in pain and sorrow, the sentence of death was as it were upon me, but I cried unto the Lord and He delivered me, Blessed for ever blessed be the name of the Lord. Oh! God do my soul good by this affliction, make me more sensible of my entire dependence on Thee, more serious, more humble, more watchful, more abstracted from this world,

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 104, 5.

better prepared to leave it—live a Life of Faith in the great Redeemer, whom having not seen, yet I hope I love, and desire to serve to the end of my Life.—J. H."

Though his danger upon the present occasion seems to have been very great, his life was not long in jeopardy, nor his recovery tardy, as in about ten days he was able to go on to Amsterdam, where he continued for four or five days, re-inspecting, as his strength would let him, its prisons, but without gaining much additional information as to their economy. It is worthy of remark, however, because it shows us the firmness of his trust in Providence for that protection in the discharge of his duty of which he had just received so signal a proof, that though it was only on the 26th of May that he had caught this contagious fever at Lille, on the 6th of the next month he was to be found accompanying the physicians at Amsterdam in their rounds through a prison which had no infirmary, though at this time it fortunately contained but two patients, whose disorders were of a very slight description. In the orphan-house he found about 1,300 children of both sexes. The rooms for the directors, and the kitchen, were neat and clean, but the bed-rooms close and offensive, being crowded with beds, with three or four children in each of them. Even those in the infirmary had two or three in every one of them, and were inclosed in boxes in the wall. For want of air, the work-rooms, school-rooms, and refectories were so unhealthy, that the children here, as indeed in three other orphan-houses in this city, and in that at Rotterdam, were objects of great compassion; many of the servants of these houses being old and indolent, and suffering the children to be miserably nasty; in consequence of which most of them were troubled with cutaneous disorders to a very great degree. On pointing out this latter circumstance to the directors of this institution, our Philanthropist felt his pity and his indignation at once aroused, when they coolly replied: "It is the house disorder; all our children must have a seasoning." "Thus," he exclaims, "do the

physicians and governors excuse the abuse of their trust; the consequence must be, that few of the children reach manhood, and *that such as do,* are a feeble and sickly race."* After re-visiting Utrecht, the state of whose prisons require no particular notice, Mr. Howard, on the 15th of June, entered the Netherlands by the way of Antwerp.

Meeting with nothing remarkable in this city, except that it contained but one prisoner, he passed on to Brussels, where he re-inspected the prison in the *Porte de Halle,* and learnt that the torture was not abolished, as the gaoler told him that he had seen a man suffering on the torture-stool for forty-eight hours. Thence he proceeded to Ghent, where he found that the house of correction, which he had formerly so much admired, and held up as a pattern for imitation in his own country, had lately undergone a melancholy alteration. When he waited on the burgomaster for permission to inspect it, he was told that the emperor had issued an order prohibiting any person's entrance there. "But you Sir," said the worthy magistrate, "are an exception to all rules: you must not, however, impute to me the unhappy changes which you will observe in this prison." He was accordingly admitted, and was grieved to find that the encouragement of those habits of industry, which ought to be the leading object of all such houses, was now completely lost sight of here. Many had formerly ascribed the comfort and happiness of their future lives to the trades which they had learnt, and the attention paid to the correction of their evil habits in this prison; but now, alas! the useful manufactory, whose flourishing condition but a year and a half ago had afforded him so much satisfaction, was destroyed, and the looms sold; so that the 476 prisoners here did not earn, one with another, so much as seven-farthings a-day. With this reduction in their labor, a correspondent one had been made in the quantity and quality of their food. In consequence of this "vile policy," Mr. Howard found the aspect of the prisoners quite changed; and was not at all

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 11, 12, 15.

surprised to learn, that an entire quarter of this noble building was soon to be fitted up as an infirmary. This change was owing entirely to the too hasty attention which the Emperor Joseph had paid to a petition from a few interested persons, in consequence of which he had ordered the manufactory here to be discontinued, as injurious to the private manufacturers of his vast dominions. Besides the alteration in their diet, he also directed that less care should be taken to keep the rooms of the prisoners neat and clean, in the mistaken hope that their confinement would thus be rendered so disagreeable, that they would be more cautious how they rendered themselves obnoxious to it again. As some encouragement to good and orderly behaviour in this prison, its imperial visitor had, however, commanded, that a list of such of the subjects of its discipline,—if any thing worthy the name of discipline he can be said to have left,—should annually be sent to him; and, in the course of the year before, twelve had accordingly received a pardon. The prison *De Mamelocker*, near the town-hall, was also made very offensive, by sewers; and he learnt that the torture was not abolished there, as a man had lately sat for twenty-four hours upon the edged-stool.* Re-visiting the prisons of Alost on the 18th, and those of Ostend upon the 21st, of June, without gaining any information of interest, our traveller embarked at the latter place for England, and reached his home on the 24th or 25th of the same month, after having been absent nearly five months, in the course of which he had travelled 3,304 miles, a great part of them in a mode to which he was unaccustomed, and which all who have been compelled to use it represent as most irksome and wearying; and often too without being able to procure the little refreshment his abstemious habits required, to recruit his spirits, and re-invigorate his frame.

These things, however, moved not him; but after spending about a month in the circle of his friends and the company of his son, whose vacation commenced but on the day he embarked for England, he set out upon his tour to

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 99—101. Dr. Brown's MS.

Ireland, which he had promised to take, for the purpose of again going through some of the principal gaols before its parliament should re-assemble. In that tour he was accompanied by his son, now about eighteen years of age, and who had finally left the last academy in England at which he was placed. Arriving in Dublin the latter end of this month, he immediately set about the careful inspection of its various gaols, especially of the new Newgate, of whose defects he gives us a brief, but a most melancholy summary. It was not kept clean, and had no regular supply of water; the sexes were not properly separated; petty offenders were confined with the most abandoned criminals; numbers of acquitted felons were still in custody for their fees, whilst such as were committed to hard labor were confined in idleness. Spirituous liquors were openly sold in the prison; whiskey at so low a rate, that the prisoners would often intoxicate themselves almost to madness; whilst to procure it new comers were robbed, or stripped, and grossly abused for their garnish of 3*s.* 9½*d.* Those for whose use day-rooms were provided were, in some cases, never allowed to enter them; that on the women's side being always shut up, for the accommodation of two or three felons, who lodged in the deputy-keeper's house, to play there at tennis and other diversions; whilst in that for the men, the condemned criminals were locked up, prisoners who had not yet been tried being lodged the while in the dungeons under ground. The gaol contained no bath; and one of the two physicians who, since Mr. Howard's former visit, had been ordered to attend its sick, having fallen in the vigor of youth, and the dawn of splendid talents, a lamented victim to the contagion of a fever, which a gaol wretched and filthy as was this could not fail to breed,—the efforts of the survivor to stop the progress of such dreadful ravages were rendered abortive, by the disgraceful parsimony, or the gross neglect, which left the sick without bedding, change of diet, or nurses of any kind to administer to their wants. And if their temporal ills were thus unprovided for, their spiritual welfare and moral improvement was as shamefully overlooked, divine service never being performed within the walls of this wretched and most pro-

fligate place. Yet, with all these abuses to correct, the keeper did not reside in the prison; whilst the criminals themselves were its turnkeys, and a military guard its best security. Its floors were of stone, yet were they without bedding, or any thing for the prisoners to lie upon; and though their allowance was two-penny worth of bread each a-day, as it was delivered but twice a week, and not fixed by weight, this description of the miserable condition of these unfortunate beings closes by a statement, for which we may well be prepared, that some of them were almost starved. Yet this gaol had ample appointments, "but such appointments," its visitor very justly remarks, "can be of little consequence, while the sheriffs and magistrates neglect their duty, and seldom or never visit the goals or punish defaulters. Are not such magistrates," he pointedly asks, "inexcusably guilty? Should they not be considered as accessary to the crimes and abuses and miseries occasioned by their neglect?" Yet was this neglect a very prevailing one, as we are told that these remarks were applicable to many of the county gaols in Ireland, though he made,—as we may be assured he would make,—this observation on their defects, not with a wish to aggravate the inattention paid to these objects in that country, or to make a comparison between the management of their gaols and of those in England, which was still abundantly defective, but with a view of exciting the public-spirited members of the Irish legislature, whose attention was then occupied by the subject, to set an example of a thorough reform in prisons, which might be imitated in his own country. But whilst the defects in their management, which he pointed out for correction, were still suffered to exist, he was not backward in doing every thing in his power to mitigate them; and procuring from the keeper of the new prison at Dublin a list of sixteen prisoners detained in his custody for the payment of their fees, and finding fifteen others confined in the dungeons of the neighbouring gaol at Kilmainham upon the same account, he restored to their families such of these unhappy beings as seemed to be the most proper objects of compassion; some of them having children dying with the small-

pox, whilst others had hardly a rag to cover them: yet, strange to say, this distress had no more effect on the clerks of the crown, the sheriffs, and gaolers, than to engage them to take half their fees from the private purse of this benevolent Englishman, instead of continuing the confinement of their own unhappy countrymen until the whole was paid, a period which, from their poverty or death, never might arrive. In the midst of such a scene of inhumanity and distress, Dublin presented, however, one object capable of affording real gratification to its humane visitor, in the house of industry, whose progressive improvements he observed with pleasure. At his last visits the house, infirmary, and cells for lunatics were quite clean, and their numerous inhabitants quiet and orderly, circumstances which he chiefly attributes to the daily inspection of the governors in regular rotation. In the year ending March 25, 1782, 2,819 persons came voluntarily into the house, and 460 more by compulsion: the number of its inhabitants was at this time 1440.* He was pleased also to find that the new Lord Lieutenant, Earl Temple, had paid such attention to the reform of prisons, that soon after his arrival, in the autumn of 1782, he ordered the sheriffs to report to him the state of the county gaols, at the same time directing that the six acts relative to their regulation should be sent to them. On his return to England, about the middle of August, Mr. Howard and his son took their passage in one of the regular packets to Holyhead; and in the course of their short voyage two little incidents occurred, which have been rescued from oblivion by an anonymous correspondent of the Gentleman's Magazine, who happened to be their fellow-passenger; and as they are both strikingly illustrative of the benevolence of that great and good man's character, I transcribe them here in the words of their narrator:—"Whilst we were on the deck of the packet *young Howard* spoke with great roughness to a child that was playing with his coat, and drove it from him. This appearance of inhumanity his father instantly took notice of, and reprimanded him for not behaving with greater tenderness. But at

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 157—161.

night Mr. Howard had an opportunity of shewing his disposition more plainly. On coming to take possession of his birth, he found that a maid-servant belonging to some of the passengers was not provided with a bed, and immediately giving up to her his own, he spent the night upon the cabin floor, choosing rather to inconvenience himself than to disturb that son on whose account he is now calumniated. In these little incidents," continues my authority for relating them, " we see a man alive to every feeling of humanity; uneasy at a word spoken with harshness to a child; submitting to an inconvenience to relieve from a trifling distress a stranger whose rank gave no claim to attention; and leaving his son in possession of an accommodation which his own age rendered almost necessary. These were not the effects of a mind heated by enthusiasm, but the effusions of a truly benevolent heart, to which that noble sentiment, *humani nihil à me alienum puto,* might deservedly be applied. I knew not," he adds, " Mr. Howard's name during these transactions, and learned it only by accident a short time before we landed."* Such anecdotes require no comment; but they speak volumes in refutation of the absurd charges which have been preferred against the illustrious subject of them, of his having been deficient in parental affection, and in all the milder charities of private life.

On his arrival in England he immediately proceeded to its metropolis, where he was closely occupied for about ten days in another re-inspection of its gaols, his son accompanying him to town, as he now usually did in all his journeyings. No very material circumstance occurred, however, in these visits. About ten days afterwards he returned to London, where he spent another fortnight in arranging his papers for publication, a work in which he availed himself of the same friendly assistance as he had experienced on former occasions; after which he took a short tour to Worcester and Gloucester, in the latter of which cities he found a new gaol nearly finished; but it was built upon

* Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LX. Part II. p. 1090.

too small a scale; the walls and rooms were low, and no proper separation could be made either between male and female prisoners, or debtors and felons. He learnt also with great satisfaction that a new county gaol was intended to be built, and a reform effected in the bridewell, chiefly owing to the spirited exertions of Sir George Onesiphorus Paul, the foreman of the grand jury. In this very year several had died, in the old prison, of the small-pox and the gaol fever.* The former part of the month of October was spent either at Cardington or in London, in the further arrangement of his papers; the latter in visiting some of the prisons of the metropolis, and in re-inspecting the hulks, where he found the convicts on board the Justitia looking well, a circumstance which he attributed, in a great measure, to their being employed, and restrained from spirituous and other strong liquors. Of late but few of them had died, which "shews," says their inspector, "that their situation is better with respect to health, but the association of so many criminals is utterly destructive of morals." The Censor had on board 137 transports for our settlements, many of whom were such sickly objects, and so greatly in want of cloathes, that he was persuaded they would die on their passage; a thought which caused him to revert to the Portuguese method of treating their convicts, and to wish that ours was but as humane.† He afterwards took three short trips to Kingston, Hertford, and Chelmsford; in the county bridewell at the latter of which towns he found several sick and dirty objects upon the floor with little or no covering. This was the case also with the new gaol for the county of Surrey, at Horsemonger-lane, where one of the turnkeys had recently died of the fever; whilst of the fifty-five criminals which it contained twenty-five were convicts, left to languish in this sickly gaol, instead of being delivered, in execution of their sentence.‡

Having now completed his fourth general inspection of our English gaols, Mr. Howard, early in the month of November, set off for Warrington, to arrange with Dr. Aikin, and to superintend through the press a second edition

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 231—3. † Ib. p. 165. ‡ Ib. p. 183, 191.

of his Appendix to the State of Prisons, and a third edition of the whole work, in both of which the important information obtained during his lengthened journeys, both at home and abroad, in the years 1781, 2, 3, was carefully interwoven with the original text.

When those journeys were finished, he summed up, in one of the rough memorandum-books in which he inserted the particulars of his tours, the amount of the number of miles which, in less than ten years, he had travelled in his own country and abroad, on the reform of prisons, and found that they formed a total of 42,033. By the kindness of the relative, in whose possession the original remains, I am enabled to furnish my readers with a copy of this curious document which they will find inserted in the notes,* though I cannot refrain from transcribing here the ascription of all the praise and merit of these deeds of benevolence to the Almighty, with which this record of their extent is so characteristically closed:—"To God alone be all the Praise. I do not regret the loss of the many Conveniencies of Life but bless God who inclined my Mind to such a Scheme."

In the former of the publications, recording the results of labors thus appreciated by the benevolent being who undertook them, little or nothing of interest is contained which has not already been noticed in the regular detail of the progress of his inquiries. It may, however, be worthy of remark, that he there assigns as a principal reason for the cleanliness and order which he observed in the prisons and work-houses of Holland, the attention and humanity of the governesses, four of whom took the charge of inspection in each institution. From the observations which he made, both in this country and in Switzerland, he expresses himself also to be but the more confirmed in the opinion he had formerly advanced, that no mercenary views whatever should be held out to those who are charged with the inspection of such places, whose services there were gratuitous, but,

* Note I.

as they ought to be, particularly honorable. "Nor can I doubt," he adds, "that in our own country, as well as abroad, men might readily be found, who, merely from a sense of duty, and love to humanity and their country, would faithfully and diligently execute such an office, with no other reward than the approbation of their fellow-citizens, and of their own consciences." In closing his account of the plans of improvement of the latter republic he observes, with a more particular reference to the prisoners confined in their houses of correction, "No visitants are admitted on Sunday. Thus a principal object here is to make them *better men*. This, indeed, should always be the *leading view* in every house of correction; and the earnings of the prisoners should only be a *secondary* object. As *rational* and *immortal* beings, we owe this to them; nor can *any* criminality of theirs justify our neglect in this particular."* Such and so correct were his views of the purposes of punishment, and of our duties towards those who had merited its infliction by their departure from the paths of rectitude. In connection with the police regulations of his own country, he points out two customs in the metropolis which have since been discontinued. The one is a remnant of the ancient mode of torture observed at the Old Bailey, in the executioner slipping a whip-cord noose about the thumbs of convicts when asked what they had to say why judgment of death should not be pronounced upon them: a practice which he recommended to be abolished, as it accordingly has long since been. The other was the improper custom of parading criminals through the heart of the metropolis to the gallows at Tyburn, in consequence of which, as he very justly observes, "an execution-day *was* too much, with us, a day of riot and idleness, and it *was* found by experience that the minds of the populace *were* rather hardened by the spectacle than affected in any salutary manner." For remedying these evils, he suggests the propriety of making the report within a week after sentence, and ordering the execution soon after, either in the area before Newgate, or before the Sessions-house. The latter of these judicious hints has been acted upon; and it would be well, for the more efficient administration of justice, were the former also attended to, as the

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 7; 89.

crime and its punishment would not then be separated from each other at such a distance as they now frequently are. It would be of still more importance, however, to the general interests of humanity, and of a sound and liberal policy, would our legislators deign to listen to the voice of a man, from whose enlightened philanthropy they have already derived so many important lessons, and might, if they would, derive so many more, when on mentioning the tables published in 1772, by Sir Stephen Theodore Janssen, of the number of criminals executed in London in the twenty-three preceding years, he observes, "I am sorry to be reminded by these tables of a judicious remark of Mr. *Eden's Principles of Penal Laws, page* 306: 'the accumulation of sanguinary laws is the worst distemper of a state. Let it not be supposed the extirpation of mankind is the chief object of legislation,' I would wish," adds the benevolent being, whose chief object was their preservation and reformation, "that no persons might suffer capitally but for murder;—for setting houses on fire;—for house-breaking, attended with acts of cruelty. The highwayman;—the footpad;—the habitual thief, and people of this clan, should end their days in a penitentiary-house, rather than on a gallows." For the government of such houses, should their erection upon the enlarged and improved plan which he himself was selected to superintend ever be accomplished, he offers, at the close of his work, some general heads of regulation, to which those who may be called upon to legislate upon this important subject will do well to attend.*

By the addition of new matter, this reprint of his Appendix was swelled from 218 to 302 more closely-printed pages, whilst the number of plates was increased from eight to eighteen, some of them being very beautiful views, executed in a style of highly-finished engraving. The whole of these were of course added to the third edition of the entire work, which consisted of 516 pages of a very large and closely-printed quarto. When he had completed the task of superintending these two works through the press,—and he must at least have been engaged in it for three or four months,—he re-

* Appendix to State of Prisons, 2d Edit. p. 170, 272.

turned to London, and distributed copies of them with the same liberality as he had exercised upon former occasions. One of these he presented to his Royal Highness the Duke of York, then but Prince Bishop of Osnaburgh, to whom he had been introduced on his last visit to that place; when he embraced the opportunity of informing him of the existence in his principality of that excruciating system of torture, whose pre-eminence in barbarity has already been stated. The young Prince was very anxious to know in what its particular cruelty consisted, but Mr. Howard assured him that he would not shock his feelings by such a dreadful detail, but begged of him to give orders to his ministers to inquire into the circumstances of its infliction. The result of this interview was a promise for the abolition of the practice when the Prince came of age, and he now delicately reminded him of it, by fixing the ribband of an elegantly-bound copy of the work in which that practice is described, at the place where he expresses his conviction that it would not long be suffered to exist. "Mr. Howard," says the reverend gentleman, to whose urbanity I am indebted for this anecdote, "told me, that if he had chosen he might have filled a book with an infinite variety of tortures practised in Europe. But although the horrid narrative would have secured the rapid and extensive sale of the collection, he preferred to bury in silence such shocking scenes, for fear of instructing some in certain modes of tormenting with which they were unacquainted, and leading ferocious natures to introduce them where they were unknown—what a picture of human depravity!" * But what a picture, I would add, of human benevolence, when under the influence of a right spirit, does the conduct of the illustrious subject of these memoirs present to us, in the care he took to abstain from furnishing to that depravity fresh food for a cruelty to glut itself upon, from which we should have thought that the very devils themselves would have shrunk with horror!

There are no other circumstances of the journeys, of near 5,000 miles, performed in the course of the active year of his valuable exist-

* Dr. Brown's MS.

ence which this chapter of his memoirs embraces, upon record, but those which have already been related. The kindness of Dr. Brown has, however, put me in possession of an anecdote of the extraordinary influence which he had acquired over the unhappy objects of his solicitude, as exemplified at this period of his life; and as there can no longer be any reason for its suppression, I transcribe it from the memorandum made by him, soon after it had been communicated from Mr. Howard's own lips. "When Ryland, the celebrated engraver, was under sentence of death for forgery, a gentleman came one morning to Mr. Howard, during one of his temporary visits to London, and, begging pardon for his intrusion, informed him that some years ago a maid-servant in a house opposite to Ryland's had suddenly left her situation, and could not be heard of. In her room, however, some scraps of his writing were discovered, and application was immediately made to him to learn what had become of her. But the only answer he would give was, that she was provided for; and with this, during the days of his prosperity, her friends were obliged to be satisfied. When, however, his fortune was ruined by his condemnation, they desired to be more particularly informed of her condition, in order that they might take her home to prevent her coming upon the town. They accordingly applied to him in Newgate, but could get no specific answer to their inquiries; when hearing that Mr. Howard had great influence over persons in Mr. Ryland's situation, they had determined upon soliciting his assistance, which he was now come to ask, in the hope that he would be able to procure from the criminal the desired information. He promised that he would bring back an account of the unfortunate girl's situation in twenty-four hours; and he fulfilled his promise. She had been kept by Ryland, in a village at some distance from London, where she was found by her relations, and restored to their protection." From the same authentic source, I am also enabled to furnish my readers with a proof of the courage and presence of mind which this extraordinary man possessed, as exhibited during one of his visits to the metropolis, at this period of his life. "During an alarming riot at the Savoy," says Dr. Brown, "the prisoners had killed two

of their keepers, and no person dared to approach them, until the intrepid Howard insisted on entering their prison. In vain his friends, in vain the gaolers endeavoured to dissuade him: in he went among two hundred ruffians, when such was the effect of his mild and benign manner, that they soon listened to his remonstrances, represented their grievances, and at last allowed themselves to be quietly re-conducted to their cells."

Another circumstance is said to have occurred about the same time, which, though rather of a ludicrous description, and not resting on the very best authority, is neither improbable in itself, nor disbelieved by several of his surviving friends. A lady, whose admiration had been very powerfully attracted by the extraordinary benevolence of his character, feeling an eager curiosity to behold and converse with him, is represented to have called several times at his house before she had the good fortune to meet with him, and when she did gain admittance, her appearance was so little prepossessing, that the mind of Mr. Howard could not divest itself of a certain dread of assassination. Her amazing height, indeed her *tout ensemble*, was so extremely masculine, that the idea of a man disguised in woman's cloathes instantly occurred to his imagination, and he hastily rung his bell, and by a look gave his servant to understand that he wished him to wait in the room. His fears were, however, groundless, for the good woman, after having sufficiently wearied his patience with a bombastic display of the vast veneration in which she held his labors in the cause of humanity, very quietly took her leave—declaring that she could now die in peace.*

When, in the spring of 1784, Mr. Howard had laid before the public the result of his minute inspection of the prisons, and many of the hospitals of his own country, and of the principal states of Europe, during the greater part of the three preceding years, he retired to his estate at Cardington, in whose calm

* Life of John Howard, Esq. with a brief Review of his Travels, p. 48, 9.

seclusion he purposed to spend the remaining years of his existence. During his protracted absences from the society of the friends by whom he was surrounded there, he never was absent from their remembrance, as the few letters which he wrote during his tours abroad evince that they still lived in his: nor is it easy to describe the joy with which the friendly epistles that proved they did so were received, or the eagerness with which they were perused by the little band with whom his hours of social converse were generally spent at home. But in that band one individual held a most distinguished place, and, when his friend was in Bedfordshire, Mr. Smith gave up, for the enjoyment of his society, all other engagements but those which his pastoral duties called him to; whilst upon his part, Mr. Howard was equally delighted with the opportunity of such frequent communion with the companion of his most private thoughts. He would then often call upon his pastor to ride out with him on horseback, and there was nothing he more enjoyed than the engaging him in conversation so earnestly, as to keep him out an hour or two after his dinner-time, without his being aware how rapidly the time had passed; when he would smile and say, "I find, my friend, that you can fast as long as I can; but now you must go to Cardington and spend the day with me, as Mrs. Smith will have dined long before this time." "My father," says the lady to whom I am indebted for the principal circumstances of our Philanthropist's private history contained in this chapter of his memoirs, "has often said those were some of the most delightful hours of his life; for that Mr. Howard would then completely unbend himself, and give him the most entertaining accounts of his past travels; open to him all his future plans—all his trials and sorrows; in short, every feeling of his heart, in the most free and confidential manner." He often spent several days together with him in this delightful intercourse at Cardington, where, during its owner's absence, he and his family frequently took up their abode, as at such times he had a discretionary power over his household, and the general superintendence of his domestic affairs. To his other friends his behaviour was still marked by that kindness and readiness to

oblige which had always distinguished it; whilst with his neighbours he continued to live in the constant interchange of mutual good offices.

His house was at all times open to his friends, as it had been before those tours of philanthropy, which had taken him so much from it, had rendered him an object of general curiosity, and attracted thither many to whom the more private virtues of his heart either might not have been known, or, if they had been, would not have induced a wish for a more intimate acquaintance with their possessor. Upon the grounds attached to it, he had always bestowed the greatest pains to keep them in order when at home, and it was his strict charge to his gardener that they should not be neglected during his absence, as in fact they never were. The celebrity which their owner had attained, gave to both house and grounds a more general attraction than in themselves they had any claim to; and hence they were frequently visited by parties from the neighbourhood, and even from a distance, who were readily suffered to inspect them. Mr. Howard had a very great objection to the custom of giving vails to servants, and therefore issued strict orders to his own never to receive them; and such was their cheerful obedience to his commands, that they were never known to accept any present during his absence, though they might often have done it without fear of detection. They knew, however, that if their having done so should ever come to his knowledge, they should forfeit his favour, and be dismissed his service, than which nothing could have been a greater affliction to them. Having been long in that service, they were accustomed to all his ways, and had become as regular in their habits as he was in his. At this period of his life his attachment to a vegetable diet was so confirmed, that he never tasted any animal food, not so much as an oyster. Some have supposed, from the extraordinary benevolence of his character, that he did this upon principles of humanity, as not thinking it right that the life of any creature should needlessly be taken away to pamper his appetite: but though this consideration might have had some weight with him, it is certain, from the concurrent testi-

mony of many of his surviving friends, that his chief motive for this abstinence was an idea he had imbibed, that animal food had a decided tendency to irritate the system; whilst a vegetable diet contributed at once to keep the intellects clear, and the whole frame free from the effects of the irrascible passions. To his adherence to it, he in a great measure ascribed the unvarying calmness of his temper, and the presence of mind which he possessed upon all occasions; so that he was wont to say, if his house should fall under him, or any other sudden accident occur, he should not feel the slightest perturbation or discomposure. Yet, with this exception, he was careless what he ate, as he cheerfully partook of whatever vegetable diet was set before him, or could the most readily be procured, and would even dine very heartily upon a crust of bread and a glass of water: nor was he at all more particular as to the time at which he took his meals, though when at home he practised regularity in this, as well as in other respects, not merely for the sake of example, but from inclination. There his meals were always served up, whether he had company or was alone, in a style suited to his rank in life; and those who saw him the most frequently, and under circumstances of the least reserve, declare that they never were in a house whose domestic arrangements exhibited more regularity and real comfort than his, whether he was at home or abroad. In his mode of living, as in other respects, Mr. Smith, who of all others was the best qualified to speak correctly of them, often said, that the descriptions given to the public were rather caricatures, than faithful portraits. Had it not been for his public character, Mr. Howard would, indeed, have been known to his neighbourhood and the circle of his friends as a retired country gentleman of great benevolence and some few peculiarities, which would soon have been forgotten, while his kindness and his charity would long have been remembered with merited approbation. But the public display of those virtues, which would not less have adorned him in a private station, excited the curiosity, as well as the admiration of the world, and have been the means of his peculiarities becoming known and magnified; and as comparatively few persons were acquainted

with him in his private character, we cannot be surprised that an erroneous opinion should have been formed of his manners and habits in the retirement of his domestic circle. Thus, though his singular temperance has justly been ranked high in the scale of his extraordinary virtues, "the merit of it consisted," as the daughter of his most intimate friend very truly remarks, "in the command he had acquired over his inclinations, so as to enable him to forego every comfort in the prosecution of his extensive schemes of benevolence, at whose call he would cheerfully make the greatest sacrifices, rather than in any austerity which he practised at home." Besides his house at Cardington, he had now, since the death of his sister, another in Great Ormond-street, which he kept for his occasional residences in town; his table being supplied, when there, by vegetables, household bread, butter, and cheese, from his own farm. He frequently spent a few days or a week there, even during the short period that his gaol schemes, as he himself used to call them, were laid aside; sometimes travelling to and fro in his own chaise, or on horseback, at others going by the coach. It was upon one of these latter occasions that he exhibited an instance of the kindness of his disposition, and his habitual attention to the female sex in every rank of life, which the object of it, a respectable woman, who lived seven and twenty years in the families of the late Mrs. Belsham, and of the Reverend Mr. Smith, assured the daughter of the latter that she never should forget. Having met with some family misfortunes, this worthy woman was coming back from London, when Mr. Howard happened to be in the coach, and seeing, at the first inn they stopped at, that she was in trouble and unwell, he fetched her a glass of warm wine and water, speaking to her at the same time with so much kindness, that the impression it made upon her mind will never be effaced. But his attentions stopped not here; for as soon as there was room inside the coach, he desired that she might come in, and he would pay the additional fare; when he talked to her in so fatherly and affectionate a manner on her misfortunes, as greatly to calm her mind, and to enable her to support her trials with patience and

resignation. "I found," said she to Mrs. Greene, "more consolation from his conversation and kindness than I can possibly express." He left the coach at Cardington Cross, about three miles from Bedford, but he gave the coachman something to see his passenger safe home, and told him to take particular care of her and of her luggage; "for," said he, turning to the object of his kind solicitude, "you appear so ill and distressed as not to be able to take care of yourself." Well, then, may she say, as she does from her own experience, as well as from the opportunity which her long residence in his neighbourhood gave her of learning from others, that Mr. Howard was beloved by every body, so kind was he to them, especially to poor widows. Another such proof of the general benevolence of his conduct in private, as in public life has come to my knowledge through the same respectable channel, and with great pleasure I now communicate it to the public. A lady of Bedford, who knew Mr. Howard well for many years, and whose testimony in behalf of his kindness to his son has already been given in the earlier part of these memoirs, when about fifteen years of age, was attacked by a fever of so malignant a description, that many persons were fearful of coming into the house; but even when the disorder was at its height, Mr. Howard visited her every day: and so constant was his kindness and attention, that her mother ever spoke, as she herself still speaks of it, in terms of the warmest gratitude; adding, that if it had not been for his truly Christian advice, she must have sunk under the fatigue and anxiety she underwent, but she always felt fresh strength and support after his visits. He gave her many useful directions as to the proper management of the fever, and when her patient got better, brought her recipes for jellies and other strengthening things; and, when she was sufficiently recovered, very kindly asked her to go over to Cardington for a change of scene; adding, in a good-tempered manner, "the air will do you good, and young lasses need not scruple coming to see such old widowers as I am." That he had so long continued unmarried, after having enjoyed so much happiness in the marriage state, seems to have been owing to his never having met with a person of congenial

sentiments to his own, rather than to any disinclination which he felt again to taste in a mingled cup the joys and the anxieties of a wedded life. To female society he was very much attached, and nothing could delight him more, in his hours of relaxation, than the conversation of women of education and of cultivated manners. Of the respect due to the sex he had indeed a very high idea, and his behaviour to them was always singularly kind, polite, and respectful. But, without yielding to the most celebrated beau of Paris, in the observance of the golden rule of his *politesse—place aux dames*—there was something more manly, dignified, and flattering, in the attention which he paid them, than in the mere round of gallantry, compliments, and prettinesses, which forms the sum total of the politeness of modern fine gentlemen. He never returned from his foreign tours, and seldom indeed from any of his English ones into the manufacturing districts, without bringing some little elegant article or other, often of so delicate a fabric as to require not a little care and caution on the journey, as a present for some of his female friends, to whom, by every mark of attention in his power to pay, he endeavoured, and, not without success, to render himself agreeable. "In his judgment of female character, it was manifest," says Dr. Aikin,* "that the idea of his lost Harriet was the standard of excellence; and, if ever he had married again, a resemblance to her would have been the principal motive of his choice. I recollect to this purpose a singular anecdote, which he related to us on his return from one of his tours. In going from one town in Holland to another in the common passage-boat, he was placed near an elderly gentleman, who had in company a young lady of a most engaging manner and appearance, which very strongly reminded him of his Harriet. He was so much struck with her, that, on arriving at the place of destination, he caused his servant to follow them, and get intelligence who they were. It was not without some disappointment that he learned, that the old gentleman was an eminent merchant, and the young lady,—*his wife*." Nor was this the only adventure of the kind he met with, as I have been in-

* Aikin, p. 233, 4.

formed by a lady to whom he himself related the circumstance, that his first visit to a considerable town in the north of England, at a period of his life when he had not contemplated the extension of his tours of philanthropy beyond the limits of his native country, if indeed he had then entered upon them at all, was for the purpose of gaining an introduction to a lady who had already acquired a literary reputation by her maiden name, which has been very deservedly increased since she bore another, with a view, should he find the fascination of her manners, and the virtues of her heart equal to the brilliancy of her talents, to make her an offer of his hand. When he arrived at the inn, he fell in company with a gentleman of whom he made some inquiries respecting the lady and her family, when he had the mortification to learn that she was engaged to the person whom she soon afterwards married, though he was somewhat amused at finding, in the course of conversation, that his informant was as much disappointed at this circumstance as himself, having come to * * * * * * precisely on the same errand. He therefore returned home, and for the remainder of his days led there the life of a widower, his family concerns being under the superintendence of a housekeeper, who was faithful to the confidence he reposed in her.

To his tenants he was still a most indulgent landlord; to the poor ever the kindest benefactor. "It is impossible," says Dr. Aikin, with equal force and truth, that "any stronger proof can be given, that the habit of doing good was wrought into his very nature, than that, while his public actions placed him without a rival for deeds of philanthropy, he should be unable to satisfy his benevolent desires without his accustomed benefits to his neighbours and dependents."* On all his tours of benevolence he had them in his remembrance, sending from Sheffield, and the other manufacturing towns of his own country, presents to be distributed amongst them, and generally bringing home with him, for their use, some of the articles manufactured by the pri-

* Aikin, p. 37.

soners whom he visited both at home and abroad. Whilst absent on these journeys, he left Mr. Smith and John Prole to be his almoners in his private charities, desiring them, when they gave any thing in *his* name to put themselves in *his* place, and give what they thought became *his* circumstances. In the course of one of his later visits to the continent, he met with a cottage in Italy which particularly struck him from the attention paid by its builder to convenience and comfort. He therefore drew a rough plan of it, and took down its dimensions, and immediately after its return to Cardington, had one erected upon a similar plan, and would have had others built had he not been prevented by those objects of higher importance which soon re-engaged his attention.

In his Christian profession Mr. Howard was uniform and consistent. When at Cardington, he was regular in his attendance upon the ministry of his friend Mr. Smith, and when he came on foot to Bedford on the Sabbath morning, he invariably called at his pastor's house, which was just at the entrance to the town, in order to walk to meeting in the family party, of which, upon these occasions, he always desired to be one. "I well remember," says the lady, who in her childhood formed one of this happy group, "how anxiously we used to watch his knock, and how pleased we were to walk to meeting by his side." By the members, as by the minister of that church with which he thus regularly worshipped when at home, he was always esteemed one of its brightest ornaments; and even to the present hour, such of them as are still numbered with the church-militant on earth, speak of him in terms of attachment and of fond regret. During his occasional residences in London, he generally attended the ministry of Dr. Stennet, to the erection of whose meeting-house in Wild-street, he was a liberal contributor, accounting it, as he himself declared, an honor to join his name with the congregation which assembled there. Nor was he less generous in other instances, many a place of worship having been largely indebted for its building or repairs to the contributions of his Christian benevolence.* Yet with all this zeal for the truth, he was no bigot,

* Dr. Stennet's Funeral Sermon, p. 32.

but faithfully discharged all the offices of friendship, and mingled in all the intimacies and charities of social life, with many an one whose opinions upon some of the leading doctrines of the Christian faith were diametrically opposite to his own. Yet, instead of branding with the charge of the most damnable heresy, and loading with unavailing anathemas such men as Price, and Enfield, and Aikin, he extended to them,—not the right hand of Christian fellowship and communion, for that he could not do,—but that of cordial friendship and brotherly love, praying the while for their conversion from the error of their belief; as if their attachment to the faith they professed, was as sincere as we have every reason to believe it to have been, they were bound to pray incessantly for his. "He was less solicitous," says Dr. Aikin, "about modes and opinions, than the internal spirit of piety and devotion; and in his estimate of different religious societies, the circumstances to which he principally attended, were their zeal and sincerity.—His connexions were, I believe, less with that class called the Rational Dissenters; yet he probably had not a more intimate friend in the world than Dr. Price, who always ranked among them:—and though he was warmly attached to the interests of the party he espoused, yet he had that true spirit of catholicism, which led him to honor virtue and religion wherever he found them, and to regard the *means* only as they were subservient to the *end*."* But with many striking features of the character of this great man, correctly delineated in this description, candor requires this observation to be made, that however he might respect these rational dissenters (though why more so than others I know not), ready as he might be, and always was, to do justice to their talents, their virtues, and their motives, the ideas of vital Christianity which he had formed, and on which he acted, had something essential in them which it was and is the boast of theirs to want. It is not my business to sit in judgment upon their differences; but leaving to every one the same right of thinking for himself in matters between God and his conscience, which I claim in my own case, and referring the responsibility of his thinking erroneously to the decision of our common judge, my earnest desire is, that

* Aikin, p. 19, 20, 21.

through life I may be enabled to follow the example of the subject of my biography, at least in this point, to live in charity with all men. Mr. Howard was a dissenter from principle; but he was not of the number of those whose adherence to, or departure from, certain forms and ceremonies of religion was guided by no better rule than that of acting diametrically opposite to the established church. He did not sit, because her rubric directed the performance of particular acts of worship standing, or stand for no other reason than that her members knelt. An organ was not to him an abomination, nor a gown and cassock part of the raiments of the priests of Baal. This was not his spirit; nor would it surely have been the practice of his divine master, or of his disciples, had they dwelt upon earth in these latter days:—would, too, for the honor of their profession, it was not that of some of his people, who pride themselves on their non-conformity, rather than on their Christian liberality, and brand as trimmers and time-servers those whose consciences will not let them be churchmen, but whose Christianity forbids them to be bigots. "He did not object," says the Reverend Mr. Townsend, in a letter now lying before me, "to ministers reading their sermons, but thought the conclusion should be extemporaneous; his expression was, "he would not give a fig for a minister who could not shut his book when he came to the application." In conducting the worship of his family he used no set form of words; but when a minister was present, always requested him to engage in prayer, reading a portion of scripture himself, a practice which upon no occasion, either at home or abroad, was ever omitted.

Thus, eminently consistent, in every relation of life which he was called upon to sustain, our illustrious Philanthropist passed nearly two years in retirement, after the completion of his great design of visiting the principal places of confinement in every nation of Europe, with a view to the radical improvement of those of his own country. But it was not in his nature to be idle there; and, besides the occupation of a large portion of his time by works of private benevolence

in his village and its neighbourhood, he was much taken up in fixing on a plan for completing his son's education. That son had now arrived at an age when the mode of treatment which his father had adopted towards him might naturally be expected to have some effect upon his conduct and his character. What that method was, has already been too fully presented to the reader's notice in its principal outlines, and even in its earlier details, to need to be re-stated here. One great error in it—the enforcing obedience to his commands, reasonable and proper as they were, chiefly, if not entirely, on his parental authority, has been amply commented upon: but some of his friends thought that another was, his not having made himself sufficiently familiar with his son, as he was growing up to man's estate, which gave those who were so disposed an opportunity of prejudicing his mind against him. Their fear therefore was, lest the son, being a high-spirited young man, should, as he advanced in years, contract a prejudice against his father, and a contempt for his authority and advice. Of this defect he himself was afterwards sensible, and lamented that he had in some measure mistaken the mode of forming his character, though never charging upon himself any of those effects from his conduct towards him, which since his death have been, and even during the latter years of his life were, most illiberally imputed to it. In fact, he never was guilty of any neglect in taking the means which he thought to be the best adapted for securing his happiness; and however his friends might differ from him on the propriety of some parts of his mode of managing his child, they always respected his motives, and believed him to be actuated by a sincere and earnest desire to promote his welfare. The most intimate of those friends was, indeed, always of opinion, that the chief cause of his error was an over anxiety to discharge his duty, in correcting the temper of his child, which induced him often to deny himself the expression of the fondness he felt, lest he should be tempted to relax in the discipline necessary to the attainment of his purpose, the sense of duty having habitually become paramount with him to every other feeling or affection whatever. Another disadvantage under which he thought that

Mr. Howard labored, was the peculiarity of his general manners, and the unusual disparity of years between him and his son; so that his views and habits were too firmly rooted and confirmed to be materially altered, before he became a parent. Those manners were cheerful, but it was the calm, serene cheerfulness of a man past the meridian of life, and who lived under the constant impression of this state of existence being but a scene of preparation for another. There was nothing, indeed, of that liveliness of disposition and playfulness of manner about him, which is so well calculated to please a sprightly and high-spirited youth; who therefore, as his commands and directions were very methodical and minute, was likely to form the erroneous idea of his father being a very particular, precise, religious old gentleman, who would be a constant check upon his pleasures and amusements. With the same regard to his real happiness, the schools at which he was successively placed were chosen with much care, and after advising with friends in every way competent to assist him in making a proper selection; and though he was imperceptibly led on to the extension of his tours of benevolence, and consequently of the period of his being from home to a far greater length than he at first intended, he never left England without earnestly entreating his friends, especially his pastor, to supply the place of a father to his son during his absence. This request was, we may be assured, most cheerfully complied with, so that all Mr. Howard's friends took the most lively interest in the welfare of his son for his father's sake, Mr. Smith in particular considering him a charge over whom he was bound to watch with as unceasing a solicitude as he felt for his own children: he therefore, at his father's request, often wrote to him at school, giving him the same excellent advice as was contained in the very affectionate letters which that father himself frequently addressed to him, during the course of his various tours at home and abroad. He was then looking forward with a pleasing hope and expectation that his child, the only pledge of love his dear Henrietta left him, would become the support and comfort of his declining years; but, alas! how bitterly, and by what means these well-

founded expectations were levelled with the dust, it now becomes my painful duty to explain. A hint in the earlier part of these memoirs will, I doubt not, have excited in the mind of the reader a suspicion of the fidelity of Mr. Howard's favorite servant, which I am sorry now to confirm to an extent to which few, I am persuaded, will have gone in their anticipations. In fact he was a complete villain, utterly unworthy of the good opinion which, to the hour of his death, his generous master entertained of him, having taken advantage of the situation of trust in which he was placed about his person to inflict upon him the deadliest wound a parent's heart can feel. As he always accompanied him to London when his son was with him during his vacations, and, after he had left school, he embraced the opportunity of his absence from home in visiting the gaols of the metropolis, or of his close engagements there, to instil into the mind of his youthful charge every thing that was bad; and, ere he had completed his seventeenth year, after his father had retired to rest at his usual early hour, wearied with his labours of philanthropy during the day, he had the unparalleled baseness to take him out to places of the worst resort, particularly on the last time that they were all in London together, just before his master went abroad in 1785. It was not until after he had set off upon this journey, on which he travelled alone, and sent Thomasson to Cardington, that any of the servants there knew how grossly he had been deceived, by a man of whose fidelity they always entertained some considerable doubts, though he was so very specious in his conduct, and Mr. Howard so prejudiced in his favor, that he was little influenced by any thing which they might say against him. Without assigning any particular reasons for his doing so, the oldest and most faithful of his domestics, John Prole, nevertheless, endeavoured to persuade him to take his son with him upon this tour, a request to which he would not listen, because he considered the journey so very dangerous an one that he would not even suffer Thomasson to accompany him. Some time after he was gone, it was found, however, that there was but too much reason for this advice being given, and to regret that it was not taken, as this faithless attendant boasted to his fellow-servants of the tricks he and

his young master had often played to deceive Mr. Howard, before whose face he always pretended the greatest respect, and professed to be every thing that was good, whilst behind his back he early taught his son to laugh at his peculiarities, and to despise his authority. To the day of his death Prole therefore attributed, as he had such abundant reason to do, the ruin of young Howard to the scenes of depravity into which he was initiated by Thomasson. But from the contagious influence of his society he was removed for some time, soon after he had commenced the disgraceful work of corrupting him, by his entrance at the university of Edinburgh, whither his anxious parent accompanied him, when he was in about the eighteenth or nineteenth year of his age, and placed him under the immediate care of the venerable Dr. Blacklock, in whose house he resided. At this time he was a fine, tall, pleasing, and promising young man, several persons being still alive who remember him at Bedford, whither he regularly accompanied his father on a sabbath to the meeting-house, and was always to be seen in his pew there when at Cardington alone; nor did he at this period exhibit the slightest symptoms of that mental derangement with which he afterwards was so severely afflicted. Whilst at Edinburgh those symptoms, however, unfortunately made their appearance, for there the ground of them was entirely laid, though it was some years before they exhibited themselves so unequivocally as to attract particular attention. Having materially injured his health whilst in that city, by an indulgence in some excesses, in which he had been but too well schooled in London, he unhappily attempted to conceal a conduct, of which he was not too far gone in vice to be ashamed, by the administration of some very powerful medicines, whose eventual operation was the cause of that mental malady which at last cut him off in the meridian of his days. The first sign of this dreadful disease, which a very respectable physician who, whilst pursuing his medical studies at Edinburgh, lodged in the same house with him, observed, was a nervous and hypochondriacal temperament, and an occasional aberration of mind, which afterwards assumed the more formidable appearance of an unremit-

ting and incurable disease. These infirmities, which his own imprudence had rendered constitutional, probably operated in disposing him, though he often exhibited proofs of a naturally good disposition, to discover and play upon the follies and peculiarities of his fellow-students and others, to such a degree as to render his society generally unpleasant. "But, whatever was the prevailing disposition of the moment," says a friend of Mr. Howard, who, by Dr. Darwin's authority, and indeed at his express request, communicated these circumstances to the public, "if the name of his father was mentioned, he never failed to manifest the strongest degree of filial affection, and spoke of him with that exultation, which manifested the pride he took in his descent. Any encomium upon his father operated with much greater force upon his mind than any other subject whatever. And, on the other hand, when those whom he had provoked, wished to irritate him, they could not do it so effectually by any other means as by throwing out reflections on his father. To Dr. R. Darwin, in the moments of unreserved confidence, he always spoke with gratitude of his father's uniformly kind treatment of him; sometimes adding, by way of illustration, that though in many respects the disposition of the father and son were different, though he did not like to live in the same abstemious way which his father had accustomed himself to, and which, indeed, the young man's nervous habits of body must have rendered uncomfortable to him; yet his father always allowed him to live as he chose. This difference of disposition might, however, make it not so agreeable to a young gentleman of his age to reside much with his father (if the pursuits of the latter had rendered that practicable) without implying the least estrangement of affection: but the following circumstance is decisive of the point in question. At the time young Mr. Howard was nearly of age, he and Dr. R. Darwin, dined together with a lady who was a friend of the family. She lamented the expence of what she was pleased to call his father's extravagant, though amiable eccentricities: said, that charity began at home, and that his father's pursuits might ultimately ruin his family. She hoped, therefore,

that when he came of age, if any of the property was settled, he would not join to cut off the entail. The young gentleman, with great warmth and indignation, replied, that he would with delight cut off the last shilling; as the only credit he had in life was derived from his being the offspring of such a parent; adding, "what good can I do with money, which will bear any comparison with the good he has done?" After leaving the room, he observed, with great indignation, to his friend, who had been present at this conversation,—"See this ****** *** *****, who calls herself the friend of my father, wishes me to embarrass him!" and again repeated with great warmth, and a degree of enthusiasm,—"What good could I possibly do, compared with that which has been effected by my parent!" Such was the uniform tenor of Mr. John Howard's conduct and conversation respecting his father, during the whole time Dr. R. Darwin lived with him."* Nor is it at all difficult to prove, if any proof in addition to that already given can be required, that this affection was reciprocal, and that Mr. Howard always entertained for his son those sentiments of parental fondness, which we should expect him to cherish for the only remaining pledge of *her* connubial love, whose loss he never ceased to deplore, and the preservation of whose features in the countenance of her child served doubly to endear him to his heart. "He spoke of this son," says the gentleman upon whose authority the above anecdote is given, "with an ardour of parental affection, opposite in the extreme to that cold, unfeeling severity, of which he has been most falsely and most foully accused. It was in these moments of unreserved confidence, that the soul of Howard shone forth in all her native lustre. To have seen him at such a season, and to have heard him on such a subject, would have convinced the most incredulous that this calumny is the offspring of *the most* detestable malignity. And now," let us ask in the language of this writer, "whether it be possible to reconcile so much sensibility of temper, such an extraordinary degree of affection as was thus manifested for each other, both by father and son, and the voluntary confidential declaration of the latter to his bosom friends, that 'his father always suffered him to

* Mr. Wood's Letter, Monthly Magazine, Vol. IV. p. 340.

live as he chose;' with that accusation of morose, unrelenting severity, which, without *any proof* has been advanced against" this unrivalled Philanthropist?* Precisely to the same effect is the testimony of every one who had an opportunity of observing his behaviour to his son, whom he now thought it necessary to remove from Edinburgh, in order to break off the improper connections which he was daily forming there. For some time after his return he continued at Cardington, where, as he was now grown up to manhood, he kept a phaeton and horses, and lived in much greater stile than ever his father did, who yet never restrained him in any reasonable expence, knowing that in all probability he would inherit a much larger fortune than he himself possessed. But he had now unhappily contracted habits of dissipation and extravagance which were his own ruin, and well nigh broke his father's heart. Connected with these vicious propensities, it is not at all surprising that he should have imbibed a rooted contempt for the authority and admonitions of a parent, who was too good a man, and too affectionate a father, not to lament and to reprove him for his excesses, though the latter was done with that mildness of manner which ever accompanied his firmness to his purpose. In this contempt he was the more confirmed, from the knowledge he possessed of the independence of his prospects in life of his father's control; and was also, it is to be feared, but too much encouraged in it by some of his relations, now no more, whose views were so very different to those of Mr. Howard, that they were frequently at variance with him, and at no time disposed to put the most favorable construction upon the peculiarities of his character and conduct, or to teach his child to do so. That he felt this undutiful behaviour of his son, and felt it most keenly, we could not possibly doubt, were I not enabled to state that he did so, from the information of several of his surviving friends, to whom he complained very bitterly of it. But that the affection he bore him surmounted every temporary resentment which his behaviour might inspire, was most fully evinced by his accompanying him to Cambridge, to introduce him to his friends there, and to commend him to their kind attentions during his residence in the university,

* Mr. Wood's Letter, Monthly Magazine, Vol. IV. p. 339, 340.

where he was entered a fellow-commoner of St. John's college, in the summer of the year 1784. Amongst those friends was the late Reverend Robert Robinson, than whom few persons were better qualified to watch over the conduct of a young man, whose after-life was to reflect honor or disgrace on a name, which, through the matchless deeds of benevolence his father had achieved, now stood higher than it ever had done before in those lists of fame, where for ages and for centuries it had been conspicuously emblazoned.

CHAPTER XI.

Mr. Howard's sixth journey upon the continent, for the purpose of inspecting the prisons, hospitals, and lazarettos of Holland, France, Italy, Malla, Turkey, and Germany;—his fourth journey to Scotland;—his fifth and sixth to Ireland;—his fourth general inspection of English gaols;—the publication of his account of the principal lazarettos of Europe, 1785—9;—*with the history of his private life during that period.*

AFTER having devoted more than eleven years of his valuable existence to the reformation of the gaols, and the improvement of the hospitals of his own country, and, with a view to this sole object, having traversed as many thousand miles of foreign land, the illustrious subject of these memoirs determined once again to quit the peaceful quiet of his home, the bosom of his family, the circle of his friends, and the shores of his country, on a journey of benevolence, more important to the interests of the human race, though fraught with greater danger to himself, than any he had yet undertaken. His plan was, indeed, as has been correctly stated by one of his biographers, "the most humane and beneficent that ever entered into the mind of man;" for it was "to check the progress of devouring pestilence," that, unattended and alone,—for he would neither suffer son nor servant to share with him the dangers of his voyage,—he once again bade adieu for many months to England, and every thing dear to him that it contained. Conceiving that the

examination of the principal lazarettos in Europe might throw considerable light on that most dreadful of all the scourges of mankind, the plague, and afford many a useful hint for preventing the spread of its contagion, against which he had observed that too little precaution was taken in his native land, he had already, in the last edition of his work on Prisons, thrown out a hint to some future traveller to furnish plans of these useful buildings; but no attention having been paid to this suggestion, he determined to procure those plans himself, and the information necessary to render them useful to the purposes to which he wished them to be applied.* Towards the latter end of November, 1785, he accordingly set sail for Holland, having previously furnished himself with a set of queries, drawn up by his friends, Dr. Aikin and Dr. Jebb, with a view to ascertain, from the opinions of continental physicians, the nature, symptoms, and treatment of this infectious disorder.† The point at which he wished to commence his new investigations was Marseilles; but the extreme jealousy of the French government respecting their Levant trade had long kept the lazaretto of that port carefully concealed from the eye of every foreigner; but, as Mr. Howard's object was such as ought to have awakened neither political nor commercial jealousy in any one, Lord Caermarthen, then secretary of state for foreign affairs, undertook to make an application to the French minister, for permission for him to view this celebrated building.‡ After waiting some time at the Hague, in expectation of its arrival, he went to Utrecht to visit his friend, Dr. Brown, at whose house he received a letter from his lordship, informing him, not only that the request he had preferred had been peremptorily refused, but that he must not think of entering France at all; as, if he did, he would run a risk of being committed to the Bastille. When he shewed this unwelcome epistle to his friend, *he* kindly endeavoured to dissuade him from persisting in his project, but without effect; as he told him that the die was cast, and he was determined to run the hazard, in a full reliance on the protection of Providence, as he thought it

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 1. † Ib. p. 32. ‡ Universal Magazine, Vol. LXXXVI. p. 258.

essential to his plans that he should personally inspect the lazarettos of Marseilles and Toulon. He accordingly returned to the Hague, whence, by the way of Dort and Antwerp, he went to Brussels, and took his place in the diligence for Paris, which he reached in a couple of days. Immediately on his arrival, he took his ticket for a seat in the Lyons diligence; and, that he might incur less risk of discovery, lodged in an obscure inn, near the place whence that conveyance started. Having gone to bed, however, according to his usual custom, about ten o'clock at night, he was awoke between twelve and one in the morning by a tremendous knocking at his room door, which, sarting up in somewhat of an alarm, he immediately opened; and having returned instantly to bed, he saw the chambermaid enter with a candle in each hand, followed by a man in a black coat, with a sword by his side, and his hands enveloped in an enormous muff. This singular personage immediately asked him if his name was not *Howard.* Vexed at this interruption, he hastily answered, " Yes,—and what of that?" He was again asked if he had not come to Paris in the Brussels diligence, in company with a man in a black wig? To this question he returned some such peevish answer, as that he paid no attention to such trifles; and his visitor immediately withdrew in silence. Not a little alarmed at this strange adventure, though losing none of his self-possession, and being unable to re-compose himself to sleep, Mr. Howard got up, and having discharged his bill the night before, took his small trunk, and removing from this house, at the regular hour of starting took his seat in the diligence, and set off for Lyons. In this journey he met with agreeable company, and had the good fortune to conciliate their favour, by acting as physician to a lady of the party, who found herself indisposed, but to whom his prescriptions afforded immediate relief. At Lyons he kept himself as private as possible, visiting only two or three Protestant clergymen, the name of one of whom was Mons. Froissart.* Whatever might be the danger to which he exposed himself, he could not, however, refrain from visiting the prisons and

* Dr. Brown's and Mrs. Cole's MSS.

hospitals of this city. In the prison *de St. Joseph* he was gratified to perceive the effects of a more liberal spirit towards the prisoners than he had observed at his first visit, several of those confined in the dark under-ground dungeons at night, being permitted in the day-time to be in the court. A new prison was also erecting without dungeons at all, and with rooms for the separation of prisoners, less close and offensive;—a plan which he had also the satisfaction to learn was carrying into execution, even on a still more liberal principle, at Thoulouse. In the general hospital, a great number of poor foundlings and orphan children, clean and neatly cloathed, were employed in a large silk-manufactory, at which they were kept to work until they were twenty-five years of age, both that they might contribute somewhat to the expence of their education, and be better able to maintain themselves after their discharge. The principal hospital here was now in a very different situation to that in which he found it at his last visit, its rooms being nasty and offensive, and two patients frequently lying in one bed. In the prison at Avignon, which he visited in his way to Marseilles, on the 7th of January, 1786, none of the prisoners were in irons; the thickness of the walls, the proximity of the gaoler's apartments, and the fierceness of his dogs, rendering *this* cruelty unnecessary: but on his pointing out to him another, in the rings, pulleys, and other implements of torture, this man assured him that he had seen drops of blood mixed with the sweat of some who suffered it. The allowance here was a pound and a half of bread a-day; but as at Lyons, and in other parts of the south of France, on Sundays and Thursdays, the prisoners were supplied with a white loaf, broth, and wine, by a Brotherhood of Mercy, who attended the condemned, during the night preceding, and at their execution, as was the practice with this order in Italy.* On his arrival at Marseilles, our Philanthropist observed the same privacy as he had done at Lyons, visiting no one but a Protestant clergyman of the name of Durand; who, upon his entering his house, said, "Mr. Howard, I have always been happy to see you till now. Leave France as fast

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 52, 3.

as you can; I know they are searching for you in all directions." He learned here also, that the man in the black wig was a spy sent with him to Paris by the French ambassador at the Hague, and that he himself would have been arrested there, if Mons. Le Noir had not been at Versailles on the day of his arrival, and several persons having recently been arrested on very false or frivolous grounds, he had left orders for no arrests being made before his return, which was not until late in the evening of the next day, when he was pursued, but not overtaken. Yet, notwithstanding the conviction he now felt that his personal safety was in jeopardy, he persisted in attempting to execute the intention which had induced him to incur so much danger; and by the assistance of Mons. Durand, he eventually succeeded in gaining admission to the lazaretto of Marseilles, which he found to be spacious, commodious, and calculated to afford important information for the furtherance of the purposes of his voyage: he procured, therefore, a plan of it, of which he gave to the public the first engraving ever made, with an ample description attached. The prison here was small, and excessively crowded with prisoners, most of whom were extremely dirty; but the great hospital was a very convenient one.* Whilst in this city, he learned from good authority that a person was confined in the arsenal at Toulon, merely on account of his having professed the Protestant religion, and that he had been so at least for five and thirty years: with his wonted zeal for the discovery of truth, and abhorrence of all religious persecution, he determined therefore, at all events, to visit this alleged sufferer for conscience sake, and to ascertain what was the real cause of his confinement. He accordingly set off for Toulon, and dressing himself on his arrival in the height of the French fashion,—for Englishmen were strictly prohibited from viewing it at all,—he found means to gain admittance into the arsenal, probably with the less difficulty, as he always had much the air and appearance of a foreigner, and spoke the French language with fluency and correctness. Spending some hours here on two several days, he learnt that Protestants were not compelled

* Dr. Brown's and Mrs. Coles's MSS. Account of Lazarettos, p. 3—5; 54.

to attend at mass, and that the last person confined here expressly on account of his religion had been released eight years ago. But this intelligence did not deter him from asking for the slave, who was the particular object of his visit; on conversing with whom he learnt, that instead of thirty-five, he had been confined in the galleys, here and at Marseilles, for forty-two years, the original ground of his commitment having been a charge of taking part with some boys in a quarrel with a gentleman, who lost his gold-headed cane in a private house in Paris. He was then but fourteen years of age, and lame of one arm; yet for this offence was he condemned to the galleys for life. After having been there for four or five years, he procured a Bible, and having learnt himself to read, through close attention to the Scriptures he became convinced that the religion in which he had been educated was anti-Christian, and therefore publicly renounced it, and declared and defended his sentiments on all occasions. From that period this singularly interesting man had continued steady in his attachment to the Protestant faith, though humble and modest in his deportment, with a character irreproachable and exemplary, and much esteemed by his officers and fellow-prisoners. He was now past work, and was therefore confined in the galley appropriated to the infirm and aged, who, besides their due share of bread, had from the king a daily allowance of nine sous each. Struck with admiration at his character, his sympathizing visitor left him some substantial token of his commiseration and regard, besides bringing away with him, as a memorial of the mournful pleasure he had experienced in conversing with him, some musical pipes which he had turned and tuned, for the purpose of whiling away the hours of confinement, from which he could now expect to be released but by death. As he had been led to this part by so singular an object of curiosity and of pity, he embraced the opportunity of inspecting the galleys, which had been removed from Marseilles and moored off the arsenal here. They were five in number, and contained about 1,600 prisoners, who were kept clean and neatly clothed, and were allowed a pound and three quarters of good brown bread each, besides some

little allowance of money to them all; and to those who worked for government a further one of three sous each a-day for wine. These were employed in the arsenal, on the public works, being chained together the while two and two, though some who worked out of this building were loaded with still heavier irons. About two hundred were occupied on a cotton and thread manufactory, and lodged in an adjoining hall. These and some others in the arsenal had only a ring on one leg, which, together with a choice of irons, was a distinction money could easily purchase. Many of the slaves worked at their own trades of making shoes, baskets, &c. but none were allowed to keep shops, as had formerly been the case in some instances at Marseilles, nor had they the same conveniences for the sale of their work. Some of them had been confined here for forty, fifty, and even sixty, years; and, so heavily were they ironed, and so securely watched when working out of the arsenal, that few of them could escape. When they did, and were retaken, they were punished, some with heavier irons, others by a recommencement of the term of their confinement, or by whipping; whilst those condemned for life were invariably hung. Even some of the sick in the hospital were in irons, though in other respects they were humanely treated.* Having now procured all the information he wished, particularly concerning the Protestant slave, with whom he had more than one conversation, and whose prolonged confinement, considering the slightness of his offence, and the excellency of his character, he could not but attribute to the open profession which he had made of his faith, he was most anxious to get safely out of France, which his friend, M. Durand, apprehended to be impossible. By land he himself thought it too difficult to attempt; but, after staying four days at Toulon, by the offer of five *louis' d'or*, he succeeded in inducing the master of a vessel wind-bound there, to put to sea in spite of contrary winds, and convey him to Nice. Scarcely, however, had they got out of harbour when they were forced to put into the little island of Port Crosce, near its mouth, where he was obliged to pass a night or

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 51—6. Dr. Brown's MSS.

two in the old castle of Portman, in which he found an ancient prison, whose descent was, through a stone aperture of four feet in diameter, by a ladder which, when drawn up, left the dungeon below a secure, but dreadful place of confinement. As this prison was very similar in its construction to those of many other ancient baronial castles, its visitor thought a drawing of it would not be unacceptable to the readers of his work, which he has therefore illustrated with a plan of this circular dungeon, and a very beautiful view of the castle in which it is situated.

After tossing about for several days, our intrepid countryman got safe to Nice, and thus escaped the researches of the French government after him. I am aware that it has been publicly denied by an anonymous writer in a highly respectable periodical work,† that the danger to which he conceived himself exposed upon occasion of this visit to France was all imaginary, originating entirely in the idle talk of some officious people there, who were in the habit of telling a thousand other as ill-founded tales. But, though the author of this statement took the trouble of writing to Paris, and ascertaining from M. de Vergennes, the minister of police, that he had never heard of any complaint against Mr. Howard that could have induced the French government to wish to arrest him, and that, on searching the books of his office, no such complaint, without which orders never were given to arrest a stranger, could be found, it by no means follows that such a measure never was in contemplation, Mr. Howard's own account of the transaction being too minute and consistent to admit of such a conclusion. Nor will the positive manner in which, in some of his letters to his friends, he speaks of such a design having been entertained, diminish the difficulties of those who, in this instance, take upon themselves the vindication of a government who, upon one single ground of disobedience to its decrees, on a point of religious controversy, once issued no less than 52,000 *lettres de cachet* for the imprisonment, without trial, of its

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 56. Dr. Brown's MS. † Gent. Mag. Vol. LXI. Part II. p. 893.

own subjects, and who could not therefore be supposed to feel any extraordinary respect for the liberty of a foreigner. Nor are we left at all in the dark as to the grounds upon which this measure was resorted to, the principal of which were his conduct in dissuading the English prisoners of war at Dunkirk to yield to the enticements of the French officers to enter into their navy, even threatening them, if they did commit such an act of treason to their own country, that he would have their names reported, in order, that, if they ever should be captured, they might receive the punishment due to their treachery; and his having republished in French, as well as in English, the prohibited exposure of the economy of the Bastille.* Soon after his arrival at Nice he addressed to Mr. Smith the following account of his having got safely out of France, and of his future plans:—

"Sir, "Nice Jan^{y}. 30. 1786.

"I persuade myself that a line to acquaint you that I am safe and well out of France will give you pleasure. I had a nice part to act, I traveled as an English Doctor and perhaps among the number of Empirics I did as little mischief as most of them; I never dined or supped in publick, the secret was only trusted to the french Protestant Ministers; I was 5 days at Marseilles and 4 at Toulon, it was tho^{t} I could not get out of France by land so I forced out a Genoise ship and have been many days striving against Wind and tide, three days in an almost desolate Island, overgrown with Myrtle Rosemary and Tyme.

"Last Sunday fortnight at the Meeting at Toulon, tho' the door locked Curtains drawn, one coming late, put the Assembly in fear, even to enquiry before the door was opened. I was twice over the Arsinal, tho' a strickt prohibit^{n} to our Countrymen, there is a singular slave, who has publickly professed himself a Protestant these 36 years, a sensible good Man, with an unexceptionable and even amiable Character. The last person who was con-

* Dr. Brown's MS.

fined merely for his religion was released ab^{t} 8 years ago. My friend may think I have taken a final leave of a perfidious jealous and ungenerous Nation

" I am bound this week for Genoa and then to Leghorn where a Lazarett has been built within these few years. I know Sir, you will not treat any new attempt as wild and chimerical, yet I must say it requires a steadiness of resolution not to be shaken, to pursue it—

" My best Comp^{s} to Mrs. Smith and our Bedford friends and please to inform J^{no} Prole that I am well.

" I write this with my windows open in full view of an Orange Grove, tho' the Mountains at a great distance I see covered with Snow.

" With my best Wishes I remain

" Y^{r} affectionate friend

" John Howard."

" The Rev^{d}. Mr. Smith Potter Street,
Bedford, Angleterre."

It was most probably too at this place that he recorded the following summary of his opinion of a people, on the shores of whose country he seems to have determined never again to set his foot:—" However I may esteem some few of the *French*, yet their Government I dislike—their National Character I detest." Nearly about the same time he also entered in his diary two or three thoughts as they occurred to his mind, strikingly illustrative of the correctness of his views on the important subject of a correctional police; the general benevolence of his character; and the firmness of his trust in Providence under all its dispensations, dark and mysterious as they might appear to be; I therefore insert them here, as they were transcribed for me by the gentleman in whose possession the valuable originals remain:

" Very important is a well-regulated Police, does not the certainty of Punishment keep the Foot Guards who are very profligate from the commis-

sion of Crimes? so that we seldom hear of Robberies by them. Why may not the same strickt Police be kept towards other Offenders? Is it not injustice to Individuals and cruelty to the Public *frequently* to pardon notorious Offenders?"

"Let this Maxim be a leading Feature in my Life, Constantly to favour and relieve those that are lowest."

"The ways of God are a uniform scheme of Providence—What God does now We shall know hereafter."

During the short stay which he made in Nice, Mr. Howard inspected the prison there, which consisted of three stories, with four or five good rooms on each, opening into an airy gallery eight feet wide. Irons were never used here but when the prisoners were riotous, and then they were chained to the wall. Their beds were supplied with mattresses and blankets, and they had a daily allowance of two pounds of bread, besides charitable contributions. About 250 galley-slaves were lodged here in dirty rooms, near the water, and employed in clearing the harbour; their provisions, upon the whole, being good and sufficient. As the term of their confinement drew nearer to its close, its severity was relaxed, and they had some indulgences.* Visiting the well-regulated hospital of Savona in his way, our traveller proceeded to Genoa, where he found the great hospital adorned with the statues of its benefactors, the amount of their donations being so precisely marked by the position in which they were placed, that a person who had given 90,000 crowns had one of his legs under the chair, in which a bequest of 100,000 would have fairly seated him: the ambition of such a seat had however seriously hurt many families. The occupation of a very large portion of this hospital by a convent of but ten lazy friars, occasioned, as he apprehended, the death of twice as many patients every year. The lazaretto here was spacious and convenient, being

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 56.

plentifully supplied with a stream of water descending from the mountains into its area, but its windows were too small. He visited another, but a smaller lazaretto of the Genoese at Varignano, in the gulf of Spezia, of which, as of that at Genoa, he has given in his work a very beautiful view; the magistrates of this republic having not only granted him permission freely to inspect those buildings, but to copy the plan on which they were erected, besides furnishing him themselves with their regulations.* At Leghorn, whither he next proceeded by sea, the lazaretto of *San Leopoldo,* upon whose erection he saw, in 1778, forty-seven slaves employed, was now finished; and ships with the plague on board were received there, instead of being chased away or burnt, as was the practice but at too many places. The greatest attention was here paid to the health of the passengers, and to the preservation of goods. Mr. Howard was accompanied in his visit to this place, and to the lazaretto of *San Roco,* by the governor of the city, Frederigo Barbolani, who presented him with plans of the three lazarettos of this extensive port, and with the rules for their regulation, which he himself had just published, in a quarto volume, after a person sent by the grand duke to the Levant on purpose to gain information on the subject, by returning thence, and performing quarantine at Marseilles, had furnished him with the observations he had made in the course of his voyage. In consequence of the great pains which had been taken to render them so, these lazarettos were now admitted to be the best in Europe. At the time he visited them, the grand duke, to whose liberal and enlightened policy they were chiefly indebted for this honorable distinction, happened to be at Leghorn; and hearing that Mr. Howard was there, sent him an invitation to dinner, which he very politely declined; because, without advancing the grand objects of his journey, it would occasion him the loss of three hours, which were then of more than usual importance, as he was anxious to get to the place of his destination as soon as he possibly could, and the opportunities of conveyance thither were neither very frequent, nor very certain. He was

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 5—7; 56, 7.

not, however, by any means backward in doing justice to the virtues of this excellent prince, whose character and pursuits, in some respects, bore a striking resemblance to his own. "The repeated visits," he observes, "which I have paid to his prisons, hospitals, &c. have given me the fullest conviction that he is the true father and friend of his country."* From Leghorn he proceeded to Pisa, with whose hospital he was highly delighted, especially with the clean and elegant ward for the women, which was furnished with iron-grated doors, for the free admission of light and air, through which the patients had a very pleasant view of the botanic garden. At Florence, in the prisons and hospitals which he had visited seven years before, he found that the most pleasing alterations had been made, in consequence of the great attention paid by the grand duke to their improvement. A well-regulated house of correction had lately been built in this capital, and its admirable rules were now copied for its visitor, by the express order of the sovereign, whose "excellent new code of criminal laws," says Mr. Howard, to whom a copy of them were sent by his royal highness's command, "evinces his *great* attention to the happiness of his people." The wards of the hospital of *San Maria Nova*, in this city, being very properly placed round a spacious garden, so as to promote the health and spirits of the patients, especially of convalescents, he has given a very elegant plan of it in his work. At Rome, he passed two mornings in the noble hospital of *San Michaele*, but was grieved to find it sadly neglected by the cardinal and other inspectors, under whose superintendence it was placed, but who never visited it. The favorite institution of the reigning pontiff was a seminary for young women, "whose neatness, economy and industry," says its delighted inspector, "must give pleasure to every visitant." To its venerable patron, the dignified but unfortunate Pius VI., Mr. Howard was privately introduced; and upon this occasion the ceremony of kissing the pope's toe, indeed every ceremony of every kind, was dispensed with; as the independence, as well as the piety of our illustrious countryman's character, would never

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 7. Dr. Brown's MSS.

have permitted him to prostrate himself before a fallible mortal like himself. At parting, however, his holiness laid his hand upon his heretical visitor's head, at the same time good-humoredly observing, " I know you Englishmen do not mind these things, but the blessing of an old man can do you no harm:" and I am persuaded that the spirit of Howard was too Catholic an one to hold the benediction of such an old man in light esteem, not on account of the dignity of his station, but of the solidity of his virtues.* After spending about a fortnight in this capital, as he had done in that of Tuscany, this philanthropic traveller went on to Naples, where he was occupied about the same length of time in re-inspecting the prisons and hospitals, which he found to be in the same condition as when he last had visited them. The lazaretto here was very small; and as he was informed that too little attention was there paid to passengers and shipping under quarantine, he has contented himself with giving a view of the health-office.†

From this city he took shipping for Malta, but on his way thither encountered a violent tempest, in which the vessel he was in had nearly perished, though it happily escaped without sustaining any injury. As he passed the island of Sicily in his voyage, he had a full view of the lazaretto at Messina, but did not land to visit it, because the city was almost depopulated, and its trade destroyed, by the dreadful earthquakes, which two years since had engulphed some of the fairest and most populous portions of this devoted island in the bowels of the earth. He afterwards obtained, however, a plan of this building from the English consul at Trieste, from which he had a very fine engraving made for the illustration of his work.‡ He arrived at Malta on the 29th of March, and immediately entered on the inspection of two large, splendid, but ill-regulated, dirty, and most offensive hospitals, one for each sex; in which, as the natural consequence of the closeness, uncleanliness, and inattention reigning in every part of them, the slow fever prevailed to a very

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 57, 8. Mrs. Coles's MS. † Ib. p. 8; 58. ‡ Ib. p. 8.

alarming extent. But it was not until after he had been once through both these charitable foundations of a charitable order that Mr. Howard presented to the grand master the letter of introduction with which he had been furnished by Sir William Hamilton, our ambassador at Naples, and he was then very readily and kindly assured, that the prisons and hospitals of the island should all be open to him. On a subsequent visit, he asked him what he thought of his hospitals; when, with his wonted faithfulness, he told his highness his sentiments on their wretched condition, specifying, in proof of it, some of the particulars, which he afterwards published; and adding, that if he himself would sometimes walk through them, many of their abuses would be corrected. He found, however, that his animadversions were thought too free; yet, encouraged by the satisfaction which the patients expressed at his frequent visits, he continued them during his stay upon the island, and had reason to believe, before he left it, that they had produced an alteration for the better, in the attention paid to their cleanliness and comfort. The greatest care was taken here to prevent the spread of the plague, and for this purpose lazarettos were provided, which, when completed, would be very convenient ones. The prison consisted of several dirty and offensive rooms, which at this time contained nine prisoners, one of whom, a Turk, had suffered the torture to such a degree, that a mortification had taken place. The slaves had many rooms for their confinement, and each sect had its chapel or mosque, and its sick-room, apart: some of them were employed in a woollen-manufactory, but the majority were blacks, and appeared to be most unhappy objects; for the religion, as the knights collectively were called, having sworn to make perpetual war with the Turks, carried off by piracy, whenever the opportunity offered, many of the fishermen, peasants, and mariners, from the Barbary coast. "How dreadful," says this benevolent being, who had not so learned Christ, as to make a zeal for his cause a cloak for cruelty and oppression, "that those who glory in bearing on their breasts the sign of the *Prince of peace*, should harbour such *malignant* dispositions against their fellow-

creatures.—Do not these knights by such conduct make themselves the worst enemies to the cross of Christ, under the pretence of friendship ?"*

During his protracted residence amongst these knights crusaders, of as intolerant a faith as that they had vowed to exterminate, Mr. Howard addressed to those he had left in his native country two letters, giving an account of the progress of a journey, whose object, like that of the Master whom he served, was to save life, and not to destroy. The first was dispatched to his faithful bailiff, two days after his arrival on the island, and contains some directions, which prove that, even when in full pursuit of his great scheme of universal benevolence, he never neglected the due ordering of his private affairs.

" John Prole " Malta March 31st 86.

" I am well with intrepid firm spirits and resolution in persuing my determined Object, but have had a sad Winter to combat with; some days on a desolate Island on the South of france, and last Sunday morns a sad storm from 12 to 4, we expected our watery grave, tho' our Sailors all cryed to St. Anthony to save them, it was God that had mercy on Us.

" I have had my Audience of the grand Master and He granted my request, so that every place is flung open [to] me, we are here as warm as June, yet the first salutatn is, it is cold Sir, which they find, as they [are] wrapt up in great Coats, I see pease and beans in plenty in the streets; but I take my tea in the mornG and a little weak Chocolate in the evening. I sail for Turkey in 10 days, if every thing succeeds as I have laid my Plan I have hopes to be at Vienna in Germany, on my return home, the latter end of July or beginning of Augt, my object is great and liable to a fatal miscarriage, my Zeal I hope will not abate, nor will I look back.—My best compts to my Cardn friends Mr. Smith Mr. Gadsby Mr. Costin Mr. King Mr. Leachs &c. &c.

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 8, 9; 58—60.

" The old Smith's Shop You and Jos may take down, Mr. Smith may directly have all the Materials for the Henhouse that he desired. He to sett it up with his workmen and tell him I will allow and pay him the expence thereof. You will then make footpath, the side of some Hurdles that you will put up, all neat &c.

" I remain Yrs to serve you

" Jn°. Howard.

For the second letter I am indebted to the Rev. Mr. Palmer's manuscript memoir. To whom it was addressed I am not certain, the initial of the name alone appearing; I have no doubt, however, but that it was to his maternal relative, Mr. Tatnall. Yet this, at any rate, is matter of small importance, compared with the light which this letter throws upon the unwearied philanthropy, the inflexible firmness, the unaffected humility, and the ardent piety of its author, as he thus unbosoms to his distant friend the discouragements, the consolations, the hopes, and the supports of his active mind, on the most hazardous, though the most honorable journey of benevolence he had yet undertaken.

" Dear Sir " Malta April 9, 1786.

" As the French minister thought proper to deny Lord Carmarthen's request for me, I travelled *incog*, as on a Physician's Tour, and did my business both at Marseilles and Toulon. In the latter place, in one of the Galleys in the arsenal, there is one Protestant who openly makes the profession thereof, and his exemplary character for 30 years does us credit. I was informed that no strangers are to enter, but particularly no Englishman on any account. However, I passed several hours there on two days, but was advised to get off by shipping as soon as possible. My advisers were the Protestant ministers, who alone were trusted with the secret, and who perhaps were the only persons to be trusted. At Genoa and Leghorn I was received in the most generous

manner; was allowed to visit the Lazarettos: the plans sent to my lodgings to copy, &c.

" I visited Florence, Rome, and Naples, about a fortnight in each place, to review the places in my line. I then took shipping for this Island. We lay by contrary winds several days close to Messina, Catania, Syracuse, &c. and saw the dreadful effects of the earthquake about 2 years ago in Sicily. Soon after we met a sad storm; but happy for us, it lasted only four hours, and we arrived here about 10 days ago. I have paid two visits to the Grand Master. Every place is flung open to me. He has sent me, what is thought a great present, a pound of nice butter, as we are here all burnt up; yet peas beans in plenty; melons ripe, roses and flowers in abundance; but at night tormented with millions of fleas, gnats &c.

" I am bound for Zante, Smyrna, and Constantinople. We have here many Turks, the accounts from thence are not favourable. A ship to day arrived from Tripoli: the plague now ravages that city. The crew &c. went into strict quarantine.

" One effect I find during my visits to the Lazaretto, viz. a heavy headach, a pain across my forehead; but has always quite left me in one hour after I have come from these places. As I am quite alone, I have need to summon all my courage and resolution. You will say it is a great design, and so liable to a fatal miscarriage. I must adopt the motto of a Maltese Baron—*Non nisi per ardua.* I will not think my friend is amongst the many who treat every new attempt as wild and chimerical, and as was first said of my former attempt, that it would produce no real or lasting advantage. But I persevere ' through good report and evil report.' I know I run the greatest risk of my life. Permit me to declare the sense of my mind, in the expressive words of Dr. Doddridge—" I have no hope in what I have been or done.' Yet there is a hope set before me. In him the Lord Jesus Christ, I trust. In him I have strong consolation."

" These days (Sundays) I go little out. I have the notes of several sermons, and my Bible, with me. It is a pain to see, in almost all the churches, in large gold letters—

' INDULGENTIA PLENARIA.'

And before the [crucifixes] of canvas or stone in the street with—*Qui elucidant me vitam eternam habebunt*—and poor creatures starved and almost naked, putting into the box grains, 5 of which make one halfpenny.

" I am, I bless God, pretty well: calm steady spirits. All see at the Inns, &c. that I have the mode of travelling, and try to oblige me; but I inflexibly keep to my mode of living, with regimen or low diet. The Physicians in Turkey, I hear, are very attentive too in the time that the plague is there.

" In many instances God has disappointed my fears, and exceeded my hopes.

" *Remember me to any of our friends. A share in your serious moments. Thanks for kindnesses shewn to mind and body. With great esteem I am*

" *Dear Sir,*

" *Your affectionate Friend*

" JOHN HOWARD."

It was not until ten days after this letter was written that our intrepid countryman embarked on board a vessel for Smyrna, for the express purpose of visiting the cities of the plague, and ascertaining there, at the risk of falling a victim to its fury, more of the nature, progress, and cure of this dreadful scourge, than he had been enabled to obtain in any part of Europe; " pleasing himself (as he said) with the idea of not only learning, but of being able to communicate somewhat to the inhabitants of those distant regions."* The first port which he made in the course of this voyage was Zante, where he found a convenient and well-regulated lazaretto, which he has the more particularly described, because it struck him as affording some good ideas for the

* Rev. S. Palmer's Funeral Sermon, p. 22, 3.

construction of a house of correction. Coming from Malta, he was permitted, as was usual with persons from any other parts than the Levant, the Barbary coast, or the Morea, to pass through the health-office into the city. In the prison at the back of the guard-house he found five or six prisoners, very dirty, yet scarcely more so than the Venetian soldiers in whose custody they were left. In another room adjoining the health-office was a prison, in which the principal pirate concerned in seizing the ship the Grand Duchess, from Leghorn to London, had been confined, and where, after three volleys of shot had been aimed at him without killing him, he was dispatched by a pistol applied to his ear. His head, and those of his two companions, were afterwards fixed on poles, when the two latter became mere skulls within two months; while that of the chief desperado, even to the very countenance, continued, as Mr. Howard was assured, much the same, though three years had elapsed since his execution.* Reaching the place of his destination about the middle of May, 1786, he found it not quite free from the plague, though it prevailed but very partially; taking, therefore, a dragoman into his service, he immediately set about examining the prisons and hospitals which the city of Smyrna contained. At the gate of the principal prison he found three Turks sitting, smoking their pipes, who made a very surly reply to his application for admittance, though after his interpreter had told them that he was a physician, they addressed him with more civility, and allowed him to enter. This prison for criminals consisted of two rooms, near the sea-side, with a court; yet so speedily did execution in this country follow the commission of a crime, that at none of his three visits did it contain more than seven prisoners. At the first of these, they shewed him a young man who had been bastinadoed so severely, that his whole body was prodigiously swelled from head to foot. He said he thought he could cure him; and desired them to bathe him in the sea, to apply to the soles of his feet plaisters of salt and vinegar, and to keep him upon a cooling regimen. These remedies, with the addition of two doses

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 9; 61, 2.

of Glauber's salts, had the desired effect: so that, contrary to the expectation of his keepers, the prisoner recovered; and he acquired such credit with them, that at his subsequent visits they were particularly attentive to him, and soon spread his fame as a physician through the whole city. It was most probably to the reputation which he enjoyed in this character, that he was indebted for permission to attend the Cadi, and the other officers of the police, on their peregrination of the city, to examine the weights used in the shops, and the quality of the bread sold by the bakers. All false and light weights were cut and carried away, as in England; but those who used them were either sent to prison, or bastinadoed *instanter* for their frauds, as long as the Cadi should think fit to order. The humane witness of his summary infliction of justice upon the present occasion was told, indeed, that a person had once received four or five hundred strokes, but he could hardly suppose it possible to survive the infliction of a much less number. "Such hasty executions of what is *here* called *justice*," he very truly observes, "are very improper and cruel. The terror which appeared in the countenances of *all* the shopkeepers at these times implied, that the innocent as well as the guilty might suffer; and, indeed, it is scarcely possible this should not sometimes happen, the *Cadi*, who orders and superintends these punishments, continuing in his office only a year, and being generally young and unexperienced." With another practice prevailing not only here, but in every city which he saw in the Turkish dominions, he was, however, much better pleased—the appropriation to the use of debtors of a prison entirely separate and distinct from that of felons; a just as well as a humane provision, without whose establishment in England "a thorough reformation of the gaols," as he rightly remarks, "can never be effected." That at Smyrna consisted of four or five rooms, and a court to walk in; but, populous as was this great commercial city, Mr. Howard never saw more than fourteen prisoners here at one time, their subsistence depending the while chiefly on casual charity, and the collections made for them in the Greek and Roman Catholic churches. There were several hospitals here, but

they all seem to have belonged to the Franks, as in Turkey the European nations are indiscriminately called, or to the Greeks. That belonging to the Venetians, or rather to the Italian states generally, was under the government of a good prior, Father Luigi di Pavia, who, having formerly been ill of the plague, made a vow, in fulfilment of which he had ever since assiduously attended on others in the like perilous situation. Conceiving therefore that, though like himself no physician, he must be a man much experienced in this dreadful malady, Mr. Howard proposed to him the questions with which he had been furnished before he left England; and, from his answers, it appears that, from the care taken of patients infected with this dreadful disorder in the hospital under his superintendence, the number of those who recovered had, for the last eighteen years, exceeded that of its victims. In the English factory in this city he had an opportunity, which he did not enjoy at any of the hotels of our ambassadors, of attending public worship on a Sunday, and he accompanies the notice of this circumstance by some reflections which do him infinite honor, as they exhibit not merely the decided piety, but the fearlessness and independence of his character, in censuring, where censure was called for at all, the conduct of the representatives of his sovereign in foreign courts, to whose attention, as a body, and as individuals, he yet takes every opportunity of acknowledging his deep obligation, with equal freedom as he would that of the keeper of the obscurest gaol, or the attendant on the meanest hospital:—"I take this occasion," he observes, "of mentioning a secret source of *contagious* irreligion, that *most of our ambassadors have no chaplains, nor any religious service in their houses.*—With pain I have observed on Sundays, many of our young nobility and gentry, who are to fill eminent stations in life, instructed in their houses, by *example* at least (especially in Roman Catholic countries), to make the Lord's day a season of diversion and amusement.—How have I been mortified by the comparison, when, after calling at *their* hotels, I have seen, upon my return from thence, the chapels of the Spanish and French ambassadors crowded." He also consulted the members of this

mercantile establishment on the propriety of erecting a lazaretto in England, an idea with which he was struck on seeing three English ships perform a long and tedious quarantine at Malta, and in whose importance to the interests of commerce, in saving both time and expence, these most competent judges fully coincided, as appears by a letter which they addressed to him at Constantinople, and which he has inserted in his work, with some few omissions, which his singular modesty induced him to make.* From this city he proceeded by sea to the Turkish capital, where he remained for a month, not without imminent hazard of catching the plague, from frequently visiting all the hospitals or pest-houses there. The medical reputation he had acquired at Smyrna, and which in this country was so essential to the execution of his benevolent design, happily followed him hither; afforded him free access to the various institutions he was so anxious to visit, and thus facilitated the inquiries he had taken so long and so hazardous a journey to institute. In this character he was called upon to visit the daughter of a Turk, high in office at the Ottoman Porte, whose disease baffled all the skill of the Constantinopolitan physicians, but the medicines which he prescribed happily succeeded in giving her relief; when her delighted parent evinced the gratitude for which his countrymen are so deservedly celebrated, by pressing on his acceptance a purse of 2,000 sequins (about 900*l.*), which he positively refused, alleging that he never took money; but adding, that a plate of grapes from his garden would not be unacceptable. Astonished at its moderation, this request was immediately complied with, and an ample supply of the finest fruit was regularly sent to him during his residence in the neighbourhood. This anecdote has been before told, with some variations in its particulars, but I now give it from the relation of one of Mr. Howard's Shrewsbury friends, who had it from himself. In the prisons of Constantinople their visitor found nothing remarkable, except that they were very still and quiet,—a circumstance for which he was at a loss to account, until he reflected on the only beverage of their inmates being water. That for

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 26—29; 33, 4; 62, 3. Dr. Brown's MSS.

debtors at Galata, one of the two suburbs of the city, contained but eighteen prisoners, who were maintained, partly on collections made for them in the churches, and partly from a bag hung up in the street leading to the prison, to receive contributions of bread, meat, &c. from charitable persons. Prisoners of different sects, Greeks, Jews, Armenians, Mahommedans, had very properly different apartments allotted to them, the number of the latter being always, according to Mr. Howard's observation, fewer than those of any other faith. Into this prison a fine stream of water had lately been brought by a pious Greek, as a proof of his devotion on the loss of his only son. It were well if superstition could always be directed into so useful a channel. The prison for slaves was very large, but nearly empty, the captain pacha having taken most of them into his galleys. The few who remained where healthy, and a very humane attention was paid to them. To the prison of the Seven Towers he could not gain admittance; four of those towers, however, had been laid in ruins by the ravages of time, or by the swifter destruction of a recent fire; the remaining three were very lofty, and stood in the corners of a large area. Through an aperture he had a view of one of the dungeons, which seemed to be about five feet below the surface of the ground: to that dungeon the Russian ambassador had lately been conveyed, in outrage of all the laws of nations, on the breaking out of a war between his government and the Porte, though he soon had a better apartment assigned him. In the Greek hospital at Galata, the sick were lying on the floor, and the prior himself was ill of the jaundice, and of a dreadful cutaneous disorder; they were all therefore miserably neglected, as none of the faculty would attend them; but, with his wonted zeal to do good to all men, Mr. Howard requested a young physician, who accompanied him on his visit, to set the charitable example. The Turks themselves h d a few hospitals in Constantinople, but they were a mere sort of caravansaries, in one of which he was shocked by the sight of many sick and dying objects lying on dirty mats on the floors, the surgeon who attended them, being either extremely stupid, or intoxicated with opium. The two for lunatics were admirable structures, built

entirely of stone, and proof against fire: the rooms were lofty, and opened under a corridor into a spacious area plentifully supplied with water; yet but little attention appeared to be paid here to cleanliness, nor was much indeed in any respect shown to the patients. In the midst, though, of all this neglect of the miseries of human beings, the feeling commiserator of their sufferings noticed with astonishment an asylum for cats, near the celebrated mosque of San Sophia.* When he had been about a fortnight in this singular capital of so singular a race, he addressed to his friend Dr. Price a letter, giving an account of the perils he had undergone in getting there, and those to which he was still exposed, from the city being partially infected with the plague. Learning, however, from the near relative and able biographer of this distinguished writer, that the several epistles which Mr. Howard addressed to him upon his tours, if in existence at all, are not so, it is feared, in England, I am compelled to be satisfied here with transcribing the extract from them, which Dr. Aikin has inserted in his memoirs. The letter in question was dated June 22, 1786, and contained the following interesting particulars of its author's proceedings:—"After viewing the effects of the earthquake in Sicily, I arrived at Malta, where I repeatedly visited the prisons, hospitals, poor-houses, and lazarettos, as I staid three weeks. From thence I went to Zant: as they are all Greeks, I wished to have some general idea of their hospitals and prisons, before I went into Turkey. From thence, in a foreign ship, I got a passage to Smyrna. Here I boldly visited the hospitals and prisons; but as some accidents happened, a few dying of the plague, several shrunk at me. I came thence about a fortnight ago. As I was in a miserable Turk's boat, I was lucky in a passage of six days and a half. A family arrived just before me, had been between two and three months.

"I am sorry to say some die of the plague about us; one is just carried before my window; yet I visit where none of my conductors will accompany me. In some hospitals, as in the lazarettos, and yeterday among the sick

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 63, 4.

slaves, I have a constant headach, but in about an hour after it always leaves me. Sir Robert Ainslie is very kind; but for the above, and other reasons, I could not lodge in his house. I am at a physician's, and I keep some of my visits a secret."*

During his protracted stay in this infected city, an instance of the despotism of its government, and of the summary and sanguinary administration of its justice, was the public talk, for the particulars of which I am indebted to the valuable memoranda of Dr. Brown, so often referred to in the course of this narrative. About a fortnight before Mr. Howard's arrival in Constantinople, the grand vizier sent for the grand chamberlain, who had the charge of supplying the city with bread. Yielding immediate obedience to the summons, this officer arrived at the palace of the minister in great state, and, being introduced into his presence, was asked why the bread was so bad? He answered, that the last harvest had been but a very indifferent one. "Why," continued the vizier, apparently satisfied with this excuse, "is the weight so short?" "That," replied the chamberlain, "might have happened by accident to two or three amongst such an immense number of loaves as are required for the supply of so large a city;" but he assured his highness that greater care should be taken for the future. Without further observation, the vizier ordered him to quit his presence; but no sooner had he left it, than he commanded an executioner to follow him, and to strike off his head in the street, where his body was publicly exposed for a day and a half, with three light loaves beside it to denote his crime. When Mr. Howard was told that the body had lain there for three days, he expressed his surprize that it had not bred a contagion. He learnt, however, that in point of fact it had not been left so long, as they were not entire days; for it being the evening when the head was struck off, this was reckoned one; it remained the whole of the second; and was removed early in the succeeding morning, which was accounted the third.

* Aikin, p. 132, 3.

" Thus," as Dr. Brown very properly remarks on this circumstance, " the manner of computation in use at the time of our Saviour's crucifixion and burial still subsists among the eastern nations."

To his free and independent spirit, a country, the security of whose inhabitants was but the mere whim of a despot; whose ministers commanding, in the plenitude of their power, on the one day the heads of those who had offended them to be cut off at their pleasure, had their own existence terminated by a bowstring on the next; whilst the grand tyrant, who ordered their removal by a nod, was, on the succeeding one, either stabbed by the swords of his tumultuous janissaries, or quietly carried off by poison mingled with his cup of sherbet in the haram—we may be assured offered no attractions to detain a Howard in his course, for a moment longer than the benevolent object of his visiting it at all was completely answered. He was, therefore, about making arrangements for returning by land through Vienna, when suddenly struck one evening by the thought, that all his information concerning the economy of pest-houses and lazarettos was mere hearsay, and might as easily have been procured by a written application to our ministers and consuls, he resolved on the bold and hazardous measure of silencing this objection by personally undergoing their discipline himself. With this view he determined to sail again for Smyrna, where the plague had lately raged, and was not so entirely subdued that any ship could be permitted to leave its port with a clean bill of health. He proceeded thither, however, by way of Salonica, in order that he might inspect two celebrated hospitals there for persons infected with this dreadful malady. In the course of his voyage to this place, the captain of the little Greek boat in which he sailed, considering him to be a physician, brought to him one of his passengers who was very much indisposed, and begged his advice. He accordingly felt the man's pulse, and soon perceived, from his fetid breath, that he was infected by some contagious disorder, an opinion which was completely confirmed, when he found behind his ear the black spot which was a sure indi-

cation of the plague. Convinced now, that the danger was unavoidable, he resolved to shew no sign of terror, for fear of spreading it amongst the crew, and he therefore communicated the discovery he had made to no one but a French officer, who was with him in the cabin, and whom he cautioned not to approach the infected person, advising him also to abstain from animal food. The day after their arrival at Salonica the man died of the plague.* Here he inspected the Greek hospital for infected patients, in a burying-ground out of the city, injudiciously enclosed by very high walls, and, from its closeness, giving its visitor, though it was quite empty, the same kind of head-ache which he felt in the foul lazarettos. With this he contrasted the hospital of the Jews, which was situated on a rising ground, in the midst of their burying-place, some of the tombs serving for tables and for seats. The whole building was light and airy, and better accommodated to the purpose it was intended to answer than any he had ever seen. Whilst there, he also submitted to the only two English mercantile houses in the place, the letter he had received from the gentlemen of the factory at Smyrna, with whom they most fully agreed in opinion on the great importance of establishing a lazaretto in England for the preservation of our trade to the Levant, and of ourselves from the dangers to which that trade exposes us. Previous to his departure in a small Greek vessel for Scio, he addressed to a friend of his in the neighbourhood of Shrewsbury an account of his residence in Turkey, the following extract from which was published in a periodical journal during its author's life:—

"Salonica, July 22. [1786.]

"With pleasure I will converse an hour with my worthy friend, who, I doubt not, has been informed of my intention to visit and collect all the plans, regulations, &c. of the principal lazarettos in Europe. I have been at Marseilles, Genoa, Leghorn, Naples, Malta, &c. &c. Several questions (with consulting fees) have been put to the first physicians of those places, relative

* Dr. Brown's MS.

to their treatment of persons in the plague: but thinking I should gain more knowledge in the Greek hospitals for that disorder I have been at Zante, Smyrna, and Constantinople, and I came hither about a week ago. I visit boldly, but am forced to keep it secret: I always have in those places a painful head-ach, but it has ever left me in an hour after my removal.

"I came hither on Saturday in a Greek boat, full of passengers, one of whom being taken ill, he was brought to me, as I always pass for a physician. I felt his pulse, looked at the swelling, and ordered him to keep warm in a little cabin, as he had caught cold; in two hours after, I sent for a French captain, desiring him to give no alarm, but said that I was persuaded that man had the plague; and, on Tuesday after, I saw the grave in which he was buried.

"I visit all the prisons, to inform myself; but my interpreters are very cross with me;—I am bound for Scio, as in that island is the most famous hospital in the Levant. My quarantine of forty days imprisonment is to be, I hope, at Venice. I could easily have made my route by land to Vienna, without being stopped, as no quarantine is performed on the confines of the emperor's dominions; but should such an establishment for our shipping be ever introduced into England, things which now may appear trivial, may be of future importance, in case of such a new foundation; I have therefore procured from the Venetian ambassador, the strongest recommendation to assist me in the minutest observations I may make during my quarantine. I bless God, I am quite well, calm, and in steady spirits; indeed I have at times need of determined resolution, as, since I left Helvoetsluys, I have never met with any English ship, or travelled one mile with any of my countrymen.

"I am persuaded I am engaged in a good cause, and confirmed of having a good God and Master; his approbation will be an abundant recompence for all the little pleasures I may have given up.

"At Smyrna, the Franks, or foreigners' houses are shut up; every thing they receive is fumigated, and their provisions pass through water; but in Constantinople, where many of the natives drop [down dead], houses of the Franks

are still kept open. I there conversed with an Italian merchant on Thursday, and had observed to a gentleman how sprightly he was; he replied, he had a fine trade, and was in the prime of life; but, alas! on Saturday he died, and was buried, having every sign of the plague.

"A line, through our ambassador's, at Vienna, will be a cordial to the drooping spirits of "Your affectionate friend

"JOHN HOWARD."*

On his arrival at Scio, our traveller visited the only hospital for lepers he had ever seen, containing 120 patients of both sexes, lodged in separate rooms elevated above the ground, most of them being furnished with little gardens which supplied them with pot-herbs, almonds, and delicious figs and grapes. The situation was airy and pleasant, and water had lately been conducted hither from the mountains in two streams, the one for the use of those in health, the other for the lepers. With his usual attention to cleanliness, he persuaded the vice-consul to recommend to the directors of the hospital to add a bath for each sex.† On his arrival at Smyrna he succeeded to his wishes in meeting with a vessel bound to Venice, with a foul bill of health: in his voyage thither, shortly after leaving the port of Modon, in the Morea, where they touched for water, his life was placed in most imminent danger by the vessel he was aboard of being suddenly attacked by a Tunisian privateer, which fired into them with great violence. The men defended themselves for a considerable time with much bravery, but were at length reduced, as it would seem, to the alternative of striking, or being butchered by the Moors, when, having one very large cannon on board, they loaded it with spikes, nails, and whatever missiles they could lay their hands upon, and, pointed by Mr. Howard himself, it was discharged amongst the corsair crew with such effect, that a great number of them were killed, and the others thought it prudent immediately to sheer

* Gent. Mag. Vol. LVII. Part II. p. 725: Life of the late John Howard, Esq. p. 51, 2, &c.: Account of Lazarettos, p. 64, 5.

† Account of Lazarettos, p. 65.

off. During the whole of this engagement our intrepid countryman found himself supported, as he himself declares, in the most surprising manner by the Almighty Being who had hitherto so wonderfully protected him, but he did not know the extent of his danger, until after the action, the master of the vessel declared, that had every other resource failed him, he had determined to blow up the ship rather than submit to perpetual slavery; the dreadful fate from which, in his own language, they were "saved by the interposition of Providence."* After this merciful deliverance the ship proceeded on its way, touching at Corfu and at Castel-Novo, in Dalmatia, neither of whose lazarettos its passenger was permitted to enter, from the vessel having a foul bill. The former was finely situated on a rock, surrounded with water, about a league from the city; whilst, at the back of the latter, was a delightful hill, where persons performing quarantine were, after a few days, allowed to walk and divert themselves with shooting, or any other amusement. The care taken to prevent the spread of infection here was however very trifling, or rather none at all, as the captain and passengers went into the city, and the mate openly took goods to his friends in the country every day. Mr. Howard observed also, that a half-naked soldier came on board the vessel twice a-day, and received biscuit and hot victuals. At first he imagined that he came for charity, but soon learnt that he was the guard appointed to the ship by the health-office, but who, like many of his superiors, contented himself with receiving the perquisites, without performing the duties of his station.† On their arrival at Venice, after a tedious and dangerous voyage of two months, he accompanied the captain to the health-office, to see the manner in which his report was made, his letters delivered, and his examination taken. The next morning he himself was conducted by a messenger to the new lazaretto, being placed with his baggage in a gondola, fastened by a cord to another boat, in which were six rowers, who, when they reached the landing-place, pushed his boat on shore, where he was received by the person appointed to be his guard,

* Dr. Brown's MS: Aikin, p. 131: Account of Lazarettos, p. 10, 22. † Ib. p. 22.

and conducted to his lodging in a very dirty room, full of vermin, and without table, chair, or bed, in the lazaretto chiefly assigned to the use of Turks, soldiers, and the crews of ships infected with the plague. The whole of the first, and part of the second day of his residence in this miserable place, a person was employed by him in cleaning his room, but this purification did not remove its offensiveness, or prevent that constant head-ache which he so often complains of having felt in visiting other lazarettos, and some of the hospitals of Turkey. In a few days, however, his guard, having sent in a favorable account of his health, on the representation of the English consul he was removed to the old lazaretto, where, as he had brought the prior a letter from the Venetian ambassador at Constantinople, he hoped to have a more comfortable lodging. But in this expectation he was disappointed, the apartment assigned him being no less offensive and disagreeable than the former one, as in the lower room, in which he lay, he was almost surrounded with water; having made a large fire to dry the flags nearest to it, upon which he fixed his bed. But, after six days, the prior thought proper to remove him to an apartment in some respects better, and consisting of four rooms, but they were without furniture, very dirty, and as offensive as the sick wards of the worst hospitals. The walls of his chamber not having been cleaned, in all probability, for half a century, were saturated with infection; he therefore got them repeatedly washed with warm water, in the hope of removing the offensive smell, but without any effect, so that he found his appetite fail him, and concluded that he was in danger of the slow hospital fever, to save himself from whose contagion he proposed to white-wash his room, but was opposed by strong prejudices. These however he surmounted, or rather frustrated, by the assistance of the English consul, who furnished him with brushes and some lime, which he bribed his attendant to assist him in reducing to white-wash, and in purifying the walls of his apartment with it, having previously determined to lock up his guard if he offered any resistance to his operations. The consequence of this salutary precaution was, that his room was immediately

rendered so sweet and fresh, that he was able to drink tea in it that afternoon, and to lie there with comfort on the following night. On the next day, the walls were dry as well as sweet, and he very soon recovered his appetite. 'Thus,' he observes, 'at a *small* expense, and to the admiration of the other inhabitants of this lazaretto, I provided for myself and successors, an agreeable and wholesome room, instead of a nasty and contagious one." Here he performed his quarantine of forty days more comfortably, in all probability, than any one had ever done before him, though he lived the while upon tea and bread, which had long been his principal nourishment. He was chiefly occupied, during his confinement, in translating and abridging the sketch of an information sent to the British government on the state and regulations of the office, whose commissioners had the general superintendence of every thing connected with the public health, with which he was furnished by our consul at Venice; and a copy of their printed instructions to the prior of the lazaretto, which that officer presented to him. These regulations were in theory most wise and wholesome, but there was now so much remissness in their execution, as to render the quarantine which they directed to be so strictly performed almost useless, and their lazarettos little more than an establishment for officers and infirm people, who, though expressly prohibited from taking more than their regular pay, extorted gratuities by their inattention to the duties of their office, which even when thus encouraged, they were many of them but ill qualified to discharge.* But whilst thus occupied in the detection of the abuses of this necessary, but neglected institution, by voluntarily exposing himself to all the dangers which those abuses created or increased, he received from England intelligence of two circumstances which had transpired there, both of them the occasion of the deepest affliction to his mind. The first was the formation of a fund for the erection of a statue to his honor;—the second, the misconduct of his only son.

It was in the Gentleman's Magazine for May 1786, that a writer, signing

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 10—22. Dr. Brown's MS.

himself *Anglus*, proposed the erection of a public monument to the worth of a man whom he styles "the most truly glorious of mortal beings." This person had just returned from Italy, where he had enjoyed the pleasure of Mr. Howard's conversation for an hour at Rome, and had imbibed such an exalted opinion of his character, that, in his own expressions, "he all but worshipped him." Arriving, therefore, in the country that gave him birth, in the full enthusiasm of these honorable feelings, he felt anxious that no time should be lost in profiting by the only opportunity which, in all probability, would ever be afforded for the execution of his scheme, conscious as he was, from the slight acquaintance with his disposition which he had obtained, that if it were not completed before his return, he would most certainly prevent its ever being executed at all. In this design he calculated on the assistance not only of all the generous and humane amongst his countrymen, but of the Philanthropist's more intimate friends, who, judging by his own feelings, he supposed to have honored him but just on this side idolatry. The former expectation was completely realized; but in the latter he was grievously disappointed, as I am not aware of any persons who could be considered as intimate friends of Mr. Howard, having given their names to the fund for carrying into effect the recommendation of this letter, except Dr. Lettsom, the Rev. Dr. Stennet, and Mr. Capel Llofft. The first of these gentlemen was a warm promoter of the design, which, in the very next number of the work in which it was proposed, he supported by a recommendatory letter, by a donation of ten guineas, and by offering, in connection with the worthy printer of the Magazine, to receive subscriptions for the purpose.* Some of his friends viewed the measure, however, in a far correcter light, and ventured to suggest their doubts whether, instead of honoring, they would not be most seriously hurting the feelings of the object of their admiration.† But the subscription still went on; peers, ministers, and others who were first in rank and character in the nation, feeling proud to enrol their names upon the list; whilst the pages of the journal in which this design

* Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LVI. Part I. p. 360, 1; 447. † Ib. Part. II. p. 537, 628.

was first announced were filled with *projets* and *counter-projets*; with arguments for and against columns, statues, chapels, alms-houses; discussions on the superiority as a scite for whatever description of edifice might be fixed upon, of St. Paul's Cathedral, Westminster-Abbey, St. George's Fields, or Shooter's-Hill; and proposal after proposal for the most appropriate inscription upon it, in Latin and in English, in prose and in rhyme, to his honor, to whose extraordinary virtues this tribute of national approbation was to be consecrated.* But those who knew him best, in the meanwhile, withholding their countenance from every plan which could draw him into a publicity they were convinced that he was most desirous to shun, lost no time in giving him information of the steps which the admirers of his character were so ill-advisedly taking.

With this information it was the painful duty of some of the most intimate of his friends to acquaint him with conduct on the part of his son that could not fail to be most painful to a father's heart. When that father quitted England upon his hazardous expedition his son was left the uncontrolled master of his house whenever he thought proper to take up his abode in it; and he invited whoever he chose to be his companions there. Notwithstanding the care which had been taken on his entrance at Cambridge to introduce him to the acquaintance of serious and pious people, it unfortunately happened that the young men with whom he chiefly associated there, were some of the most dissipated that the university could produce, and in their company the outrageous freaks which he would take it into his head to play, were the cause of frequent uneasiness and alarm to the villagers of Cardington, and its peaceful neighbourhood. Towards the old and valued domestics of the family, who had every one of them dandled him an infant on their knees, and who therefore, for his own, as well as for his excellent parent's sake, felt every disposition to obey his commands, and even anticipate his wishes, where they were reasonable

* Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LVI. Part II. p. 535, 6; 627—632; 723, 4, 7, 8; 823, 4.

and proper, he, at times, behaved in the most capricious and tyrannical manner, so much so, indeed, that they would often go over to Mr. Smith to complain that his temper was so violent that they could not live with him, entreating him at the same time to go to Cardington, and exert that influence over him which he always retained, in some degree, so long as he was capable of listening to, and comprehending his friendly remonstrances. But even thus early this attached friend, alike of the father and the son, thought that he saw in the mind of the latter the seeds of that dreadful malady which destroyed the domestic happiness of both. It was, however, very slow in its approaches, shewing itself at this time but by his taking violent prejudices, and putting himself into most ungovernable passions. All, therefore, that could now be done was to give his father some particulars of his conduct, without hinting at the cause from which it was feared that it originated; and this course was accordingly pursued; one of the instances of the gross impropriety of his behaviour which was thus communicated to him being, as I am informed by the daughter of the gentleman by whom it was communicated, that of his having so far forgot himself as to join some of his brother *Cantabs* in the disturbance of a congregation of dissenters, peaceably assembled for the worship of their Maker. How deeply the intelligence of the double misfortune which had befallen him in his public character, as in his nearest domestic relation, affected this great and good man, whose commiseration for the sufferings of others at no time steeled his heart against a proper sense of his own,—yet with what patience, firmness, and Christian resignation he met this trial of his faith, the letters which he wrote whilst under quarantine at Venice will sufficiently evince. The first in date in my possession is the following, addressed to Thomasson soon after his arrival there:—

"Thomas, "Venice Lazaretto Oct. 12th, 1786.

"I am just arrived here, having had a two months voyage being tossed by the equinoctial stormy Winds, and was nearly taken by a Tunis Privateer, with whom the Venetians are at warr, but one of our cannon, which

was well loaded with Old nails, Spikes, &c. came directly in the midst of All the Men on deck, and made a dreadful slaughter; they directly hoisted their sails and went off, to our great joy: am now in an infectious Lazaretto, yet my steady spirits never forsook me, till yesterday on the receit of my Letters, the accumulated misfortunes almost sinks me; I am sorry very sorry on y^{r} account, I will hasten home no time will I loose by night or Day, but 40 days I have still to be confined here, as our Ship had a foul bill of Health, the Plague being in the place from whence we sailed, but we were healthy; whilst others anchored to burn the Cloaths of those that died of the plague aboard two ships.—I am fully persuaded had you been with me this Turkey Tour You would have died by the fatigue, or plague that rages in that Country.

" Then that very hasty and disagreeable measure that is taken in London, wounds me sadly indeed, alas what a sad mixture of folly and Sin is there in our best performances, such praise is highly displeasing to a thinking Mind.—Never have I returned to my Country with such a heavy heart as I now doe—Our Consul deceived me in not sending the Currants for my poor friends at Card^{a} but the Vice Consul will cheerfully send them from Zante, and they are much finer this year than last: distribute them to my Tenants and the poor Cottagers.—

" Make my Comp^{s} and tell my friends that I am pretty well; namely Mr Smith Mr Leach Mr King Mr Caston Mr Gadsby Mr Lovesey Mr. Symonds Mr. Odel Mrs Smith Mr Willan Mrs Morgan Rubin, &c &c

" I hope Samuel Preston's family Jn^{o} Prole's farmer Smith's &c are all well—

" Desire Jn^{o} Prole in ab^{t} 10 Weeks to write to me at the Post-house in Amsterdam.

I have such an head-ach I can only add

that I am Y^{r} friend to serve you

" To Thomas Thomason Jn^{o} Howard."

" at Cardington Bedfordshire."

About four or five days after this letter was witten, a second was dispatched to Mr. Smith, in which, according to the recollection of that gentleman's daughter, and of some other of his friends, Mr. Howard spoke still more fully his sentiments upon the two subjects which then lay nearest to his heart, and expressed in the strongest terms the grief he felt at the vicious courses of his son, and the inconsiderate conduct of his friends, or rather of his admirers. The two first pages of that letter are, however, unfortunately lost, except a short extract from them, with which Dr. Aikin was furnished for his memoir, and which I here re-transcribe from that work:*—"To hasten to the other very distressing affair: oh, why could not my friends, who know how much I detest such parade, have stopped such a hasty measure!—As a private man, with some peculiarities, I wished to retire into obscurity and silence.—Indeed, my friend, I cannot bear the thought of being thus dragged out. I immediately wrote, and hope something may be done to stop it. My best friends must disapprove it. It deranges and confounds all my schemes—My exaltation is my fall, my misfortune." As to the other point of his confidential communication with his bosom friend, it will be evident from what remains of the original, that no intimation whatever had yet reached him of his son's conduct being any thing more than the effects of that high spirit and impatience of control, which he had long observed with deep regret, and which had led him into courses, from whose errors he was pleasing himself with the hope that he had turned. The fragment of this epistle is as follows:

"*a* As to my burial, not to exceed ten pounds—

"*b* My tomb to be a plain slip of Marble, placed under that of my dear Henrietta's in Cardington Church, with this inscription—

"JOHN HOWARD, DIED———AGED——

"*My Hope is in Christ.*"

"This Thomas will remember I also repeated to him just before I left Cardington, as knowing I was going on a long and dangerous expedition.

* Aikin, p. 144, 5.

"I am now in the secret relative to that Officer of the Police who forced himself into my room the night I lay at Paris: a happy escape for me.

"If my son is at Card[a] please to tell him I will write to him in about a week; and to Jn[o] Prole in a fortnight—I see you have had constant rains in England, I did not see showers for 4 Months in Turkey. Yet by the Dews a fine Climate, a fruitful Country. In Dalmatia I saw fine Beef bought at 2 pence farding the *Oke* w[h] is 2[lb] 12[oz]; Mutton the same price; A Calf 6[s] 3[d]—Claret 1 penny fard[s] 3 pints.

"Do me the favour of writing to Sir Robert Keith's at Vienna, it must be 7 Weeks before I get there Adieu Adieu

"To The Rev[d] Mr. Smith "J. H."

"Potter Street Bedford (Angleterre)"

In the course of the following week he addressed to the friend, whom I suppose to have been Mr. Tatnall, a letter, in which, with all the confidence of friendship, he unbosoms the state of his feelings upon the two distressing events which occupied so much of his thoughts, and whose exposition cannot fail to exalt still higher, if it be possible, the impressions we have formed of the excellence of his character, both as a man and a Christian. I regret, however, that I am only enabled to lay it before my readers from the copy taken by the late Rev. Mr. Palmer, who seems here and there to have omitted a word or a sentence, which a sight of the original would have enabled me to supply. It may also be proper to state, that such parts of this, and of another letter to the same gentleman, already transcribed, as are printed in italics, have kindly been decyphered for me, from Mr. Palmer's short-hand, by my friend, the Rev. P. S. Charrier of Liverpool, who entertains some little doubt as to the correctness of the proper names, which are very injudiciously written in stenographical characters. The letter therefore is given in a less correct state than I could wish, though in as good an one as I am able to present it in.

"Dear Sir "Venice Lazaretto Octr. 25, 1786.

"I fear you think your wandering friend lost; but when I was at Constantinople, it struck my mind that, should I perform Quarantine I might make some observations that other passengers, who are weary of their confinement, never think of, and that otherwise the observations would be only what government might have from ambassadors, consuls, &c. I with no little reluctance went again to sea, as with ease I could have been at Vienna in 6 and 20 days, and not travelling post. So I went to Salonica, Scio, and again to Smyrna; as I preferred a foul bill to see the strictest quarantine. I have been these two months tossed about with the equinoctial and contrary winds, but arrived about 10 days [ago], just before a ship where the Captain and four of the passengers and crew died of the plague in the voyage. In consequence I was ordered to a sad infectious place; but being alone, and my guard's report to the Magistrates that I was well, they had compassion on me, and removed me to another lazaretto. Here, for a few nights I was in a room almost swimming with water; but I was told I should soon be removed to a better lodging. But neither here, or at sea when my cabin and baskets floated with water, or during an engagement with a Tunis privatteer, did my spirits or resolution forsake me. But, alas! I was nearly overset, when about 10 days past I received my letters. My Son gives me no little concern; but I must say with Job, 'Shall I receive good at the hand of God, and shall I not receive evil?' All hearts are in his hands, there I must leave it. Many comfortable sabbaths I have had in my little cabins, as one to myself is a *sine qua non*. In all my voyages, the notes of many sermons that I have taken, my Bible, and 2 admirable old Sermons in a little book which I bought at a stall in Zante for 5 paras (2½*d.*) is my library. But to hasten to the other distressing affair. Could none of my friends, who know how much I hate show and parade, have stopt it? When I have been publicly desired to sit for my picture not a moment have I hesitated in shewing my aversion to it.—A hasty, sad, unkind measure.—I hope I have drank into the spirit of one of my most ad-

mired characters, viz. Mr. Scougal, who on his death-bed said to his friends 'If you have the charity to remember me in your prayers, do not think me a better man than I am; but look upon me, as indeed I am, a most miserable sinner.' —And in our best performances what a sad mixture of corruption, that the desire of praise is vanity and presumption.—As a private Man, a firm Dissenter, some peculiarities.—I ever wished to have retired in obscurity and silence.

" My burial, tomb, &c. I had fixed to this purpose.* I have wrote to one or two friends. Nothing I hope will be done in my life time. It deranges and confounds all my schemes. Little shall I be able to do more. My exaltation is my fall my misfortune. I shall hasten home. I hope the German snows will not stop me. But I have still 30 days quarantine. *Compliments to Mr. Brown or any enquiring friends not forgetting my Bath and Leeds friends.*

" With much esteem, I remain

" Dear Sir,

" Your affectionate friend

" JOHN HOWARD."

Amongst the friends to whom he wrote, to request them to use their influence in preventing a measure from which every feeling in his nature revolted, we may be assured that Dr. Price was not forgotten, though, for reasons already assigned, I am unable to give more of the contents of his letter to him than the two short sentences inserted by Dr. Aikin in his memoirs:†—" My truest, intimate, and best friends, have, I see by the papers, been so kind as not to subscribe to what you so justly term a *hasty measure.* Indeed, indeed, if nothing now can be done, I speak *from my heart,* never poor creature was more dragged out in public." In a similar strain, in a letter to Dr. Stennett, he thus expressed his sentiments upon this subject, as in substance, and indeed nearly in the very words, he had done to others:—" Alas! our best performances have such a mixture of folly and sin, that praise is vanity and presumption, and

* See letter to Mr. Smith, p. 487, where the same direction is given. † p. 146.

pain to a thinking mind."* Nor was this language which he held only to such of his friends whom he might expect to communicate his sentiments to the world, but even to his faithful domestics he could not write without pouring out the bitterness of his disappointment, that he had not been permitted to pursue "the noiseless tenor of his way," unnoticed, as he wished; or to have appeared before the public but for their benefit, and not his own honor. This he did most feelingly in the last epistle written during his confinement in the close cells of the Venetian lazaretto, now in my possession; and sure am I that those who love to contemplate the character of a great man in the privacy of domestic life, that they may ascertain whether he carried the same spirit with him into its retired walks, which he displayed in the face of an applauding world, will not be offended with the *minutiæ* of his private charities, and his constant attention to the due ordering of his own affairs which that letter exhibits.

"John Prole "Venice Lazaretto Oct. 31st 1786

"It is with great Concern I hear the account of my Son's behaviour, I fear he gives you, as well as others a great deal of trouble, A great loss to Children, is their Mother; for they check and form their Minds, curbing the corrupt passions of pride, and self Will, which is seen very early in Children. I must leave it to Him, with whom are all hearts; and sigh in secret: trusting, that the blessing of such an excellent Mother is laid up for him.—As to another Affair it distresses my Mind; whoever set it a foot, I know not; but sure I am, they were totally unacquainted with my Temper, and Disposition; I once before, on an application to sit for my picture to be placed in Public, hesitated not a Moment, in shewing my Aversion to it: and as I knew I was going on a dangerous expedition; Thomas will remember, almost the last words I said to him; If I die abroad, do not let me be moved, let there

* Dr. Stennett's Funeral Sermon on Mr. Howard, p. 38.

be only a plain slip of marble, placed under that of my Wife's Henrietta with this Inscription—John Howard died ——Aged—My hope is in Christ.—This I said that Mr. Leeds and my Son might know that my Mind was fixed, and still unaltered.—I have set many engines to work, to check the flatter, for I bless God, I know myself too well, to be pleased with such Praise; when alas! we have nothing of our own, but Folly and Sin.

" Now as to our Cardington Affairs, I hope every thing goes smoothly on; Mr.******, &c. and Cottagers do not get behind hand in their rent; when Rubin leaves his farm, if you chuse it, it shall not be raised; if otherwise should it not be nearly the same as Smiths. I wish to give a look on my Garden, the hedge in Close lane and Clumps, I hope the sheep are prevented jumping over. Walkers Close and my Closes I hope are neat, the latter were very indiferent when I last returned; there were many nettles and weeds; take in for a month Jn° Nott^{m} or W^{m} Wiltshire to keep them down, by spading them quite up. After Xmas desire Mr. Lilburn to settle your Accounts to the 2 Chrismasses; as it will be easier for me; seperating the School Bills, Donations, Taxes, &c. from other things.

" Samuel Preston I hope is well; if otherwise any thing I will do for the two Widows. Mrs. Morgan I hope is well, tell her if Notting^{m}^{s} girl continues good; Two Guineas she will lay out for her, in any manner she thinks proper. Some fine New Currants will I hope soon come; as I was ab^{t} six Weeks ago at Zante, and are finer this Year than usual, (as indeed I have not seen a shower of rain in Turkey, for 4 or 5 Months, but fine dews) they are for my Tenants; Widows, and poor familys, at Card^{n} Ab^{t} 3 p^{d} each. You will pay to Mr. Symmonds my Subscrip^{n} to Mich^{s}. At Christmas give Mrs. Thompson and Beccles each 1:1:0—Rayner what I usually give him 10:6, if not given last Christ^{m} then 1:1:0 Dolly Basset 1:1:0 the blind Man's Widow 10^{s} Five Guineas to ten Poor Widows, that is to each half a Guinea where you think it will be most acceptable; One of which Widows Mrs Tingey in Memory of Jos^{h} Tingey; Who I promised to excuse One Year's rent, Five Guineas also to

Ten Familys that you think proper Objects one of which Rich[d] Ward.—I think you said Abraham Stevens left a Girl and a boy; one of which is dead; privately enquire: the Character, Disposition, Circumstances of the other. You will accept of Coat, Waistcoat and Breeches. I hope the Walks before my House, Jos[a] Crockford's the New one near the bridge and by Broadfield's and Walker's are neat,—tell Joseph Walker to remind Mr. Whitbread relative to his Brother's pay, &c.

" Is my Chaise horse gone blind, or spoiled? Duke is well, must have his range when past his labour; not doing such a cruel thing as I did with the old Mare; I have a thousand times repented it. I mentioned in Thomas's Letter that you will write to me at Amsterdam; but when my Confinem[t] is finished I have a long Journey, thro' bad roads and Snow; but thro' Mercy, my calm spirits, and steady resolution do not forsake me; Which the Sailors observed, during the Action with the Barbary Pyrate; and I well remember I had a good night, When one evening my Cabin Baskets &c were floated with Water; and thinking I should be some hours in drying it up; I went to bed, to forget it."

The genuine benevolence of this epistle requires no comment. The currants mentioned in this and in a preceding letter were duly sent and distributed, according to Mr. Howard's directions, amongst his Cardington tenants; but such was the veneration in which his character was held, that I am informed by my excellent friend, the Rev. Samuel Hillyard, that several most respectable inhabitants of Bedford, apprehensive that their generous donor would never return from the perilous expedition on which he had embarked, came over to beg a handful as a memorial of his kindness and his worth.

After the expiration of the period of his quarantine, from which, as not an hour of it was abated, he came out in a very weak state of health, and with a remitting fever upon him, the consequence of the closeness and unhealthiness of his confinement; he continued therefore in Venice a week to recruit himself for

the long and fatiguing journey that still lay before him. He inspected, during his stay there, the great prison and the galleys, in the former of which the sick were separated from the other prisoners, though in a close part of the prison; whilst the latter were clean, and not at all offensive, in consequence of possessing one of the best means of cleanliness in an easy access to water.* Of the despotism of this *free* government, he learnt, whilst residing under its protection, two instances, which, on his return to England, he related to his friend Dr. Brown, from whose memoranda they are now transcribed nearly *verbatim*:—

"A German merchant happening to be at Venice on business, supped every night at a small inn, in company with a few other persons. An officer of the state inquisition came to him one evening, and ordered him to follow whither he led, and to deliver to him his trunk, after having put his seal upon it. The merchant asked why he must do this, but received no answer to his inquiry, except by the officer's putting his hand to his lips as a signal for silence. He then muffled his head in a cloak, and guided him, through different streets, to a low gate which he was ordered to enter; and, stooping down, he was led through various passages under ground to a small, dark apartment, where he continued all that night. The next day he was conducted into a larger room hung with black, with a single wax light, and a crucifix on its mantle-piece. Having remained here in perfect solitude for a couple of days, he suddenly saw a curtain drawn, and heard a voice questioning him concerning his name, his business, the company he kept, and particularly whether he had not been, on a certain day, in the society of persons who were mentioned, and heard an abbé, who was also named, make use of expressions now accurately repeated. At last he was asked if he should know the abbé if he saw him, and on his answering that he should, a long curtain was drawn aside, and he saw this very person hanging on a gibbet. He was then dismissed. The other circumstance, or rather combination of circumstances, happened but a short time before Mr. Howard's visit, to a senator of this arbitary republic. Called up from his bed

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 65.

one night by an officer of this same inquisition, and commanded to follow him, he obeyed the summons, and found a gondola waiting near his door, in which he was rowed out of the harbour to a spot where another gondola was fastened to a post. Into this he was ordered to step, and the cabin-door being opened he was conducted into it, and as a dead body with a rope about its neck was shown to him, he was asked if he knew it. He answered that he did, and shook through every limb as he spoke; but he was then conveyed back to his house, and nothing more was ever said to him upon the subject. The body he had seen was that of the tutor to his children who had been carried out of his house that very night and strangled. The senator, delighted with this young man's conversation, used to treat him with great familiarity, and in those unguarded moments communicated to him some political matters of no great importance, but which he thoughtlessly mentioned again to others; an imprudence for which he paid dearly with his life, whilst his generous patron was thus admonished of his indiscretion by the sight of his strangled body." "Has not the vengeance of Heaven," asks Dr. Brown, in transcribing for the use of this work these two interesting anecdotes, "been justly inflicted on such a government by sweeping it from the face of the earth?" A question to which every friend of liberty and humanity will surely answer, that it has; since, of all tyranny, that of a republic is at once the most anomalous, and the worst. I have been informed, however, by a gentleman of Manchester, but formerly of Warrington, who had the happiness of knowing, and of being noticed by Mr. Howard in his youth, that during a residence in this city in the years 1802, 3, his extraordinary philanthropy was the frequent subject of conversation in the circles with which he mingled. Yet that a man of his property and rank should have no other object in view than the ostensible one of visiting prisons and lazarettos, seemed to a people like the Venetians wholly inexplicable, and yet remains an impenetrable mystery. But still more were they astonished at his going about the streets during a hard winter without boots or gaiters on his legs, with no great coat, and sometimes even no cravat on; though, at this time, the poorest citizen dared not to venture out of

doors unless he was almost buried in furs or in broad-cloth. An old priest with whom Mr. Kenworthy lodged, was well acquainted with our philanthropic countryman, and he alone seemed duly to appreciate his views and motives. With that zeal for what he believed to be the truth, which, to a certain extent, should actuate every good man of every religion, he only regetted that he was not of the Catholic faith.

From Venice Mr. Howard crossed the Adriatic for Trieste where he found the rooms of the prison very offensive, from the constant confinement of their inmates. They were not, however, in irons, and seemed in other respects to be somewhat better treated than at his former visit. The galley slaves were now lodged in a house of correction, where the same humanity was shown to them as formerly had been in the castle. The women were carding and spinning, and the healthy and placid countenances of the whole of the convicts bespoke the attention of their keeper. The two lazarettos here were both clean, and a contrast to those he had lately seen at Venice. He was kindly furnished with the rules and regulations of the new one by the director of the health-office, who also gave him permission to copy its plan with which he afterwards embellished his work.* At this place he continued to suffer from the effects of the slow fever contracted amidst the filth of the Venetian lazaretto. He attempted, nevertheless, to push on for Vienna with his usual rapidity, but was forced to allow himself one night's repose out of the four which were taken up in this journey; yet, notwithstanding his unwonted indulgence to the demands of wearied nature, and of a frame most dreadfully shattered in the service of humanity, he entered Vienna, as privately as he had done St. Petersburgh, on the fifth day, nearly worn out by fatigue both of mind and body. He soon, however, set himself to the great work, which through so much peril and fatigue had brought him hither; commencing it with the re-inspection of the great prison, very few

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 23; 65, 6.

of whose dungeons were empty, some of them having three prisoners in each, whilst in three of the most horrid, twelve women were crowded. All the male prisoners lived in total darkness, not being permitted to shed a ray of light on their gloomy cells, to whose walls they were constantly chained, though they were so strong, and so completely defended by double doors, as to render such rigorous security needless. No clergyman had been near them for eight or nine months, a privation which was reckoned, even by these criminals, so great a punishment, that they complained of it with tears in their eyes. Their visitor recollected the horrid dungeon in which he had seen a prisoner dying unpitied and unattended to; and on inquiring this poor wretch's fate, one of the turnkeys said that he had died about a year ago, which another confirmed. "This, however," he observes, "must have been a *different* person; for eight years had elapsed since my former visit." All the prisoners confined in this miserable place were to be removed to a prison lately built by the emperor. This new edifice consisted of forty rooms, and of twenty dungeons at the depth of two and twenty steps below the surface of the ground, the latter being boarded with thick planks, in which were strong iron rings, for chaining prisoners to. They were larger, and in other respects, though still horrid enough, less horrid than those in the old prison: as yet they were empty, but above them were 214 criminals, crowded into a few rooms. In the Great *Casern* were eighty-six male convicts, all in one large room, in which they lay at night with their cloathes on, and chained to the floor; though their room, having no other windows than two holes in the ceiling, was, even in the day-time, offensive beyond expression. "Indeed," says their compassionate visitant, "it would not be wonderful if the effluvia from these prisoners, while they work in the streets, should spread through this city an *infection* destructive to the health, and fatal to the lives of the inhabitants." In the Little *Casern*, another prison for convicts, were forty-two criminals in two rooms, in one of which about a third of them were at work, the rest being idle in the other. Both these places of confinement were attended by a

military guard, who would suffer nothing to be given to their inmates, a similar prohibition being also strictly enforced in this city with regard to vagrants. In the house of correction women only were confined, their allowance being a pound of bread and two dishes of soup a-day. Their rooms were clean, and great attention seemed to be paid to their sick, of whom there were thirty-five out of 153; "a *high* proportion," remarks our author, "but not higher than might be expected in a prison where no bedding is allowed." To this prison the criminals sent off to Hungary were first brought to be cloathed in an uniform, and chained in companies, five and five together, with irons round their necks, and on their feet, besides a chain about ten inches long between the feet of each of them, and another about six feet in length for fastening him to the next person. Thus secured, Mr. Howard was told, that the hard work they were employed in, of drawing boats up the Danube, with the coarse fare upon which they were fed, wore them out so fast, that few lived in this state for above four years. The rooms and passages of another house of correction, chiefly for vagrants and a few debtors, were airy, spacious, and well supplied with water, by a stream which was constantly running. The vagrants were employed in carding, spinning, weaving, &c.; and, owing to the great attention of Count Pergen, they were always orderly at all our Philanthropist's visits, and their prison clean.*

Whilst actively engaged in this inspection of the prisons of the capital of the Austrian dominions, Mr. Howard received intelligence from home of the continuance of both the causes of his uneasiness, in unabated force. The design of erecting a statue to his honor was still persisted in, and those who knew him not, as they ought to have known him, were ardent in their expectations that the objections to the measure, which his singular modesty had raised, must at length yield to the public voice, and that he would, sooner or later, consent to receive from the hands of his grateful countrymen that tribute of approbation which his

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 66, 7.

conduct had richly merited from an assembled universe. But with the more rational of them,—for some few fondly, I might say enthusiastically, adhered to their opinions to the last,—these hopes were soon levelled with the dust on the receipt of a letter, which I now transcribe from the copy, most obligingly furnished to me by the gentleman in whose possession Mr. Howard's rough draft remains; the letter being dispatched immediately, with the few verbal alterations noted at the bottom of the page, from the copy afterwards published in the Gentleman's Magazine:*—

"GENTLEMEN

"I shall ever think it an honour to have my weak endeavours approved by so many respectable Persons, who devote their time, and have so generously subscribed, towards a Fund for relieving Prisoners and reforming Prisons—But to the erecting a Monument, permit me in the most fixed & unequivocal manner to declare my repugnancy to it,† and that the execution of it, will be a *punishment* to me, it is, therefore, Gent^n^, my particular and earnest request, that it‡ may, *for ever*, be laid aside. with great respect,§ I am, Gent^n^,

"Your most ob^t^ Serv^t^

"Vienna Dec^r^ 15^th^ 1786." "J. H."‖

The same letter which assured this most excellent man that nothing short of a direct application from himself could induce those who, from the best motives, had imprudently engaged in a scheme so painful to him to lay aside their design, brought him the intelligence of the continuance of that gross impropriety of conduct on the part of his only son, which had now, for some time, pressed so heavily upon his spirits as well nigh to have broken his heart. But still the worst was not told him, as few who had opportunities of observ-

* Vol. LVII. Part I. p. 101.

† "*Such a design.*" ‡ "*So distinguished a mark of me.*" § "*Regard.*" ‖ "*John Howard.*"

ing this unfortunate young man's behaviour now entertained any doubt but that he was fast approaching to a state of confirmed insanity, though as yet seeming to possess the use of his mental faculties in a sufficient degree to render him accountable for their perversion. That a suspicion of the dreadful truth of apprehensions which his friends but just hinted at in their letters, had already crossed his anxious parent's mind, is evident from the following letter from Vienna, the perusal of which must surely do away with every unfavourable impression of its writer's parental affection, or of his fondness for the mother of his unhappy child, if such can still linger in a single breast:—

" My good Friend " Vienna, Dec^{r} 17. 1786.

" I acknowledge it is too long since I last wrote to You: various Occurrences as a Traveller in an unfrequented path, has happened to me " perils by land, perils by Water," after a long and dangerous Voyage, the immediate Confinem^{t} in one of the most offensive Lazarettos, without Chair Table or a board to lay my bed on; with the dreadful Accounts I rec^{d} of my Son, almost broke my steady spirits: the ill judged zeal of some persons in another Affair vexed me not a little, but in this, my Mind was fixed; a Statue I detest, I should have carefully avoided the sight of it, it would indeed have been a punishment of me; and as I have last post wrote to the Committee in the most plain and unequivocal manner, I am persuaded that Affair is at an end. The Money will be far better employed in the Fund for relieving Prisoners and reforming Prisons—My Son's conduct is a bitter affliction to me, the loss of his Mother and such a Mother, to check and guide the Infant passions, the uninterrupted health and strength he enjoyed was productive of many an anxious thought, yet I hoped the best—By my Accounts, he has lost his Senses; if so, calm restraint and confinement, with proper Medical assistance is necessary; I have wrote last post to M^{r} Tatnall with my free consent, and full acquiescence in whatever steps He and his Uncles may think proper to take; as I can form no proper judgment at this distance; and my presence or Commands would have little weight with him, and still less if

distracted. Yet I shall hasten home as fast as possible, but as my Apartm^{t} at the Lazaretto was as offensive as a sick Ward is at night; (the Venetians being very dirty) the Walls probably not washed these fifty years, I soon lost all stomack to my bread and Tea and was listless, as I have known several persons in similar Circumstances. by their Confinem^{t} in our Gaols: I talked of lime whiting my room, but I soon found the prejudices the Venetians had agst it; so I privately procured a ¼ of a Bush^{l} of Lime, and a few days after proper brushes; early one Morn^{g}, three hours before my guard was up, I began with my Valet who was sent to light my fires (having determined to lock up my guard if he opposed me) and slacking the fresh lime at different times, always with *boiling* Water, (my brick Walls and ceiling being before brushed down) We washed every part of my room, and afterwards the floor with boiling Water, and finished our jobb by noon, so that at 4 o'Clock I drank my Tea, and at night lay in a sweet and fresh room; and in a few days my appetite and strength returned.—I had before tryed the washing the Walls with boiling Water, but it had no effect on the infectious Walls &c

"I staid a week after I left the Lazaretto, at Venice, and in 3 days came by sea to Trieste; I found at the former and at this place, the slow hospital fever creeping upon me, by my long confinem^{t}, the whole air of the Lazaretto being infected: M^{r} Murray our last Ambassador from Constantinople died there of the putrid fever.—But the sub Governor of Trieste spared me his easy and good Carriage, and I came here last Tuesday, in 4 nights and 5 days: three of the former I traveled but one night I was forced to stop; I am much reduced by fatigue of Body and Mind, I have great reason to bless God that my steadiness of resolution Does not forsake me in so many solitary hours;—if my night fever keeps off, I will soon go the long stride to Amsterdam; pray let me there receive a Letter from you (at Mess^{rs} Hopes Bankers): give me your advice, fully and freely: Is my son distracted? Is it from the probability of his Vice and folly at Edinburg? How could M^{r} ******* receive him to the Sacrament? What do you advise?—My old Servants Jn^{o}

Prole, Thomas, and Jos[a] Crockford, have had a sad time, I hear they have been faithfull, wise, and prudent: please to thank them, particularly in my Name for their Conduct; Two of them I am persuaded have acted out of regard to his excellent Mother: Who I rejoice is *dead.*

" Remember me to our connected friends at Bedford,

" I am, with all good wishes,

" ever Yours

" JOHN HOWARD."

" P. S. Excuse Writ[s] &c as wrote early by a poor lamp. What I suffered I am persuaded I should have disregarded in the Lazaretto; as I gained useful information; the Regulat[ns] are admirable, if they were better kept. Venice is the Mother of all Lazaretto's, but O! my Son, my Son.

P S the post not going out till this evening the 19th, I just add; that I had a poor night, much of my fever, tho' quite off now 6 ôClock; yet must stop 2 or 3 days longer: The Mountain Air I hope will take it off, and I shall get on by the light nights; I only want a Month's rest, for indeed nobody knows what I have suffered this journey; many weeks dry biscuits and tea, often have I wished for a little of my skimed milk, yet I bless God for many comfortable Sabbaths, and my Mind steadily approving the Object I had in persuit. Adieu Adieu.

" P P S, I saw Mr. Jenkins our friend Anthony's kinsman at Rome, I told him that A. was a humble good Man, in his line I hardly knew his equal, modest *difidence* unimposing, such a relation that I should not be ashamed of— He replyed Mr H. since you first mentioned him I have writen to my kinsman in Dorsetshire, he writes he knows no Relationship. Pray get the particulars very explicid from Anth[y], and I will write to Mr. Jenkins."

" To Rev. Mr. Smith Potter Street.

" Bedford. (Angleterre.")

For six days after this letter was dispatched its benevolent author was

actively engaged in the inspection of the hospitals and charitable institutions of Vienna, with which, upon the whole, he was still very much delighted. "Being the objects of the emperor's *particular* attention, and having been either founded or improved by him, *they manifested*," he tells us, "a public spirit which *did* him *great* honor, and *gave* a *striking example* to other potentates." When he had finished his visits to them he received, from our ambassador at his court, a notification of their imperial patron's desire to have a private conference with him on the condition of establishments on which he had bestowed much attention, and expended very large sums of money. "Can I do any good by going?" was the first question which Mr. Howard asked; at the same time declaring, that, as he had many things to object to his majesty's plans, he would, if interrogated respecting them, freely speak his mind; for, great as was the honor to which he was invited, he would not accept of it unless he was assured that it might promote the cause to which he had devoted himself.* Being told that it would do so, he accepted the invitation, and was admitted to an audience with the emperor, his own account of which I now transcribe from his diary:—

"Xmas day 1786 Vienna. I this day had the Honour of near 2 hours conversation in private with the Empourer his very condescending and affable manner gave me that freedom of Speech, which enabled me plainly and freely to tell him my Mind.—His majesty began on his Military Hospital, then the great Hospital also the Lunatic Hospital the defects of which I told him.—On *Prisons* I fully opened my Mind, it pleased God to give me full recollection, and freedom of Speech—his Majesty stoped me, and said '*You hang in your country*,' I said '*Yes*, but death was more desireable than the misery such Wretches endure in total darkness, chained to the Wall, no visitor no Preist, even for 2 years together, it was a punishment too great for human Nature to bear, many had lost their rational Faculties by it.'—His Majesty asked me the

* Dr. Brown's MSS.

condition our Prisons were in at London, I said 'they were bad, but in a way of improvement, But that all Europe had their Eyes on his Majesty, who had made such alterations in his Hospitals and Prisons' I said 'the object was to make them *better* men and *useful* subjects'—The Emperor shaked me by the hand, and said I had given him much pleasure.—The Emperor freely and openly conversed with me I admire his Condescention and affability his Thirst and desire to do good, and to strike out great objects He was not a Month on the Throne before He saw every Prison and Hospital, now he continually and unexpectedly looks into all his Establishments I have seen him go out in his Chariott with only one Footman—no Guards, no attendance, sometimes drives himself with only his Coachman behind, looks into every thing, knows every thing—I think means well.—The Emperor told his Minister he was greatly pleased with my Visit, I had [not] pleaded for the Prisoners with soft and flattering Speach that meant nothing, some things I advised He *should* do, others He should *not* do."

But of the circumstances of this interesting meeting of these two great men, I am happy in having an opportunity of communicating some further particulars to the public, from the notes made of Mr. Howard's own account of it in conversation with his friends, the Rev. Dr. Brown, and the late Dr. Lettsom, the substance of whose memoranda,—of which those of the former gentleman are by far the more copious and valuable,—is here thrown into one connected narrative. It was in a little apartment, up three pair of stairs, that our illustrious countryman, received, through his minister, Count *Kaunitz*, an intimation from the emperor, that he should be pleased by a visit from him; to which he returned for answer, that he was sorry that his intention of leaving Vienna on the next morning would prevent him the pleasure of waiting upon his majesty. He then received a second message through the ambassador from his own court, informing him that the emperor would receive him at the earliest hour he chose to name before his departure, and then, after the conversation

already detailed, he named nine o'clock for the interview. Punctually at that hour he was announced at the palace, and was ushered into an apartment resembling a counting-house, where he found the emperor attended by a single secretary. He was desired to step into another room, so plainly furnished, that it had neither looking-glass nor chair. Hither his imperial majesty immediately followed, and soon directed the conversation into the channel he wished it to take, by asking his visitor's opinion of his new military hospital. Before he returned an answer to this question, Mr. Howard begged to know whether he might speak freely what he thought, and being assured that he might, he replied, "I must then take the liberty of saying that your majesty's military hospital is loaded with defects. The allowance of bread is too small: the apartments are not kept clean, and are also, in many respects, ill-constructed. One defect particularly struck me: the care of the sick is committed to *men*, who are very unfit for that office, especially when it is imposed upon them as a punishment, as I understand to be the case here." To these free observations, the emperor replied, that "as to the bread, the allowance was the same as that of every other soldier, a pound per day;" to which our Philanthropist unceremoniously rejoined, that "it was not sufficient for a man who was obliged to do any kind of work, or who was recovering from sickness, being barely adequate to the support of life." The next question was concerning the new tower for lunatics, of whose condition Mr. Howard briefly observed, "by no means such as I could wish: it is too confined, and not properly managed." He then particularized several defects, for which purpose he had taken his notes with him. Next of prisons:—here he hesitated, as if afraid of having said too much, and apprehensive of giving still greater offence by what he was about to utter. "Speak without fear," said the emperor, on observing this hesitation. "I saw, in them then," said his faithful, and his fearless monitor, "many things that filled me with astonishment and grief. They have all dungeons. The torture has been said to be abolished in your majesty's dominions—but it is only so in

appearance: for what is now practised is in reality worse than any other torture. Poor wretches are confined twenty feet below ground, in places just fitted to receive their bodies, and some of them are kept there for eighteen months. Others are in dungeons, chained so closely to the wall that they can hardly breathe. All of them are deprived of proper consolation and religious support." Here the monarch seemed to feel some uneasiness, and abruptly said, "Sir! in your country they hang for the slightest offences." "I grant," replied Mr. Howard, "that the multiplicity of her capital punishments is a disgrace to England; but as one fault does not excuse another, so neither in this case is the parallel just; for I declare that I would rather be hanged, if it were possible, ten times over, than undergo such a continuance of sufferings as the unhappy beings endure who have the misfortune to be confined in your majesty's prisons." Resuming the thread of his discourse where it had been so suddenly broken off, he thus continued his remonstrance in behalf of the violated rights of humanity. "Many of these men have not yet been brought to trial, and should they be found innocent of the crimes laid to their charge, it is out of your majesty's power to make them a reparation for the injuries you have done them; for it is now too late to do them justice, weakened and deranged in their health and faculties as they are, by so long a solitary confinement." He then objected to the allowance of bread to the convicts condemned to clean the streets; and, in order to touch his majesty by the point of honor, told him how excellent, in this respect, were the regulations of the Prussian hospitals and prisons. The next topic of conversation was work-houses. "In them too," said our Philanthropist, "there are many defects. In the first place, the people are obliged to lie in their cloathes, a practice which never fails to produce distempers in the end. Secondly, little or no attention is paid to cleanliness: and, thirdly, the allowance of bread is too small." "Where," asked his majesty, "did you see any better institutions of this kind?" "There *was* one better," replied the hero ("for how much more," observes Dr. Brown, in relating the particulars of this interesting interview, "is this title due to such characters

than to those who drench the earth with blood!") "at Ghent; but not so now! not so now!" At this the emperor started, and seemed a great deal shocked, but he had magnanimity enough to take the bold reprover of his conduct by the hand, as he had done more than once during the preceding part of their discourse, and, on his taking leave, thanked him most cordially for his advice. On the next day, he told our ambassador that his countryman was without ceremony or compliment, that he liked him the better for it; adding, moreover, that he should follow some of his recommendations, others he should not. "Conviction," remarks Dr. Brown, "dictated the first of these resolutions: pride had probably some share in the second." From the impression which he evidently saw that some parts of his discourse had made upon the mind of his imperial auditor, our benevolent countryman was induced to remain a day or two longer in the capital of his dominions, to ascertain what practical effects it would produce, and he had the satisfaction to know, before he left Vienna, that orders had been issued for amending, in many particulars which he pointed out as defective, the regulations of the prisons and charitable institutions of that city, especially by the speedy trial of such of the prisoners in the dungeons as had not yet been tried, and the immediate release of others against whom no further proceedings were to be instituted. During this protracted stay, the very generous reception which he had experienced from the emperor, rendered the sycophants of his court anxious to pay him every attention, and none more so than the vain governor of Upper Austria, with his still vainer countess, who (as they thought) honored him by a visit. The former, in a tone of *hauteur*, rather than in that which a spirit of philanthropy would have dictated, inquired into the state of the prisons in the government to which he had recently been appointed. "The worst in all Germany," said Howard, without a moment's hesitation, particularly in the condition of the female prisoners, and I recommend your countess to visit them personally, as the best means of rectifying the abuses in their management." "I!" said she haughtily, "I go into prisons!" and Mr. Howard told Dr. Lettsom, as he related to him this sin-

gular conversation, that she so rapidly descended the staircase with her husband, that he was afraid some accident would befal them before they got into the street. Yet, notwithstanding the precipitancy of their retreat, the indignant Philanthropist called after her, in a loud tone of voice, "Madam, remember that you are a woman yourself, and must soon, like the most miserable female prisoner in a dungeon, inhabit but a small space of that earth from which you equally originated."

It is the generally received opinion that one of the motives which induced Mr. Howard at first to decline the honor of a personal interview with the emperor, was his rooted aversion to the rule of court etiquette, which required persons presented to the sovereign to kneel before him; an act of adoration which he would never pay to any but the Supreme. It is added, however, that the emperor magnanimously waved this mark of respect in his favor, and that about six weeks after he had admitted him to an audience, he abolished the ceremony altogether by a general edict. But as I do not find this circumstance noticed in any of the original sources of information in my possession, it is merely mentioned here as one of the *on dits* connected with the life of our great Philanthropist.

It was previous to his departure from this city, that he seems to have entered in his diary the following judicious remarks on a mode of punishing criminals common on the continent, though very opposite to that resorted to in his own country. "Persons in high Life may think sweeping the Streets drawing Barges and other such works is worse than Death, but they should consider, their rank, character, and habits of thinking are very different from those Persons who are so punished. The desire of Life, and hope of seeing better days, are the strongest Passions in *them*, and, therefore Death they dread and most fear.—a line should be drawn, Justice is due to the injured, and we should be careful to prevent the Honest being plundered."

In making the best of his way into Holland,—and he travelled the first 500 miles without stopping for rest or refreshment,—Mr. Howard revisited, at Francfort, the house of correction and poor-house, which were under one direction. Though an old building, it was clean, one half of the Saturday being always devoted to the business of purifying the apartments, which, on the female side, were under the inspection of ladies. The men were still employed in making cement, and the women prisoners in doing the more laborious work in the rooms of the poor. Passing on thence through Nassau, Aix-la-Chapelle, and Bois-le-Duc, he reached Utrecht on the 15th of January, 1787, where he was sorry to find, that in the April of the preceding year, his friend, Dr. Brown, had the misfortune to have his house burnt down whilst he and his family were at church, and learning from him, that from the exact order observed in such cases, he had not lost a single thing that was taken out of his house, he requested him to commit to paper the excellent regulations of the police upon this subject, the substance of which he afterwards inserted in the account of his journey.* From this city he proceeded to Amsterdam, where, in the new work-house and house of correction, he found 350 persons spinning in one long room; others being employed in preparing ropes for oakum. In the infirmary, the patients and rooms were both of them so dirty, that he was not surprized at not being readily admitted to inspect it. "A great degree of *inhumanity*, and abuse of trust," he observes, after having gone through this house, "*must be imputed to the resident governor.*" Whilst here, he learnt that in Holland accomplices were never admitted as what we call king's evidence, no one but the Stadtholder being able to promise them impunity on discovering their accomplices; nor was a prisoner who effected his escape liable to any punishment for so doing, though other persons for assisting in breaking open a prison were punishable with death. He noticed, also, that perjury was not so frequent here as in other countries, owing, he thought, in part, to the solemnity of the administration of oaths. "I could wish," he goes on to

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 74: Dr. Brown's MSS.

observe upon this point, "from the clearest principles of reason and sound policy, that the use of *oaths*, in almost all cases were abolished, and that the *affirmation* of the fact should be sufficient; and that he who asserted or affirmed a falsity, should be *punished* and *disgraced* as a perjurer."* Agreeably to his urgent request, he received in this city a letter from his friend Mr. Smith, to inform him of the real state of things at Cardington; and melancholy indeed was the intelligence which that letter, and the communications of his other friends, which came to hand about the same time, conveyed. Shortly after he had first written him an account of his son's extraordinary behaviour, Mr. Smith was fully confirmed in the suspicion, which he even then entertained, of that behaviour proceeding from, at least, a temporary derangement of the intellects, yet, for some months, this did not appear with sufficient certainty to authorize his friends to exercise such a control over him as to employ any person to watch, much less to restrain his movements. Yet such was the opinion which Mr. Smith at this time had formed of the unsteady state of his mind, that he was greatly alarmed when, on coming home one night, he found that, during his absence, young Howard had called and taken his son with him to Cardington, where, as during his college vacations was always the case, he was the master; occupying the best rooms in the house, and having every attention paid to him, which, as Mr. Howard's son, he could have a right to expect. The next morning he went over to bring him back, but it was not without much management and entreaty that he persuaded him to let the lad go, being unwilling to irritate him if he could avoid it, as he was very resolute for a long while in refusing to part with him. He often declared afterwards that the period which this unhappy young man spent at home at this juncture of his malady was the most harassing time he ever passed, as he was always in fear of his growing suddenly worse, and doing either himself, or some one else a very serious mischief. From a portion of this excessive anxiety he was, however, partially relieved, by his return to college, where he continued occasionally to

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 73, 4.

exhibit similar marks of a disordered imagination, one of which was related to the lady, to whom I am indebted for nearly the whole of the particulars of this severe affliction, by a gentleman of Cambridge, recently deceased, to whom young Howard had been introduced by his father. One morning he took a violent prejudice against the persons who waited upon him at college, and insisted that they had put poison into his milk. Full of this idea, he went to Mr. Hollick and begged of him to come and examine the provisions they had brought him for his breakfast, which he accordingly did, and found nothing the matter with them; yet it was with some difficulty, and not without himself drinking a considerable portion of his milk, that he could persuade him that it was so, and that no person had any intention to injure him. It was after he had exhibited this evident symptom of insanity that he circulated a tale, which the detractors from the merit of his father's actions have not suffered to be buried in oblivion, viz. that that father had once knocked him down. Yet for this report there was not the shadow of a foundation but what existed in the unnatural prejudices of his distempered mind; as, immediately on its circulation, whilst Mr. Howard was living, his friends, particularly Mr. Smith, made diligent inquiry of his domestics, who all declared their utter disbelief of it, as they never had known their master to strike his son even the slightest blow at any period of his life; and he was still less likely to have done it when that son was grown up to man's estate, as he was of a very tall and athletic make, and more likely to knock his father down, than to be knocked down by him. But, besides this testimony, Mr. Howard himself declared to more than one of his friends, that he never, upon any occasion, had inflicted corporal chastisement of any description whatever upon his son. It is therefore to the insanity of this unfortunate young man that we are to trace the origin of this and of similar reports of the harshness of his father's treatment which (as the approaches of this dreadful disease were so gradual, that its existence was not suspected by strangers when what ultimately proved to have been its strongest symptoms first appeared) were too widely circulated

to permit his friends wholly to remove the prejudices which the public mind had on this point imbibed against him. One of these symptoms, and, with those who knew him best, the strongest one, was the aversion he now manifested to his father, and the stories he circulated to his prejudice; but, lest those who are unacquainted with the tendency of this malady, to make us hate the most those who formerly were the most beloved, should consider this circumstance but a convincing proof of the too generally received opinion, that parental severity was the cause of this most severe affliction, it may be necessary to state that, during the whole of his derangement, he exhibited the same rooted antipathy to Thomasson, who before had been one of his chief favourites, the companion of his guilty pleasures, and his initiator into every scene of gaiety and vice. When he had left Cambridge for the long vacation, from which he returned not to it again, his conduct was so increasingly eccentric and outrageous, that the servants were afraid to live with him, as he entertained the same suspicion of their intentions to poison him as he had done of his attendants at the university; whilst such was the violence which, upon these occasions, he exhibited, that he sometimes threatened to be the death of them. To Thomasson, in particular, his aversion was so strong and decided that he would not suffer him to come near him; and when he one day accidentally came into the room in which he was sitting, he threw the poker at his head with such force that, had he hit his aim, it must inevitably have killed him. It was shortly after this outrage that, towards the close of the year 1786, he suddenly left Cardington, and, without communicating his intentions to any one,—for he was under no manner of control,—went over to Daventry, where the Rev. Thomas Belsham, now minister of the Unitarian Chapel in Essex-street, then resided. He continued at an inn in that town a week, though he spent a great part of his time at Mr. Belsham's house, where Mrs. Greene, then Miss Smith, happened to be upon a visit, my mixing the while with the family, and at intervals conducting himself very rationally. Of the daughter of his father's most intimate

friend he took a great deal of notice, buying her cakes, fruit, and other presents, and frequently wishing to play with her,—for she was then but a child, —as he had been accustomed to do when at home; but, frightened at his behaviour, and thinking that he was out of his mind, she avoided him as much as possible, a circumstance at which he was very angry. Mr. Belsham, observing his conduct upon these and other occasions, which was often violent, and extravagantly eccentric, and not being able to persuade him to return home, very prudently wrote to Mr. Whitbread, to inform him of his conviction that he ought to be put under restraint, and *he* immediately sent two keepers from a private lunatic asylum in London, to take him back to Cardington, where he remained under their care until his father's return; his maternal uncles and Mr. Tatnall, his paternal relative, joining Mr. Whitbread in opinion that this was the fittest measure that could be adopted. Here Dr. Monro visited him, and immediately that he saw him, "he pronounced," says a letter which Mr. Belsham was so obliging as to address to me in answer to some inquiries upon the subject, "that his disorder was the worst kind of insanity, brought on in the worst way. There was nothing extraordinary, however, in this young man's case," continues this reverend and highly respectable gentleman, "and though Mr. Howard had some strange whims about his education, there is not the slightest reason to believe that *his* insanity is to be attributed, in any degree, to undue severity in his father." So decided a testimony from such a man, on such a subject, must surely remove the doubts of the most incredulous, and alter the opinion of the most prejudiced. His derangement, indeed, was of a very different kind to that which is usually occasioned by the spirits being broken, or the mind depressed, either by severity or misfortune, as from its very first appearance it was of a violent, and most outrageous nature; and I have authority to say, that these unfavorable symptoms were, in all probability, aggravated, though not altogether occasioned, by an hereditary tendency to this most dreadful of all human ills in some branches of his family.

When these measures were taken, it became no longer possible, and it

would have been utterly useless to have attempted, to conceal from the parent of this unfortunate young man, the melancholy truth that his son was now a lunatic, under restraint in his father's house. Yet it does not appear that any one but his faithful servant Prole had had the courage to communicate to him the dreadful intelligence, when he wrote to Mr. Smith the following letter from Amsterdam, requesting that nothing might be concealed from him, but that on his arrival in London, whither he was hastening as fast as possible, a true account of the actual state of mind in which his son then was, might await him :—

" Dear Sir " Amsterdam, Jan^{y} 18th 1787.

" I thank you for your kind Letter which I have just received as I came here last night, The first 500 miles I never stopped but to change Horses for being alone my Tea once a day, and some bread and apples in my Chaise did not detain me ; in the remaining Three hundred miles I stopped a night or two as they were so very cold, and perhaps I was more sensible of it, as we had a hott summer in Turkey. In ten days after my arrival at Vienna my fever left me, and my usual Calm, steady, and permit me to say resolute spirits flowed in their usual Channel ; The Emperor desired to see me, with whom I had the Honour of a private Audience above an hour and a half; He took me by the Hand three times in Conversat^{n} and thanked me for the Visit, and afterw^{ds} told our Ambassador that " his Countryman spoke well for Prisoners, that he used no flowers, which others ever do, and mean nothing."—But His greatest favour to me was His immediate alteration in the relief of Prisoners ; that Sir Rob^{t} Keith said " if I would not permit my Statue to put up in England, the Prisoners would do it at Vienna," and indeed of the Two, I sho^{d} like it best, as the latter would be out of sight, as nobody is permitted to come there but by an Order.

" I propose being in London ab^{t} the 7th Feb^{y} I have a melancholy Letter from Jn^{o} Prole relative to my unhappy young Man, it is indeed a bitter Affliction, a Son, an only Son !

" Mr. Leeds has kindly done, what I think I should have done for the first

trial, to see what effect it will have on him: but in such a situation I cannot live in the House. I shall request once more a line to meet me the 7th of next Month, and inform me how things *really* go at Cardington. I am anxious to know the true state of things there.

"How I come ever to mistake Jn°. Antill's name I know not; I will write to his kinsman Mr Jenkins before I leave the Continent.

"Best Comps to Mrs Smith; Remember me to Mr Read, you remind me of the saying of an excellent good Man, *Indocti cœlum rapiunt.*"

"With all good Wishes, I am

"Sincerely Yours

"JOHN HOWARD."

"P. S. Who is at ***** Meeting? I shall not any more stir there, but leave it to themselves to act as they think proper.

"P. P. S. Please Sir to order Thomas or Jn° Prole to send to Mr Whitbread's in Chiswell Street what mourning Cloths they shall find in my Trunk in my study, a Monday the 5th of Febr

"To the Revd Mr Smith "excuse yrs &c

"in Potter's Street Bedford. (Angleterre.") "J. H."

Sad indeed was the scene of domestic affliction, and worse than desolation, to which this disinterested friend, this most illustrious ornament, of the human race was introduced, on his return to England, early in February, 1787. After a very short stay in London he went to Cardington, the scene of the purest joys and deepest sorrows which had as yet chequered his existence, to satisfy himself of the extent of the heaviest affliction that had ever befallen him; and he found his son, his only son, a raving maniac, threatening destruction to his dearest friends, and ready to vent his fury upon the very author of his being. Surely then this was not a spectacle for a father to witness unmoved; nor was the spot on which it was exhibited a fit residence for him: he therefore returned to the metropolis, and strove to divert

his attention from this heavy calamity, which seemed for ever to have withered the happiness of his domestic life, to one of a public nature, that continued to press with no trivial weight upon his sensitive mind. The design of erecting a statue to his honor was still persisted in, and but a very few days before his arrival, a letter from one of the most ardent of its promoters was inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine, recommending an adherence to the plan, without yielding to his extreme delicacy; as reflection, it was contended, would "correct the wrong suggestions of sensibility, and Mr. Howard *would* at last respect that decision which he *was* unable to control."* But those who argued thus knew not the man with whom they had to deal, and were ignorant of the important fact, of what they called a wrong sensibility, being the result of mature reflection, and of an estimate of his own character, formed upon the principles of Christianity, and not upon those of the world. They were soon, therefore, undeceived in the expectations they had cherished, on the publication of the following letter to the subscribers to the fund which, without his consent, and in direct opposition to his wishes, had been called after his name:—

"My Lords and Gentlemen,

"You are entitled to all the gratitude I can express for the testimony of approbation you have intended me, and I am truly sensible of the honour done me; but at the same time you must permit me to inform you, that I cannot, without violating all my feelings, consent to it, and that the execution of your design would be a cruel punishment to me: It is therefore my earnest request, that those friends, who wish my happiness and future comfort in life, would withdraw their names from the subscription, and that the execution of your design may be laid aside for ever.

"I shall always think the reform now going on in several of the jails of this kingdom, and which I hope will become general, the greatest honour and the most ample reward I can possibly receive.

* Gents. Mag. Vol. LVII. Part I. p. 44.

"I must further inform you, that I cannot permit the fund, which in my absence, and without my consent, hath been called the Howardian Fund, to go in future by that name; and that I will have no concern in the disposal of the money subscribed: my situation and various pursuits rendering it impossible for me to pay any attention to such a general plan, which can only be carried into due effect in particular districts, by a constant attention and a constant residence. "I am, my Lords and Gentlemen,

"London, Feb, 16, 1787." "Your obedient and faithful

"To the Subscribers for erecting "humble servant,
a Statue, &c. to Mr. Howard." "JOHN HOWARD."

A copy of this letter was sent to all the principal public journals, having previously been communicated to several of his private friends, and, amongst others, to Dr. Lettsom (from whose manuscript it is here transcribed,) accompanied by the following note:—

"SIR,

"Permit me to enclose you a Copy of an intended Advertizement which (on the maturest deliberation) my mind is fixed upon.

"Some of my friends may perhaps blame me, yet with much esteem I shall ever remain

"Sir

"Yr Obliged Hum Sert

London Feby 16 1787 "JOHN HOWARD."

On the receipt of these letters Dr. Lettsom sought and obtained an interview with their author; but, though he was closeted with him for three hours, and used all the arts of persuasion with which he was so eminently gifted, he could not induce him to accept of any marks of public approbation whatever;

though, in order to prevail with him, he introduced him to several persons of high rank and celebrity, who were amongst the warmest promoters of the scheme, whose execution, under every modification proposed to him, he steadily, and successfully resisted. Nor was there, or could there indeed be, any affectation of modesty in this conduct, as he uniformly expressed the same determination to the most intimate of his friends in his confidential communications with them, and the whole tenor of his life bore witness to the sincerity of his perseverance in it. Soon after his return to England, the relative, in whose possession his papers remain, said to him, " Mr. Howard, you may be sure you would have seen my name in the subscription set on foot during your absence, if I had thought the measure would be acceptable to you." To which he replied, " My dear friend, I am sure you know me too well; I thank you, and all my best friends, for not assisting to wound my feelings." Being at the Rev. Mr. Symonds's at Bedford, during one of his earliest visits to Cardington, after he had again reached the shores of his country, that gentleman said to him, " So, Sir, you would not receive the honor which was intended you." " O no, Sir," replied Mr. Howard, " who that knew his own heart could receive it." To his bosom friend, Mr. Smith, he said, " conscious as I am of my many sins and imperfections, I must always view with pain and abhorrence every attempt of my friends to bring me forward to public view and public approbation. If, therefore, you love me, if you value my peace of mind, you will use your utmost endeavours to prevent any similar attempt in future." To him, and indeed to all his friends, he also declared, that, had the design of erecting his statue been persisted in, it would have been such a weight on his mind as materially to have affected the comfort and usefulness of his future life, as he should in that case have been banished from his country for ever. Precisely to the same effect was his reply to prince Kaunitz, when he had told him, that though he would not suffer a statue to be erected to him in his own country, one would certainly be placed by their grateful inhabitants in the

prisons of Vienna :—" I have no objection to its being erected where it shall be invisible."* Such indeed was the natural modesty of his disposition, and the humility which, as a Christian, he habitually cherished, that nothing could do greater violence to his feelings than to say any thing in praise of his conduct in the singular path of benevolence to which he had devoted himself. A gentleman of Hoddesdon has obligingly communicated to me an instance of this, to which he himself was witness when he once had the happiness to be in his company. One of the party was extolling him in the highest terms for his meritorious services in the cause of humanity, when he interrupted him by exclaiming, with a peculiar smile upon his countenance, " Oh, dear Sir, as for the merit, I'll say it is my hobby-horse."

Finding, therefore, that his objections to their schemes were insurmountable, the committee for managing the *Howardian Fund,* as this subscription hitherto had been, and, in spite of his prohibition, still was called, expressed their readiness to return the money of such as should think proper to reclaim it; and about 500*l.* was accordingly refunded, out of a subscription of 1,533*l.* 13*s.* 6*d.*, the remainder being placed in the stocks, either to be applied, at some future opportunity, to the purposes for which it was originally contributed, or to the promotion of the objects to which the benevolent being, whose unexampled philanthropy it was raised to celebrate, had devoted so large a portion of his existence. Two hundred pounds of this sum were afterwards appropriated to the discharge of 55 poor prisoners in the metropolis, and a further sum was expended for striking a medal in honor of him, for each subscriber; whilst the surplus was eventually employed in erecting that memorial to his worth after his decease, which, whilst living, he steadily refused to receive at their hands.† Nor was this the only instance of his declining to accept of any thing which bore the semblance of a public acknowledgement of his labors in the cause of humanity;

* Dr. Stennett's Funeral Sermon, p. 3. † Gent. Mag. Vol. LXV. Part I. p. 278; LVII. Part I. p. 284; 464. Part II. p. 149: Universal Mag. Vol. LXXXVI. p. 262.

for a tradesman, evidently a member of the Society of Friends, who, like himself, "*did* good by stealth, and *blushed* to find it fame," having deposited 365 guineas in the hands of a banker, as the amount of a year's savings by habits of frugality, he refused to interfere with its application, when its generous, but unknown contributor requested him to undertake its disposal.*

But, whilst he thus firmly and scrupulously resisted every attempt on the part of the admirers of the extraordinary benevolence of his character, to pay to his unassuming worth the tribute of public applause which it so richly merited to receive, he was not backward in performing those deeds of universal charity to the whole brotherhood of man, which advanced still higher his claims to the honors from which he shrunk. Knowing no distinction of kindred or of clime in his efforts to mitigate the sufferings of the human race, he embraced the earliest opportunity which the distressing state of his family affairs would allow, to apply to the English ministry to interest themselves in behalf of the unfortunate protestant slave, who had so long been languishing the victim of religious intolerance in the galleys at Toulon: nor was his application unavailing, the English and French courts then being on very amicable terms, and in habits of constant communication during the negociation of the celebrated commercial treaty, in which the late Lord Auckland displayed his admirable talents as a diplomatist. As the latter, therefore, had no peculiar interest in continuing the slavery of this oppressed, but virtuous man, whilst by his release they would have an opportunity of obliging the English government, they readily acceded to the request made in his Britannic Majesty's name by lord Carmarthen, who, on Mr. Howard's representation, took up the matter very warmly, as did also our ambassador at the French court. This benevolent being, therefore, soon had the satisfaction to learn that he was made the providential instrument of loosing the chains of a deserving and patient sufferer in the cause of religion and of conscience.†

* Gent. Mag. Vol. LVII. Part I. p. 102. † Dr. Brown's MS.

It was soon after achieving this generous action that Mr. Howard entered upon another, and, as it eventually proved, a final inspection of the prisons of his own country, into whose condition he felt a natural anxiety to inquire, in order to ascertain what improvements had been made in them since the tour of re-inspection, which had now been completed somewhat more than three years. He commenced this laborious work, on or about the 18th of March, with the gaols of the metropolis. In many of these he found various alterations for the better, but some of the abuses on which he had laid the greatest stress were still permitted to exist. Thus the New Prison, Clerkenwell, was still without bedding; prisoners of all sorts associated together in playing at cards, &c. whilst those who were most iniquitously detained for their fees, were often reduced to the necessity of pawning their scanty cloathing to procure their discharge. In the bridewell there, the same want of bedding was suffered to prevail, as was indeed the case in all the gaols of the metropolis but one, and too generally in most of the English prisons. The prisoners upon both sides were miserable objects, being very dirty, some of them almost naked, and all without employment. The keeper's salary here, and at the New Prison, was but 50*l.*, but at both places it was to be made up 300*l.* by fees and perquisites, exorted from their wretched and half-naked prisoners, or the county engaged to pay the deficiency. At Tothill-fields, its excellent keeper, Mr. Smith, was no more, and the room which he used as a chapel was now turned into a night-room for the women, though, on the men's side of the prison,—some of the male prisoners, in return, sleeping in a room in the women's court. Another room was appropriated to the deposit of articles of cloathing, as a security for the keeper's fees: but one woman was released by Mr. Howard's generosity, who having no property in this pawn-shop, had been detained here for four days after the expiration of the term of her imprisonment. By conversation with the keeper, he learnt that this term always ended at midnight, a practice which he very properly reprobates, from its natural tendency to expose to temptation such as, at this unseasonable hour, might be turned out into the streets

without either money, friends, or home. His next visit was to the hulks, which were clean; the prisoners healthy; their bread good, and many of them at work; whilst their hospital-ship was cleaner and quieter than most county hospitals. Several convicts had lately come from the county gaols, and the captain justly remarked to him, how different were the health and complexion of such persons then, to what they were when he first visited these receptacles for them. This alteration had entirely been produced by his exertions, but there were others which he had as yet labored in vain to effect, as he still had to repeat his complaint of the destructive consequences of such a pernicious assemblage as was here permitted, upon the morals of the younger convicts; the profaneness of the prisoners not being properly checked, and even their guards setting them a bad example.* In the bridewell for the county of Surrey, in St. George's-fields, no alteration had been made, except a very singular expedient of the justices, adopted also in those of Guildford and Kingston, to keep its prisoners from the dangerous effects of idleness, by ordering some loads of gravel, or dirt to be brought into the men's and women's court, for them to remove it in baskets from one side to the other. "This reminds me," says Mr. Howard, "of what I once heard a keeper say, 'I endeavour to *plague* and teaze my prisoners by making them saw wood with a blunt saw.'" In the Fleet, the King's Bench, and the Marshalsea, he found the provisions of a late act of parliament absolutely prohibiting gaolers from having any concern or interest in the sale of liquors, totally disregarded. Observing to the marshal's substitute of the latter ruinous, yet unaltered gaol, that several prisoners were drinking, he very truly replied, "the chief vice among prisoners is drunkenness; and *that* brings them here; and while they can drink and riot in prison they disregard the confinement." The Borough compter he describes as a new gaol on a bad plan; very dirty, and having for its keeper a sheriff's-officer without a salary.† It was on the 4th of April that the last of these visits was paid, and it is not until the 15th of May that we meet with any further traces of the

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 127—129; 216. † Ib. p. 125; 130; 147.

progress of his benevolent inquiries, an interval, which when compared with those of the former periods of his life, affords a melancholy proof of the untoward effects of the dreadful calamity that had blighted his domestic prospects upon his public exertions, which were now pursued, as it were, by fits and starts, rather than with the regularity and incessant devotedness by which they had formerly been distinguished. It was on the last of these days that he wrote to his faithful bailiff the following letter, in which he communicates his intention of soon setting out for Ireland, but which is inserted here for the proof it affords of his habitual attention to the regulation of his private affairs, which were never for a moment neglected, in the midst of public avocations that would have so completely absorbed every faculty of most other men's minds, as to have left them no time to attend to their own concerns, much less to have administered to the wants and comforts of their tenants, and the poor of their neighbourhood, with the minute solicitude which he here exhibits.

" John Prole " Great Ormond Street, May 15, 1787.

" I was uneasy you did not acknowledge the receit of the Hundred Pound. Have you laid Gravel enough to the New Stile, have you raked off the great stones, does it look a neat and good job.

" I observe you finish sawing &c. this Week. if any thing beside Oak that will make pails saw it up; pile them up to dry. Take no further Notice ab^{t}. the Newport pagnel Man, there are Cottages enough. I rec^{d}. for Walker 4. 3. 10. from his Brother's effects. I am quarreling for more as I charge the Col^{l}. with the watch which he shuffles about, and I insist He or his Agent had it. This money for him shall be put in a gally pot with blue paper for Tho^{s} Walker.

" Cloath Nott^{m} girl neatly and properly and if her Master says she behaves better, I will give her half a guinea at Mic^{s}.—Let some of the Books in the Closet in the passage be given away to the Schools and others.

" At * * * * * * * from Mr. * * * *'s leaving them, I return to my former subscript^{n}. of 2 Guin^{s}.

" I will keep the Chaise horse and try him, many fine horses in Town are blind and yet never fall, they give them the smoothest quarter and use them to a check in rough places and gutters which they run over.

" I hope to go for Ireland the end of next Week, but send me the begining thereof some Butter and a good Loaf of Bread with some rye in it, as I live upon it all the Week.

" The field Potatoes are kept weeded. The Widow Preston must do what is most agreeable to herself either in staying or going out of her house. I respected her husband and shall ever regard her family.

" Mr * * * * * * * * * shquld look into and inform me ab^{t}. his Brother's and His joint Bond: ask Him to whom I shall apply for a Dividend, and the remainder after what is paid off, He must settle.

" Yrs J. H.

" Mr John Prole

" Cardington near Bedford."

At the time he here fixes he set out upon his tour, and appears not to have stopped for the purposes of his undertaking it, until he reached Dublin, where he commmenced his re-inspection of the prisons on the 28th of May, when, in the Newgate, he found that many of the women were still lying upon the flag-stones with nothing under them but a little straw, worn to dust; whilst on the men's side, boys of not more than nine years of age were left to associate with the most daring and obdurate offenders. Garnish was not abolished, and prisoners would sell their bread at any price to procure whiskey, with which they were here so plentifully supplied, that a puncheon had been drank in a week. The consequence of this pernicious practice was—and who could be surprised at it? that prisoners frequently died of intoxication, and of the fighting to which it led: one, indeed, lay dead from this cause, in the infirmary, at the period of Mr. Howard's visit, and another was killed in a drunken affray a few days after. The magistrates had, however, determined to make an altera-

tion in this prison, and its visitor entertained no doubt but that a proper separation of prisoners, and a compulsion on the gaoler to reside in the prison, would prevent many irregularities, especially as,—thanks to his exertions,—they now had the assistance of a worthy and attentive clergyman. The rooms of the Four-court Marshalsea prison were dirty, without furniture, yet crowded with wives, or reputed wives, of prisoners, children, and dogs. In most of the lower rooms whiskey was sold by the debtors, and, as a means of pro curing it, one of them was converted into a pawn-broker's shop. The marshal assured his visitor that when his prison was full, a hogshead of whiskey had been disposed of in a clandestine manner in a week, besides what was sold at his own tap. Well, therefore, might the committee of the House of Commons report, as they had done about two months before, that "this prison *appeared* a scene of disorder, irregularity, and intoxication." A repetition of this disgraceful exhibition presented itself in the City Marshalsea, where there had been so serious a riot the night before Mr. Howard's visit, in consequence of the intoxication of the prisoners, that the sheriff and city guard had been brought thither, and succeeded in quelling the disturbance, but by taking three of the rioters to Newgate. The garnish here was two bottles of whiskey, a liquor with which the jail was plentifully, and but too cheaply supplied, by the wives of debtors bringing in spirits, and converting most of the lower rooms into gin-shops. Such, however, were the dreadful effects of this system, that the physician to the two Marshalseas informed their benevolent inspector, that he had just lost three men out of four, from a drunken carousal in this prison, in which they had, in the course of one morning, drank twelve shillings-worth of brandy, in punch, beside porter and other liquors. To this shocking scene, the house of industry still presented a most pleasing contrast, as although it now contained 1,375, and at another time 1,627 inhabitants, it was clean and orderly, the governors continuing, with unabated zeal and assiduity, to superintend its arrangements.* After having completed his inspection of the gaols of this metropolis,

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 79, 80.

Mr. Howard occupied himself for three or four days in visiting its hospitals and charitable institutions, in whose construction and management he found many errors, which he afterwards pointed out for correction; and he then commenced a regular round of examination into the abuses and defects of the Irish charter-schools. Of those defects it cannot be supposed that any minute account should here be given: they may, however, be summed up in a few words. The supply of linen and cloathing was very insufficient, made of the very worst materials, and therefore soon worn out, leaving the children in rags, and on that account unable to go to church. Their education was so grossly neglected, that at seventeen or eighteen years of age they were sent into the world, many of them unable to read; a natural consequence of requiring the masters and mistresses to pay a certain sum per head for their work, though in some places they had nothing for them to do, and lost money by them in all. Upon such a system, in sickness, little attention could be expected to be paid to them; their infirmaries, therefore, were without beds, which, in several of the schools, were also wanting for those who were in health, so that they sometimes slept three in a bed; whilst in other places the infirmaries were without doors, or converted into pig-styes, stables, potatoe, or fuel houses; were overflowed with water, or the boys occupied them as sleeping-rooms in friendly joint-tenantcy with fowls and turkeys, from whose filth they seemed not to have been cleansed for six months:—from the dirtiness of their habitations many of their inmates also had the itch and other cutaneous disorders. Their provision was too little, and even what was allowed was often withheld, so that the children in some of the schools were almost starved, often going without some of their meals altogether. As little attention was paid to their cleanliness, no proper allowance being made for linen, soap, and other necessaries, for this most desirable object; while in one instance sheets had been applied for for two months, yet were not sent, so that, in the words of one of the local committee, "their beds *were* scandalously dirty, the bedcloaths ruinous, torn and filthy." In several places the schools for the boys and girls were under the same roof, the children of the two sexes not

being properly separated, whilst their masters and mistresses were often very incompetent to the duties of their stations, some of them being drunkards, some only seventeen or eighteen years of age, and others eighty. He visited also in this tour three out of the four nurseries for the reception of children, from two to six years of age, and he paid the more minute attention to their condition, because their tender years rendered them incapable of struggling with hardships, or of making complaints. He was sorry, therefore, to find the same gross neglect of their health and cleanliness, as disgraced the schools for the elder children. The master of that at Monastereven pretended to be an apothecary, but a pretty correct judgment may be formed of his medical skill, from his giving all his infant scholars regularly sulphur and milk for their breakfast, and from his declaring his intention of having a general anointing for the itch, whether they had, or only might have, that unpleasant disorder, though their beds and their persons were certainly quite dirty enough to give it to them all round. It was still further proclaimed too, by the uncommon mortality amongst his nursling patients, for whom in one quarter's bill, there was a charge for eleven coffins. At the time Mr. Howard visited these most pitiable objects, they were dining, at three o'clock, on potatoes not properly boiled; five or six of the most sickly being indulged with a piece of half-baked cake or bread, but drinking the common beverage of the whole, sour butter-milk.*

In performing this inspection of so large a proportion of these ill-conducted schools, our philanthropic countryman took two distinct journeys, the one into the north, the other into the south of Ireland, in the course of both of them inspecting the prisons at every town which came in his way. He does not, however, give any enlarged description of their abuses, as, in consequence of the exertions to which he had stimulated the Irish parliament at his former visits to this country, an inspector-general of prisons had been appointed, whose first report very fully exposed many scenes of exaction,

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 101—117.

abuse, and cruelty, which were, in a great measure, to be attributed to the gross neglect of the magistrates in the discharge of their duty. Some of the principal of them he does, however, notice, and such as are the most interesting are here extracted from his survey. In that for the city and county of Kilkenny, on weighing the bread, he found that each loaf was deficient considerably more than a third of its proper weight; whilst that at Clonmel was in so close and unhealthy a state that several prisoners had died there but a short time before. Into those for the city and county of Cork, he himself saw spirituous liquors conveyed through the windows, as always will be the case where those windows are towards the street. In the house of industry he had an opportunity of witnessing the beneficial effects of a measure for which he always was a zealous advocate, as, in consequence of allowing its inmates one-fourth of their earnings, and another fourth to the steward, the profits of their work were increased from eighteen to twenty-six pounds per annum. During his stay here he received another proof of the gratitude of Irishmen to their real benefactors, in the presentation of the freedom of the second city in the kingdom, a mark of attention which, as was his regular practice, he duly acknowledges in his work. In the gaol for the city and county of Limerick sixty or seventy men would sometimes be crowded into a room, or crib, only twenty-two feet by twenty in its dimensions; the bridewell being a miserable dungeon of the same size. It had neither court-yard nor water. Returning to Dublin from this southern journey on the 27th of June, he inspected an old house which was repairing for a police prison under the provisions of the act of 26 Geo. III. c. 24: he hoped, however, that one of its directions for employing the dangerous discipline of the ducking-stool would not be resorted to, though a large bath in the middle of the yard was designed for that purpose. The night-rooms were dungeons seven steps underground.*

In the north of Ireland, the countenances of the prisoners in the county gaol

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 79; 85; 88; 89; 91.

at Mullingar showed that a humane and proper attention was paid to them; but he was sorry to learn that a most infamous fraud had lately been detected, in the case of the clergyman who had the inspection of this prison, who received four times as much money for bread, firing, and candles for the prisoners, as he had actually expended, though he had made affidavits to the correctness of his accounts. This ruinous system of jobbing, clerical as well as lay, which has been one of the heaviest curses of Ireland since she was first *blessed* with English governors, had deprived the gaoler of Cavan of his salary, and his allowance for the fees of acquitted prisoners, for four or five years, the money lying the while in some right honorable, or right reverend jobber's pocket. Though lately built, this prison had no court-yard, and its rooms were very dirty and offensive. The hospital for the county of Tyrone, at Omagh, was so dirty that the felons in the gaol were far better accommodated as to cleanliness and bedding, and their cells were much less offensive: two boys lay there in a small bathing-tub. At Belfast he inspected the incorporated poor-house, many of whose lodging-rooms were down ten steps, whilst the spacious hall and rooms adjoining seemed to be used but for the occasional diversion of young people of the town.*

From this place Mr. Howard proceeded into Scotland by the passage across the channel from Donaghadee to Port Patrick. At Glasgow the transports were confined in a new prison where each had a separate room, but, not being strong, they had chains on their necks, as well as on their feet. Some of their rooms were also very offensive, and others very damp. No endeavours whatever were made to reclaim these unhappy beings, whom long confinement, together with the great severity of their chains, and the scantiness of their food, had reduced to the extremity of misery and desperation. In the house of correction the prisoners laid in bed all Sunday because there was no religious service, a singular stain upon the piety of this religious country. At

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 94—6; 99.

Paisley the magistrates presented Mr. Howard with the freedom of their corporation, a favor which he duly acknowledges; as he does also their politeness in accompanying him to their poor-house, and the readiness they exhibited to make any alteration his experience could suggest for the benefit of such of their fellow-creatures, as by their crimes, or their misfortunes were placed under their control. Passing on to the capital, he was sorry to learn that the designs of Mr. Steuart, the former lord provost, to procure the erection of a new gaol had been frustrated; whilst to the chief magistrate now in office he freely stated his opinions of the condition of the prisons under his jurisdiction, complaining, amongst other things, that "in the house of correction there were forty-seven women in three close rooms, some of them lying sick; that no magistrate ever looked in upon them, and that no *clergyman* ever attended them, or used any endeavours to reclaim them. He replied "they were so hardened it could have no effect." In this point, however, our Christian Philanthropist differed most materially from his lordship, and told him that, on seriously conversing with several of these prisoners, he saw tears in their eyes; and he further added, with his wonted faithfulness to the cause he had espoused, that "the splendid improvements carrying on in their places of *entertainment*, streets, squares, bridges, and the like, seemed to occupy all the attention of the gentlemen in office, to the *total neglect* of this *essential* branch of the police." He also observed, that, "though, as a private person, *he* might not expect their regard to the remarks *he* had made in *his* repeated visits and publications; yet *he* hoped they would have paid some deference to the opinion of the *legislature*, expressed in the humane and salutary clauses of the late acts of parliament, which, from the unaltered state of the prisons of this city, they seemed entirely to have disregarded." On returning into England, he found in the county gaol at Morpeth a woman committed there but for stealing a handkerchief, heavily ironed, though lately brought to-bed; but, on his humane interposition, her irons were taken off.*

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 75, 6; 199.

After a repose of about three weeks, Mr. Howard set off upon a tour into the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, and Cambridge. At the gaol for the city of Norwich, the magistrates met him, and he pointed out to their notice the dirtiness of the prison, the non-observance of its rules, and several other defects, none of which were corrected when he next visited the place, except one, in the construction of the infirmary. His former representation of the abuse of the sheriff's receiving a fee from the gaoler for his place had, however, already been attended to; and in their bridewell they had considerately forbidden the use of the dungeons; some of its prisoners were now too employed, as in Holland, in rasping log-wood. In the town gaol at Yarmouth liquors were still sold by the gaoler, who had no salary. The bridewells for the county of Suffolk, at Woodbridge and Beccles, had been still further improved, whilst, in its gaol at Ipswich, the total abolition of the tap had wrought an evident alteration in the health and morals of the prisoners. A new county bridewell had been erected at Bury, but it was neither substantially built, nor secure. To this place his friend Mr. Capel Lofft, who then resided at Troston-Hall, near this town, where he called on his way from Ipswich, offered to accompany him; but he would not permit him to do so, as he wished to go there as a stranger, without any preparation for his coming, and to see things in the condition they might chance to be in at the moment of his arrival. This was on the 28th of September, 1787; and, to commemorate the visit of such a man, his classical host planted upon that day a sprig of the common laurel, which is now, he informs me in a letter written in March last, a spreading tree in his garden; and long, I would add, may he live in health and prosperity beneath its shade! In the castle at Cambridge, though two courts had been made, they were little used, for Mr. Howard always found the prisoners locked up; as was generally the case, indeed, where the keeper lived at a distance.*

It was on the last day of September that this journey was completed, and

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 151, 153—6.

it was not until the 21st of October, that our Philanthropist left Cardington on another into some of the Midland counties. At Derby he found both the town and county gaol much improved, the latter particulary so by the abolition of the tap, as the gaoler himself readily declared; but in that for the adjoining county of Nottingham the felons continued to sleep in two dark offensive dungeons down thirty-six steps, another being occupied by a man sentenced to two years solitary imprisonment. The same ruinous practice was continued also in the county gaol at Leicester, where even the free ward for debtors was a dungeon: the felons both here, and in those of the town gaols had mats provided for them, but one of the prisoners complained of illness contracted by lying upon them. Proceeding to the metropolis, through Northampton and Hertford, he saw the prisoners in the county bridewell at the latter town, chained to a post in the dungeon.*

During his continuance in London, for about a week, Mr. Howard inspected the close and ill-constructed gaol in Horsemonger-lane, and found there the same dreadful assemblage of criminals, of all descriptions, as he had done upon former occasions. Of these, fifty were transports, sentenced in 1783 and the following years, but lying almost perishing in gaol, not yet delivered in execution of their sentence, their allowance the while being only three halfpence a-day in bread, and the precarious charity of a little meat, broth, &c. collected from the neighbours, who knew their distress. Many had worn out their shoes, stockings, and shirts, and had hardly cloathes to cover them; whilst, by being forced to live in idleness, and to associate together, they were driven to acts of desperation. "Such dreadful nurseries," says our author, "have been a principal cause of the increased number of crimes, and the shocking destruction of our fellow-creatures. I am persuaded this would have been in a great measure prevented if *penitentiary houses* had been built on the *salutary spot* at Islington fixed on by Dr. *Fothergill* and myself: the gentlemen whose continued oppo-

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 142; 160—162.

sition defeated the design, and adopted the expensive, dangerous and destructive scheme of transportation to *Botany Bay,* I leave to their own reflections upon their conduct." In the new Ludgate he found that several improvements had been made, one of which was, that in the large work-room, the prisoners were at work, either at making chairs and baskets, or as coopers.* Within a day or two after this visit Mr. Howard directed his benevolent course into the the west of England, arriving at Plymouth, on the 10th of November, where he reached the house of a friend, with whom he became acquainted during his residence in Hampshire, about four in the afternoon, and though he had been travelling two nights without having been in bed, or taking any other refreshment than a cup of tea in the morning, he appeared to be in as good spirits, and active and fit for business, as if neither sleep nor food had been wanting. He at this time mentioned to the gentleman upon whose authority this anecdote is given, his being sixty-one years old, adding that he hoped to hold out four years longer in full vigor; "and this," says his intelligent friend, "in the ordinary course of things, there was all reason to expect he might, as few, even at half his age, would have been able to go through the fatigue he did." The convicts on board the hulks at this port, with whom he commenced his inspection, were healthy and well, their provisions being good, but their allowance of bread not sufficient. Among these were some fine young fellows who, with the rest, lived in total idleness, though some useful employment might, without difficulty, have been found for them.† Proceeding on, through Launceston and Tavistock, to Exeter, he met with an extraordinary instance of conjugal affection in the high-gaol there, in the case of a man who was working as a shoemaker in the women's ward, where his wife was under sentence of transportation for stealing a calf's skin, and he himself remained a voluntary prisoner, declaring his firm purpose to accompany her to Botany Bay, or wherever she was removed to. Soon after Mr. Howard's return to London the woman, however, received a free pardon, through his ap-

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 126; 117. † Ib. p. 216; Gent. Mag. Vol. LX. Part I. p. 287.

plication in her behalf to Lord Sydney, and he had afterwards the satisfaction to learn that this couple were useful and worthy members of the community. The county gaol at Salisbury was close and confined, and had not been whitewashed since 1784, when a turnkey and seventeen prisoners died of the gaol fever. At Dorchester a new gaol had been very slightly built, on a bad plan, having no free ward for debtors. Their rooms too were very dirty, and the bread bad. "White without and foul within," is the brief description he gives us of the close Newgate at Bristol.* In his way home he inspected a new county gaol erecting at Oxford, under the direction of Mr. Blackburn, of whose plans for prisons he highly approved, the favorite scheme of Dr. Fothergill, to employ convicts in the erection of such places, being also adopted with such success, that by their labor upwards of 113*l.* was saved to the county. So orderly, too, was their behaviour that they required but one guard, though for their good conduct several were permitted to work without their irons. "This proves," says their humane inspector, "that among such delinquents many are reclaimable, and not so entirely abandoned as some are apt to suppose. The encouragements here given with respect to their diet, cloathes, and term of confinement, have been the means of recovering many from their bad habits, and of rendering them useful members of society." On the debtors' side of the county gaol at Aylesbury, owing to the interference of the Marquis of Buckingham, great improvements had been made; but the felons' side was still close, particularly their bed-rooms, so that its inhabitants must ever be subject to the gaol fever, of which their last keeper had died. By the exertions of the same public-spirited nobleman, a new bridewell had been erected here in lieu of the miserable hole at Newport Pagnell, but it was not secure. A new county gaol, he informs us, was intended to be built at Bedford; whilst in that part of his work, which notices the unaltered condition of the old one, he makes a short digression to recommend to notice and imitation the neat and most convenient work-house of

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 183, 5, 6, 9.

his own parish of Cardington, whose poor were comfortably clad, and their diet, employment, and treatment in sickness and in health, all regulated with strict order and humane attention by the unremitting zeal and assiduity of a young lady, whom it were easy to name, but that like the illustrious Philanthropist, whose able coadjutor in many of his schemes of benevolence for the benefit of the parish in which he resided she had long the honor to be, she does not wish her deeds to be spoken of beyond the district where they cannot be concealed, and where the name she once bore will ever be held in deserved estimation. Proceeding to London through Huntingdonshire, Cambridgeshire, and Essex, Mr. Howard inspected, at Chelmsford, the gaol for the latter county, which he found to be clean, and rendered more convenient than at his former visits, nor had he *now* any complaint to make of neglect of duty by the chaplain, his remarks upon this subject in his last publication having produced their proper effect.* The condition of the unhealthy bridewell was, however, still unaltered, several sick objects lying on the floors of the same room in which the healthy were confined, whose noise often deprived them of sleep; the sick room for the men, for the sake of a small emolument, being filled the while by the arms of the militia.

Completing this journey on the 6th of December, on the 17th or 18th of the same month he commenced a more extensive one into the north of England, where, in Chester Castle, he was pleased to find a capital convict, who had been reprieved, employing himself in the instruction of nine young prisoners whom he had taught to read. The city gaol was still insecure, in consequence of which the convicts and prisoners for trial were alike strongly ironed by the neck, hands, waist, and feet, besides being chained to the floor in their room in the day-time, and to the beds in their horrid dungeon at night. Here Mr. Howard saw the first iron glove he had met with in England, which, though not yet used, showed the severity of the gaoler's disposition. Debtors

* Account of Lazerettos, p. 143, 4; 148—151; 170, 171.

and felons were permitted to beg for some hours in the day; but, as their visitor truly remarked, it was a disgrace to this opulent city that its prisoners were not supplied with necessary food. At Liverpool he found a prison erecting, under the direction of Mr. Blackburn, on which the corporation were sparing no expence, so that with a view to security, health, reformation, and convenience, he apprehended that it would be one of the first borough gaols in the kingdom. In the bridewell of this town all the men were in heavy irons, and seven out of eight women were chained to the floors, and in bed at noon on Sunday, having had no fire for several days, though it was the depth of a most inclement winter. The day after his visit two of them were released, and set to picking oakum.* At Manchester, a new bridewell upon Mr. Blackburn's plan, and on a very large scale, was building at the expence of the hundred of Salford, upon "whose good sense and liberality," says our Philanthropist, "it will reflect much credit." He has not, however, told us to whom the enlightened magistrates of that spirited hundred conceived themselves indebted for the chief excellence of their plan: but the following extract from the inscription on the foundation-stone of the prison they erected must supply the deficiency his modesty has created:—"That there may remain to Posterity a Monument of the Affection and Gratitude of this County, to that most excellent Person, who hath so fully proved the Wisdom and Humanity of the separate and solitary Confinement of Offenders, This Prison is inscribed with the name of JOHN HOWARD." Another was building by this liberal county, at Preston, on the same plan, and, in their present condition, these admirable houses of correction have amply fulfilled the expectations of their visitor when in an incomplete state, that they would do honor to those who erected them, as they now reflect it upon every one concerned in their management.† In the county gaol at Appleby, and the prison for debtors at Batley, the gaolers had killed themselves by drinking from their own tap; a fate by no means uncommon whilst this nuisance was allowed: in the

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 159; 206—208. † See Note I.

Hall-garth, at Beverley, a prisoner had lately been killed in one of the drunken quarrels which so baneful a practice engendered. At Hull, the old gaol was disused, and a new one built in a fine situation out of the town, which, with some trifling alterations, would be a good prison. The mayor and aldermen attentively inspected it, each in his regular monthly rotation, and wrote their observations in a book; a worthy clergyman attending also every Wednesday without salary. Whilst in Yorkshire he visited the school belonging to the Society of Friends at Ackworth, of which his friend Dr. Fothergill had been the great supporter, and he was highly delighted with the neatness, cleanliness, and order, which pervaded every part of this well-regulated establishment. He embraces too the opportunity which the allusion to the chief place for the education of their children afforded him, to bear his public testimony to the worth of a body of men with whom he had often associated, and of whose valuable qualities no one was more competent to speak, as none more duly appreciated them. "This much-respected people," says he, "with whom I have passed many agreeable hours of my life, I trust will believe me when I say I cordially join in opinion with Dr. *Percival*, who in his *Dissertations*, says, 'The people *improperly*, because *opprobriously*, called *Quakers*, certainly merit a very high degree of esteem from their fellow citizens, on account of their industry, temperance, peaceableness, and catholic spirit of charity.' To which I will add, as an amiable property, their uncommon neatness in their persons and houses." In returning home through Lincoln, he found a new county gaol erecting, whose passages would be close and dark, though happily it was without dungeons. In that for the city no alteration had been made, though through the windows of their two damp cells, both the male and female prisoners freely conversed with idle people in the street, who often supplied them with liquors till they were intoxicated. The offensive bridewell for this county at Folkingham was still also unimproved, its keeper being allowed a salary of forty pounds to maintain, or, more correctly speaking, to *starve* his prisoners.*

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 163; 192, 3; 196, 7.

Taking about ten days repose after his return from this northern tour, on the 29th of January Mr. Howard took a direction for the southern parts of the kingdom, where, at Gloucester, he found a new county gaol and house of correction building near the river, under the direction of Sir George Onesiphorus Paul, Bart. whose zealous and unremitting attention to this object promised to render it a lasting monument of his skill and humanity. In the wretched gaol at St. Briavelts, some of the poor debtors would have perished for want, but for the humanity of Mr. Milson, a maltster, who, living near, sent them provisions, and procured collections in the neighbouring towns for their release. One prisoner had been confined here for near a twelvemonth, for a debt of three shillings, the costs of recovering it amounting to 4*l.* 11*s.* 4*d.* another for near two years for a debt of forty shillings, costs 7*l.* 15*s.* 8*d.* "Their cases," says Mr. Howard, "surely *could* not be known to Lord *Berkeley*, the proprietor, who *never* visits the town." The gaol for the county of Monmouth was still without a chaplain, and felons continued to be chained to the floor at night: a new one was, however, erecting on a fine eminence near the water, under the direction of Mr. Blackburn, the ground having been generously given for the purpose by the Duke of Beaufort. Entering South Wales by way of Brecon, our Philanthropist released from the new, but slightly-built county gaol there, a poor shoemaker, with a wife and four children, who was in custody for a debt of twelve shillings, and 17*s.* 6*d.* costs; from that at Presteign, which was still in its former bad condition, he set some others free, whose debts were yet less, and costs greater. At the county gaol in Hereford he found that sixteen new, though low, and inconvenient rooms, and a court-yard for the men felons, had been added; but most of the women were in irons, a fact upon which he makes an observation not at all too strong in its expressions of abhorrence of such a practice, when he terms it an *indecent*, *wanton*, and *cruel* custom, not practised in any of the most *uncivilized* countries he had visited. In the castle at Worcester, which had been enlarged, the felons very improperly slept two together on the floors, and notwithstanding the fearful lesson, which, in the space of a very few years, had been read him, by the death of

his two predecessors of the gaol fever, the gaoler,—who was a butcher, living at some miles distance, whilst his son, a young man, had the care of the prison,—was so inattentive to the health of his prisoners, as to suffer their cells not only to be extremely dirty, but to have every aperture for air stopped up. It was in this large, but ill-regulated gaol, that three years before his visit, Dr. Johnstone, a young, but very rising physician of this city, fell a lamented victim to his humanity, in attending the prisoners confined here during the prevalence of that virulent distemper, from whose contagion, Mr. Howard, in all his visits, was so mercifully preserved. "In the course of my pursuits," he observes, with his usual benevolent regard to the welfare of his fellow-creatures, "I have known several amiable young gentlemen, who, in their zeal to do good, have been carried off by *this* dreadful disorder; and this has been one incentive to my endeavours for its extirpation out of our prisons." A new county bridewell was erecting here, but in the meanwhile the prisoners in the old one, for want of blankets, were obliged to lay all night in their cloathes. In that at Shrewsbury, he was sorry to learn, that the prisoners had of late years been deprived of all opportunity of religious instruction, from a prohibition to attend public worship in the gaol adjoining, in which no alteration had been made, unless it was one for the worse. The women were now in irons, though closely confined to their day rooms and dungeons; the men, meanwhile, being doubly ironed, and chained to the floor at night: their bread also was miserably short of weight. The county had, however, at length determined on building a new gaol and house of correction, and had fixed on a fine situation for that purpose. The crowded county goal at Stafford was still also without any alteration in its wretched condition, as in the dungeon for male felons he saw fifty-two chained down to the floors, with hardly fourteen inches allowed to each of them to move in. The moisture from their breath ran down the walls; it was needless, therefore, for him to intimate the heat and offensiveness of this dungeon, or the pallid countenances of its prisoners. But the very year before, seven had died here of the gaol fever, and the

free ward for the debtors being directly over it, nine out of fourteen of its unfortunate inmates, fell victims to the negligence and inhumanity of the magistrates of this opulent county. The gaol contained neither infirmary nor bath, nor was its keeper humane or attentive. The women were in irons, and lay in a dungeon. Many of the windows of this prison were towards the street, a defect which Mr. Howard very properly condemns as having a manifest tendency to harden and encourage, rather than to reform criminals. Opposite to it were also three adjoining ale-houses, one of which having harboured a gang of thieves, some of whom were executed, Mr. Justice Buller had taken away its licence, which the magistrates had since renewed, though the house was again said to be the resort of bad company. "The great and increasing number of *ale-houses* that I observe in my tours through this kingdom," adds our enlightened Philanthropist, with great force and truth, "I cannot but lament; as it is one *great* and obvious reason why our prisons are so crowded, both with debtors and felons. Many magistrates are sensible of this evil, yet so dreadfully supine and timid, as to grant fresh licences (often at the intercession of their interested clerks) in which *their* conduct is highly culpable. It should be remembered, that it is the *spirit* of our laws, and therefore the *duty* of magistrates, by every means to *prevent*, if possible, the commission of crimes."* In the prison for the court of conscience, at Birmingham, he had the satisfaction to learn, that debtors under twenty shillings, were now discharged in twenty, instead of forty days. The gaol for the county, at Warwick, was sadly crowded, thirty-two men lying chained in a dungeon thirty-one steps under ground, and but twenty-two feet in diameter; two of whom were ill of a slow fever, as were three others, in a room in which they also were in irons. Before the convicts were sent off to Plymouth, the condition of this black-hole was, however, still more intolerable, as some of the poor wretches confined in it were then forced to stand up and keep a sort of miserable night-watch while the others slept. From the aperture of this dungeon, which was but three feet

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 172—8; 214, 215.

three inches wide, as from the door and the two funnels of that at Stafford, the steam of the prisoners' breath came out in winter-time like the smoke of a chimney. In two rooms, seven feet and a half by six and a half, with apertures only in the doors, lay fourteen women almost suffocated, but not in irons. No coals being here allowed, the prisoners of this sex, as in other gaols similarly circumstanced, often sold their bread to procure fuel.*

It was on the 16th or 17th of February that this long tour was completed, and on the 28th of the same month Mr. Howard left Cardington upon his sixth journey to Ireland, inspecting, in his way thither, the prisons and hospitals of some of the English and Welch counties through which he passed. At Flint he found a convenient gaol built on a fine spot in the castle-yard, but though new, it was not kept clean, as was the case also with that at Ruthin, where there was still no proper separation of the sexes. At Beaumaris the bread was miserably deficient in weight, and adulterated in quality. At Dublin he began a minute inspection of the various places of confinement and charitable institutions, to ascertain and to report whose actual condition he had once again visited Ireland. In the gaol for this county, at Kilmainham, spirituous liquors were so freely conveyed into the prison, through the windows of the rooms which fronted the street, that prisoners were often so completely intoxicated, as to endanger their own lives, and that of their fellow-prisoners. At one of his visits, indeed, Mr. Howard providentially came into the gaol just in time to extinguish a fire which, in one of their drunken carousals, had been kindled in the straw upon which they lay. The debtors here were drinking wine so freely as to be drunk by eleven in the morning. The dungeons at this time were very crowded; the rooms dirty; and several prisoners sick.† It was about ten days after he had visited this wretched prison that our philanthropic countryman addressed to his friend Dr. Price, an account of his plans and pursuits in Ireland, of which I here give the extract published by Dr. Aikin,‡ the letter

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 158, 9. † Ib. p. 211, 213; 83. ‡ P. 148, 9.

it is taken from having been dated on the 23d of March, 1788:—"My journey into this country was to make a report of the state of the charter-schools, which charity has long been neglected and abused; as indeed most public institutions are made private emoluments, one sheltering himself under the name of a bishop, another under that of a lord; and for electioneering interest breaking down all barriers of honour and honesty. However, Parliament now seems determined to know how its grants have been employed. I have, since my visits to these schools in 1782, been endeavouring to excite the attention of Parliament; and some circumstance being in my favour, a good Lord Lieutenant, a worthy Secretary (an old acquaintance), and the First Secretary of State, the Provost, a steady friend, I must still pursue it; so I next week set out for Connaught and other remote parts of this kingdom, which indeed are more barbarous than Russia. By my frequent journies my strength is somewhat abated, but not my courage or zeal in the cause I am engaged in." Connecting this new object with his old one, it was on the 31st of March that, proceeding into the southern and western counties, he found, at Castlebar, an old, unhealthy, and ruinous prison without water, in which many poor wretches had often been almost suffocated, forty-two prisoners being confined in a room only twenty-one feet by seventeen. A new prison was built, but on a very low scale, being also close and dark. The bridewell for the county of Galway, at Loughrea, was an old house, with two dark rooms on the ground floor, and one over them; the prisoners being without allowance or employment, and the prison without water but when flooded. In the new bridewell for the county of Cork, erected by Lord Kingsborough, at Mitchel's Town, a sickness had lately prevailed among the prisoners, from the very offensive sewers in the rooms, and the want of a court-yard and of water. At Maryborough, in Queen's county, he visited the infirmary, as indeed he did the hospitals and charitable institutions wherever he went, though not noticed in this narrative, except where there was something particularly striking in their condition, of which this may serve as a specimen. It

was an old house, with four rooms in it for patients, on the floor of one of which some dirty hay was spread as a bed for the nurse, the patients themselves, of whom there were twenty, laying in dirty blankets, without sheets. The furniture of the surgery consisted of ten vials, some of them without corks, a little salve stuck upon a board like a hod of mortar, some tow, and pieces of torn paper scattered on the floor. Yet this infirmary, besides the parliamentary allowance of 100*l.* had an annual county presentment of the unusual amount of 200*l.* more. Such was the system of jobbing in those days,—*et felix si non nostris!* At Roscommon the gaol was clean and quiet, but a new one was building on a very bad construction. In that for the county of Leitrim, at Carrick, the prisoners were confined in black and dark cells several steps under ground, from which they were never suffered to go out: the walls of the prison being in a ruined condition. At Mullingar a new prison was building on a fine spot, with a stream running through the court, but on too small a scale for solitary confinement at night, so that two prisoners would have to sleep together in one cell, to which, says Mr. Howard, "I have a much greater dislike, than to the crowding of many into one room." The county gaol at Longford was a bad prison, yet within its loathsome walls a prisoner, committed for a month, had lately been detained for his fees, amounting to 1*l.* 10*s.* 3*d.*, several months more, though, as was generally the case, the expence of his maintenance the while exceeded that sum. The chartered schools which he visited in the course of this tour, he still found in a most disgraceful condition. Into that at Castlebar fourteen girls had been received from the nurseries without shoes or stockings, and suffering most dreadfully from cutaneous disorders, the consequence of gross inattention there. They were, as might naturally be expected, puny, sickly objects, and at this time almost naked, so that the apothecary dared not give them any medicine, and they had never been to church since they came, from having no cloathes to cover them:—they could not earn their master a halfpenny. Their wretched situation had been made known to the committee of fifteen by the

local committee nearly five months ago, yet it was only on the Friday before Mr. Howard saw them that an answer was sent to their representation,—in a printed recipe for the cure of scald-heads, with which most of them were afflicted. In the school at Ballinrobe twenty-two boys had lately been sent from these same nurseries in as wretched a state; but, though there were many of them eight years old, they did not know a letter. In the Connaught nursery, at Monivea, the children were in a very sickly condition, as well indeed they might be, when so little care was taken of them that some were left grovelling in the turf-ashes. That at Shannon Grove, for Munster, was still more sickly, fifteen out of ninety having died in the last six months, and fourteen being then in the infirmary. To the school at Longford twelve boys had lately been transferred from that at Castle-carberry, half-starved and almost naked, one of them being an idiot. That at Maynooth presented, however, a pleasing contrast to most others he had visited, as it contained thirty-five fine healthy boys, who, together with the master, kept a garden of about three Irish acres in the nicest order. The house and bedding were perfectly clean.*

After remaining three or four days in Dublin, Mr. Howard commenced a second tour of inspection at Waterford, where, in the county gaol, a woman was confined with the men in their dungeon, the women's room having been occupied by a lunatic for twenty-seven years. About a week previous to this visit, seven prisoners had unrivetted the bolts with which they were ironed, and, having made an aperture through the wall, effected their escape. He had often before complained of the too general use of these bolt-irons in Ireland, as being very painful to the prisoners, and dangerous instruments when they got them off, as they could do without much difficulty. A new gaol was built here on a plan far more splendid than useful, but not yet occupied. The keeper of the prison was at this time committed to the city gaol for having struck a saucy boy who would persist in delivering spirituous liquors in at the

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 86, 7; 90; 91—6; 106, 7; 109; 112; 117.

window, though several prisoners were already intoxicated. The surgery in the county infirmary here contained but one pot of ointment, a sovereign remedy, it is to be presumed, for every ill; and eighteen empty drawers. In the county gaol at Clonmell the dungeons were very dirty and crouded; and the men and women debtors were confined in the same room. The women felons, however, were not in irons, as England had a peculiar and exclusive claim to the honor of so savage a practice. A new gaol was building here. The only circumstance which he met with in his visits, at this time, to the chartered schools in the north of Ireland, deserving of particular mention was, that in that at Dunmanway, in the county of Cork, the children were objects of the greatest compassion, being dirty, sickly, without shoes or stockings, many of the boys without breeches, and others almost naked. The master excused himself from accompanying his visitor into the bed-rooms, from his being afraid of catching there a disorder, at which the mistress also seemed to be somewhat alarmed, though the rooms were empty, except one child who was ill of the ague. Yet "the *humane* and *faithful* committee," says our indignant countryman, "lately reported, that the children are healthy, and taken proper care of, and we recommend the master and mistress as deserving the society's bounty."* It was whilst Mr. Howard was engaged in his tour into the south of Ireland, that the committee of the House of Commons there, appointed, in consequence of his recommendation, on the 13th of March, 1778, made their report upon the condition of the chartered schools, in which his evidence occupies the principal place. That evidence was accompanied by some most judicious hints for their improvement, though they are too minute and particular to be here transcribed.† His closing remarks are, however, so characteristic of the soundness as well as the liberality of his views, as richly to deserve to be extracted from the work in which he gave the information he had collected on the subject, in a

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 85, 7, 8; 113, 114.

† See Account of Lazarettos, p. 118—124; Steven's Inquiry, p. 52—69; Journals of the Irish House of Commons, Vol. XII.

more enlarged form than he had done to the committee. "I cannot forbear," he observes, "expressing a *wish* that the *benefits of education* were more *generally* extended *over* IRELAND than they are by *these* schools. If FREE-SCHOOLS were instituted in EVERY PARISH for instructing in the *lower parts* of learning, and the *principles of morality*, children of *each sex*, and of *all persuasions*; it would perhaps more than any thing tend to soften the manners of the Irish poor, and enable their youth to resist the various temptations to vice, to which they are inevitably exposed in their crowded huts and cabins." In speaking of the ruinous system of compulsory proselytism, which was the original and main object of these ill-conducted seminaries,—in a spirit that does equal honor to his Christianity and his philanthropy, he afterwards adds, "I hope I shall not be thought, as a *protestant dissenter*, indifferent to the protestant cause, when I express my wish, that these distinctions were less regarded in bestowing the advantages of education; and that the increase of *protestantism* were chiefly trusted to the dissemination of *knowledge* and *sound morals*." The labor which he bestowed upon these institutions seems, however, to have been completely thrown away, as nothing whatever was done in consequence of the report of the Irish parliament; money being still voted, year after year, to be squandered away, or embezzled, as it had been before; whilst an inquiry into their actual condition, recently instituted by a man who appears to have caught a spark of that pure flame of benevolence which glowed in the bosom of a Howard, proves that, if any thing, they have degenerated in utility, and increased in mismanagement since his days. It were almost needless to add, that I here allude to the "Inquiry into the Abuses of the Chartered Schools in Ireland," published, about a twelvemonth since, by Robert Steven, Esq. the indefatigable promoter of the Hibernian-school society; a work which cannot be too strongly recommended, or too generally read. But the condition of her charter-schools was not the only object to which this visit to Ireland awakened the attention of her legislators: for the day after the committee to inquire into that subject was appointed, Mr. Howard having then been in Dub-

lin but three or four days, another was moved for to investigate the state of the hospitals throughout that country, to whom he gave in evidence the observations he had made upon the construction and regulation of these institutions, in his tour of 1787, which were reported to the house,—as he afterwards published them, though with considerable additions, in his work on lazarettos,—on the 15th of April, 1778, the day following the presentation of the report of the other committee.*

It was on the 18th of May, 1788, that Mr. Howard finally left the shores of the sister-kingdom; and probably the last act he performed there was,—after solemn meditation on its importance,—the consecration afresh of all that he had, and all that he was, to his Maker and his Preserver, of which we have the following short minute in the memorandum-book so often mentioned before in the course of this narrrative:—"I hope my renewed vows were sincere. Ireland, May 18, 1788. Help me oh Lord God of my Salvation!" In his way home through some of the counties of Wales and of the south of England, he found that the gaol for the county of Pembroke, at Haverford-west, was clean and quiet; but he was sorry to add, that divine service had not been performed there for some time past. In the town-gaol at Swansea he learnt that prisoners of both sexes were, during the quarter sessions, confined, for some days, in a room called the black-hole, which had only a small aperture for air in the door, the same being the case also at Neath, where one of the four sessions for the county of Glamorgan was held. The Newgate at Bristol was cleaner than when he last saw it, but the bath was used as a vault. In the new county bridewell and town-gaol, at Devizes, injudiciously built on the same close and confined spot as the old one, a prisoner had lately died in one of the solitary cells, and the verdict of the coroner's jury having been, *died by hunger and cold*, the allowance had since been augmented. The other bridewell, at Marlborough, had been so much enlarged as to be almost a new

* Journals of the Irish House of Commons, Vol. XII. p. 102, 4; 425, 6; dcccxliii—vii.

prison; and it was now a clean and well-regulated one, except that there was no employment for its prisoners. The two poor-houses here, with their inmates, (for to poor-houses Mr. Howard now pretty generally extended his humane inquiries) were in such a wretched condition, that the putrid fever had lately raged there, and exposed the inhabitants of the town to the danger of its infection. Here his long journey of three months terminated on the 30th of May.*

Probably spending the interval at Bristol Hot Wells, Mr. Howard resumed his western tour at Bodmin, on the 25th of June, where the gaol was neither so clean, nor in such order as at his former visits, from the multiplicity of its keeper's avocations, nor was the chaplain's curate very attentive to his duty. On board the hulks, at Plymouth, the convicts were too much crowded, and still living in idleness. One ingenious man had made an inkstand out of a bone of his meat, which Mr. Howard purchased of him, but his knife was now taken from him, so that he should not work any more. Some of them had Bibles in their hands, but there was neither chaplain nor religious service here, and several of their keepers, by their profanity, set them but a bad example.† The bridewell for the county of Somerset, at Taunton, was dirty and neglected, and it had now no chaplain at all, whilst the chapel, being used for the confinement of the dirtiest of the prisoners, was in a condition as bad as a pig-stye. That, in the other bridewell, at Shepton Mallet, was made into a lodging room for women prisoners, of whom six, who paid the keeper two shillings a-week for part of a bed, had the privilege of being in his house, and of drinking and smoking in his room: at neither place had they any employment. At Ilchester, a new gaol for the county was nearly finished, but there were four rings fixed in the floor of each cell, which could be for no other purpose than the chaining down prisoners in their solitary confinement. The cells, rooms, and passages, in the new county bridewell at Sherborn, in Dorsetshire, were close and confined, and prisoners committed to hard labor, were locked up in solitary cells, from which

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 213, 215; 183, 4, 9, 190. † Ib. 188; 216.

they were let out but for one hour a day—a favorite, though somewhat singular method with the magistrates for curing prisoners of their habits of idleness. At Winchester, he visited with pleasure, a new and spacious county gaol with four courts, having a pump in each, a chapel, and an infirmary. The prison was kept very clean, and constantly inspected by a worthy nobleman, residing in the city. The convicts on board the hulks, at Gosport, were clean, and had a healthy and placid look, more than half of them being employed on land in moving mould, having irons on both legs, and a chain between them. Accomodations were now preparing for their dining on shore, instead of returning to their vessels, as at Woolwich. This judicious regulation was already effected at Portsmouth, where the greater part of the convicts were at work upon a new fort, some as masons, others as bricklayers, but most as mere laborers. Their bread and beer were good, but they complained sadly of their meat, which was lean, full of bones, and not half the proper allowance. In Sussex, the well-conducted gaol at Horsham was without an infirmary, but attention to cleanliness and order had hitherto prevented the want of it. The bridewell for the county of Berks, at Reading, was a new prison, consisting of six close cells for the refractory, eight solitary cells, and six wards for prisoners, permitted to be together. Some of those confined alone, were sentenced for a year, " a severe confinement," observes their compassionate visitor, " to be so long in solitude, unemployed, in nauseous cells, and without fire in winter." But, as very erroneous impressions are still abroad of Mr. Howard's sentiments upon this subject, it is but justice to his memory, that he should be permitted to state for himself his views of the uses and abuses of a species of prison discipline, for which, when confined within its proper limits, he was a staunch advocate, as he does in the following note upon this passage :—" I wish all prisoners to have separate rooms; for hours of thoughtfulness and reflection are necessary.—I am glad to take this occasion of making some remarks on *solitary confinement.* The intention of this, I mean by day as well as by night, is either to reclaim the most atrocious and daring criminals;

to punish the refractory for crimes committed in prison; or to make a strong impression, in a short time, upon thoughtless and irregular young persons, as faulty apprentices, and the like. It should, therefore, be considered by those who are ready to commit, for a *long* term, petty offenders to *absolute* solitude, that such a state is more than human nature can bear, without the hazard of distraction or despair; that it is repugnant to the *Act* which orders all persons in houses of correction, to *work;* and that for want of some employment in the day (as in several houses of correction), health is injured, and a habit of idleness or inability to labour in future, is in danger of being acquired. The beneficial effects on the mind, of such a punishment, are speedy, proceeding from the horror of a vicious person left entirely to his own reflections. This may wear off by long continuance, and a sullen insensibility may succeed." The county gaol here was clean and quiet; Lord Craven and other of the magistrates visiting both it and the bridewell, and entering their reports, every month. The gaoler informed his visitor, upon the 12th of July, 1788, that of the eleven convicts whom he carried, on the 1st of April in the preceding year, to the hulks at Portsmouth, three only were alive. "I have observed," remarks Mr. Howard, on this circumstance, "that convicts from the country often pine away and die without any apparent sign of illness; and that of equal numbers, from the country and from Newgate, *three* or *four* of the former die for *one* of the latter." At Windsor Castle, the old keeper had been murdered by his prisoners in his tap-room, and the prison had been some time discontinued, though it was now used again. In the gaol for the county of Kent, at Maidstone, several good alterations had been made, but others were still wanting, the infirmary and many of the rooms being small and close, so that, two years since, twenty had died of the gaol fever. The irons here were very light, in consequence of which the prisoners were able to use sufficient exercise. At Rochester, the windows of the city gaol were towards the street, and its keeper informed Mr. Howard that the liberality of the public was so great, that he could not keep his prisoners sober, some persons

having even desired to be confined there, merely that they might have the liberty of the begging grate.*

On the 2d of August our Philanthropist left Cardington upon a short circuit through some of the midland counties, which occupied him about a week, and extended as far as Sheffield, in whose prison for debtors, he found that people were sometimes confined for a debt of but six-pence and the costs. "I have often wished," he observes, and the wish is well worthy the attentive consideration of the legislature "that in *all* bills for *small deb's*, there was a *clause to prohibit arrests for debts contracted in public-houses.*". In Huntingdonshire the county gaol was still without a chaplain, though its visitor hoped, from the books which the prisoners were reading, that some of them were seriously disposed. Many alterations were making here, yet being originally built upon a bad plan, it never could be made a convenient prison, as was the case also with a bridewell newly erected here, in a very low situation. At St. Alban's he found the liberty-gaol much improved, but the other two were in their usually wretched situation; in which it would appear, from the minute inquiries into the condition of these and some other of our English prisons, recently instituted by the humanity and public spirit of Mr. Buxton, they are still suffered to remain.†

Spending the latter part of the month of August and the beginning of September in London, Mr. Howard re-inspected the prisons of the metropolis and its neighbourhood, and digested, with the same assistance that he had before received, the result of his recent visits, for publication. In Newgate he found that no alteration had been made, nearly 150 women being crowded together in three or four rooms, many young creatures with old and hardened offenders, as was the case also on the men's side, with many boys of twelve and fourteen years of age, some of whom were almost naked. The men's infirmary

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 145, 6, 8, 9; 170; 218.

† Ib. p. 113; 130; 151; 196. Buxton on Prisons, p. 30.

contained but seven bedsteads; therefore, as there were twenty sick, some of them, though without cloathes, and in a most wretched condition from their sores, lay upon the floor covered only with a rug. In his present visit he was accompanied by Mr. (now Sir William) Curtis, from whose activity and zeal as sheriff, he prognosticated, and prognosticated truly, that something would be done for the miserable objects left by his predecessors. Both the compters were in a far better condition than they before had been, as since he had first directed the public attention to the state of prisons, they were regularly visited by the sheriffs, and by their liberal contributions, and that of other benevolent persons, the debtors confined there, lived better than many industrious tradesmen: but little attention was as yet paid, however, either to the separation of prisoners, or to their morals.*

It was on the 8th of September that Mr. Howard left London on a short tour into Norfolk, where his principal object was the inspection of the newly-erected bridewell at Wymondham, which he found to be a convenient structure, within whose walls ample provision was made for keeping its prisoners at work at a hemp manufactory, they having, for their own use, three-fourths of their earnings, and the keeper the other. Their diet was, however, too scanty, and they were allowed nothing but water to drink. Mr. Howard has been the more particular in his account of this prison, because it afforded one of the best examples he had anywhere met with of the proper management of a house of correction, so as to render it, what it ought to be, a place of reformation for the idle and the dissolute. It was to the unremitted attention of a neighbouring magistrate, Sir Thomas Beevor, excited by our Philanthropist's pathetic, though faithful, representation of its former condition, that the public was indebted for the improvement of this house, and for the strict execution of its salutary regulations. A near relative of his, the Rev. Mr. Beevor, was equally exemplary in the discharge of the duties of a chaplain, which he had voluntarily

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 121—6

taken upon himself. The other bridewells of the county, than which, in their former state, he had never seen worse, Mr. Howard understood to be upon the same improved plan. He did not, however, visit them, as during his latter tours of re-inspection, he omitted also many other county bridewells, the attention of the magistracy having recently been so generally directed to their improvement as to render his examining them unnecessary, county gaols and hospitals being the principal objects which he now had in view.* On his return to London he completed his inspection of the metropolitan prisons, which presented little further requiring particular notice. At Bridewell the men were in irons, from the prison not being sufficiently strong for their confinement: their chief employment was a new and very appropriate one of making ropes. A great part of the prison at the Savoy having been burnt down in the preceding February, its prisoners, in number forty-five, were at night crowded into two rooms, which, like the rest of the gaol, were very dirty. Some of them were without shirt, shoes, or stockings; indeed almost naked. Several prisoners had died here in the course of the last spring, as Mr. Howard now predicted that many more would in the ensuing one, if greater attention was not paid to them. He here saw six of the guards in the black-hole, a close and very offensive room, in which they were confined for twenty-four, or forty-eight hours, for drunkenness, contempt or neglect of duty, and other similar breaches of military law.† From the 17th to the 26th of September he was closely occupied in examining the principal hospitals of this metropolis, of whose condition he gives a minute account. The chief defects of a more general nature, which he pointed out, are those of the securities and fees required on admission bearing hard on the poor; the want of proper inspection in the governors; of clerical assistance to the sick; of rooms for convalescents; and of a due attention to cleanliness, and to the purification of the wards, from the prejudices absurdly entertained against the washing of floors, and the admission of fresh air. To these he adds the neglect of

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 152, 3; 119.—Gent. Mag. Vol. LVII. Part I. p. 484. † Ib. p. 127, 8.

bathing, from its giving too much trouble to the attendants; the too free introduction of beer from the ale-houses; and the preference given to governors in furnishing food and necessaries to the house, in which he never would suffer them, directly or indirectly, to be concerned. He closes his observations upon the subject by some hints for the proper construction and regulation of such institutions, from which those who are engaged in their erection, or management may derive much useful information.*

It was whilst he was pursuing this useful investigation that he wrote a letter to his bailiff, who had the chief management of his concerns at Cardington, from which the following is an extract:—

"John Prole,

"I made a good meal I bless God from the nice bread you sent to day; you did not receive my Letter or you would have sent me some sweetmeats, next time will do, as I cannot leave town till friday or Saturday night in the next Week. But I have a very important business now on my hands, the examination of all the London Hospitals, the public know it, and look for my free thoughts on those Institutions so that I cannot have my thoᵘˢ diverted from my Object by coming to Cardⁿ.

"I will send money to settle with Mr. Morgan, &c. As when I now leave Londⁿ to go to Warrington I will not owe one Guinea there * * * * * *.

"As there is to be no further rates for the poor, I can have no objectⁿ to Miss W continuing another 3 yrs, for if she marries or leaves it, all the furniture belongs to the Parish, and I am tryᵍ to persuade Mr. W**** to make over the buildᵍˢ in fee to the parish: this you will acquaint Mr. Smith.——I am trying to get a School house erected but have not yet succeeded; I cannot do it at present—600*l.* I have already paid for Paper engravings &c. yet should it please God I live some few years longer, I will live in a Cottage sooner than

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 131—142.

not accomplish my plan. I still exult in free and vigorous spirits and am not afraid to undertake any task.

" I do go abroad again, I think it my duty and a call of providence, and I durst not go back; I will spend some weeks at Card". when my publicat" is finished; my Mind will be at ease and rest, and perhaps the only rest on this side the grave; for my time of zeal and activity is soon passing away.——

" Respects to friends at Card". I shall write from Warrington for my horse I think just before Xmas, thank your wife for her kind care and attention to my house. The widow Thompson may as well continue there, she will have her firing and things in the Garden and Cheese, safe the sage Cheese.

" Yrs J. HOWARD."

At the time he had proposed, about the 9th or 10th of October, Mr. Howard left London for Warrington, where, for sixteen weeks, he was closely occupied in superintending the printing of the result of his philanthropic tours during the last three years. In the work of preparation he was still principally indebted to the kind co-operation of Dr. Aikin, though in that of correction he frequently consulted both Dr. Enfield and Mr. Bealey, the Arian minister in that town; the latter of whom, upon this occasion, rendered him much assistance. When he brought the proof-sheets to this gentleman, to ask his opinion upon any point of which he was doubtful, if he found him at his meals he never partook with him, but would frequently say, when he came into the room, " Now, Sir, I have just half an hour to spare, go on with what you are about, and we will talk together." Though the weather at this time was intensely cold, he was always up, and at work before three o'clock in the morning, taking his breakfast, which his servant had laid ready for him over night, at about six, that he might be dressed, and in the printing-office by eight. When there, he kept the men close to work by his presence, but he rewarded them most bountifully for their diligence, as indeed he always did every one who rendered him the slightest assistance, so that during the progress of his

various works through the press at Warrington, the fame of his liberality was so widely spread in the town, that he always found plenty of hands ready to offer him their services. The men at the printing-office never needed, therefore, to hesitate employing people in bringing the paper sent from London into the warehouse; in packing up the books when printed; or in conveying them to the inn, or wharf whence they were to be forwarded, as, upon these occasions, he always paid the assistants they called in about twice as much as any other person would have done. Yet in thus liberally recompensing the lower classes of society for their labor, there was this honorable peculiarity in his conduct, that he never employed, or presented with a gratuity, a second time, any one from whose lips an oath or profane expression was ever known to proceed. Of this habit a curious anecdote has been related to me by Mr. Morris, the pressman, chiefly engaged upon his works. Standing one day near the door of the printing-office, he heard some dreadful volleys of oaths and curses discharged from a public-house opposite, and whilst buttoning his pockets up before he went into the street, he said to the workmen who were near him, "I always do this whenever I hear men swear; as I think that any one who can take God's name in vain, can steal, or do any thing that is bad." In other respects, his mode of passing his time whilst at Warrington, at this time, differed little, if at all, from that which he had adopted on former occasions. His chief associations were still with the Arians, the Unitarians, and the members of his favorite religious sect, the Society of Friends. It was when passing a leisure hour in the evening with one of the latter most respectable community and his daughter, that one of their body, now an eminent merchant in Liverpool, coming into the room, made a very singular mistake by taking him for a dancing-master, though, in truth, the frequency of his visits to the continent had given him much the air and appearance of a foreigner, and rendered so extraordinary a metamorphose of character on the part of this plain friend not very unnatural. We may be assured, however, that it was with no small pleasure, that,

instead of reproving his young female acquaintance for the unseemly company she kept, and the vain amusement to which she appeared to addict herself, he shook by the hand the benefactor of the world, as she introduced her companion to him as JOHN HOWARD,—a name then held in higher honor, and more general esteem than that of any other living being the universe could produce. Notwithstanding the inclemency of the season, he still took his daily walks during the hour that the printers were at their dinner; and, in the course of them, he would enter into very free and familiar conversation with any persons he might meet with in his way, to whom he could either impart useful information, or give good advice, or who were likely to increase, in any degree, his own stock of knowledge. On these, as on most other occasions, he was particularly pleased with the company of children, with whom he would talk in the most engaging, yet instructive manner. The son of the Independent minister at Warrington (the Rev. Mr. Kenworthy), then a child at school, amongst others, was one day overtaken by him in his walks; and after he had put a few questions to ascertain the extent of his knowledge of the history and doctrines of the Bible, Mr. Howard gave him, as it was his frequent custom in such cases to do, a shilling for his pertinent answers. And whilst conducting himself towards those amongst whom for a short period his lot was cast, he was not neglectful of the duties of self-examination and the cultivation of vital godliness in his own heart, as the following reflections, maxims, and resolutions, entered, at various times in his diary, during his continuance at Warrington, abundantly evince.

" 1789. Misery is always an Object of Compassion, and the Word of God saith, that to the miserable, Compassion should be shewn.

" Generosity and self-command are the striking Aspects of Benevolence.

" Courage and Humanity are inseparable Friends.

" God will accept I trust my sincere intentions, tho' I effect nothing.—

" A Traveller should have Temperance, Prudence, and Fortitude, a firmness

of mind to bear suffering and meet dangers undaunted—these are necessary for the active scenes of Life, and maintenance of the Rights of others, for the truest pleasures arise from extencive Benevolence—Dejection and dispair, are the consequence of pusalinimity.—

" My deliberations are more swayed by what *I* myself think right, than by what is likely to be thought Right by *others*.—

" A fearless temper and an open Heart, are seldom strictly allied to Prudence.

" Christ has made Poverty and meaness, joined with Holiness, to be a state of Dignity.—

" It has been said, ' that the Torch of Philanthropy has been conveyed by *Howard*.'—May he not hope in that God whose Arm is not shortened, that He will spread it to the Eastern Nations. He worketh by the weakest of all Instruments, to Him to him alone be all the Glory.—God forbid that *I* should glory, save in the Cross of Christ.—

" The Enthusiasm of even a *Mistaken* Principal warms the mind, and sets it above the fear of *death*, which in our cooler moments, if we really think of it, is at least very *awefull;* and shall a mistaken Principal, do more than calm reason and reflection. Oh! surely *No*—yet there is no rational Principal by which a man can die contented, but a Trust in the Mercy of God, thro' the merits of Jesus Christ.

" It has been observed one has a strange Propencity to fix upon some point of time from whence a better course of life may *begin*,—May I not *hope*, do I not earnestly *beg* of God, that his Grace may be sufficient for me, and his strength perfected in my weakness—that I may, from this Moment, walk with God, adorn my Christian character, more and more serious, watchful, humble, and by the sanctifying influences of the Holy Spirit, made Partaker of the divine Nature, thus formed in me the Hope of Glory.—

" Warrington, 30th Jan. 1789.

" Employ the time of every *Sunday* in sacred Study and in Books, in which the spirit of Christianity, Piety, and Morality prevail."

Surely it is not possible to read these extracts from the private meditations of this extraordinary man, without receiving as strong impressions of the fervor of his piety, and the rapid advances he was making in every Christian grace, in which he was soon to be perfected in heaven, as the world has hitherto most correctly imbibed of the benevolence of his disposition, and the boundless extent of his philanthropy.

It was on or about the 20th of February, 1789, that the printing of the work which gave to the public the result of Mr. Howard's late journeys of humanity, was completed, as appears from a note written to his friend Dr. Lettsom, on that day, accompanying some of the first copies of the book, as presents to himself, the Duke of Portland, and some other of his friends. The title of that work is "An Account of the principal Lazarettos in Europe; with various Papers relative to the Plague: together with further Observations on some Foreign Prisons and Hospitals; and additional remarks in the present State of those in Great Britain and Ireland. By John Howard, F. R. S." The motto which it bears upon its title page is this appropriate text of scripture, "*O let the sorrowful sighing of the* PRISONERS *come before thee;*" its author having been led to its adoption by the effect which he observed it to produce upon the minds of several of this unhappy class of beings, when read in the course of the daily Psalms, on his attendance at public worship in the chapel of Lancaster castle.* At the back of that title page is also printed a sentence from Cicero, scarcely less descriptive of the great object of his labors, "*Nihil est tam regium, tam liberale, tamque munificum, quam opem ferre supplicibus, excitare afflictos, dare salutem, liberare periculis homines.*" Besides the minute account of the various lazarettos, hospitals, and prisons visited during his journeys at home and abroad in the years 1785, 6, 7, 8, the more interesting particulars of which have already been detailed in these memoirs, the second section of this work consists of a very judicious plan for a lazaretto, which its author

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 201.

was very anxious to have erected in England, as well from its importance in a commercial point of view, as from its tendency to prevent the re-entrance there of that most dreadful of all contagions with which, as the minister of heaven's wrath, our country has, in her turn, been visited. To that plan he has appended a sketch of the regulations to be adopted in its government, characterized by his usual discrimination and benevolence. The third section contains the result of his inquiries concerning the plague, having regularly submitted the queries, with which his medical friends in England had furnished him, to the principal physicians at Marseilles, Leghorn, Malta, Venice, Trieste, and Smyrna, accompanying his application to each of them with a regular consulting fee. Their answers were reduced to a methodical arrangement by Dr. Aikin, who also translated and abridged the regulations for the prevention of the spread of pestilential contagions, drawn up, at the desire of the court of Russia, by the first physician to the health-office at Venice; a relation of the ravages of the plague at Spalato in 1784; and the order issued upon that occasion by the proveditor-general of Dalmatia and Albania. It is doubtless also to his professional skill that we are indebted for the very valuable remarks by which these papers are accompanied, on the fatal errors into which medical men of high repute have fallen, whilst contending in support of a favorite hypothesis, in opposition to the fearful lessons which experience has so often read them, that the plague is not contagious,—an error to which, in the beginning of the last century, 43,000 of the inhabitants of Marseilles were the hapless victims. At the close of his account of the situation of our English prisons, he has reprinted the general heads of regulation for penitentiary-houses, which he introduced into the last of his two appendices to his former work on prisons, accompanying it, in the present instance, by some most judicious observations on the importance of such establishments, in preventing the needless waste of blood which had hitherto disgraced, and, alas! though to a much less extent, still disgraces the administration of criminal jurisprudence in Great Britain; and in adopting, in lieu of the sanguinary system of excision which our legislators have pursued with but

too unwearied a constancy—that plan of reforming the morals of delinquents by an attempering of justice with mercy—of firmness with kindness, which had been more successfully resorted to by many of the continental nations. But to produce this reformation, he was convinced of the necessity of a thorough alteration in the whole system of constructing prisons, and of managing the prisoners and convicts they were destined to contain, which had hitherto been followed with such ruinous effect in England; and that could only be done by the continued attention of parliament to this momentous branch of national police, and by the unwearied vigilance of magistrates in superintending the execution of such regulations as the wisdom of the legislature might enact. Drunkenness he justly considered to be the root of all the evils which were so alarmingly prevalent in our gaols, and he, therefore, entertained no hopes of an effectual reform ever being introduced within their walls, until every temptation to the commission of this vice was completely removed. In this respect, he could observe no medium of indulgence to particular classes of prisoners, without ruin to his whole design. He therefore prepared a draught of a bill absolutely prohibiting the introduction into our gaols of any kind of liquor, except milk, whey, butter-milk, and water, contending with confidence that the health and real comfort of their prisoners would be promoted by such a measure. "After all, however," observes Dr. Aikin,* in his remarks upon Mr. Howard's proposed alterations in the diet of persons under confinement, debtors as well as criminals,--for his plan was to extend to all, though he earnestly wished that, of the former class, none but the dishonest and the fraudulent should ever be placed in a situation which should subject them to its restraints,—"many will suppose, that in his feelings, both with respect to these privations, and to his proposed indulgences of tea, and other vegetable articles, he was in some measure under the influence of his own peculiar habits of life; so natural is it for our judgment of particulars to be warped, when our general principles remain fixed and unaltered. The *draught of a bill* will, I presume, appear in most respects, excellent; and the great purpose of preserving sobriety in gaols, cannot, surely, be too much insisted on."

* P. 179, 180.

By way of appendix to his work, Mr. Howard reprinted the regulations for prisoners of war in England, given in the last edition of his State of Prisons, and added a variety of curious and useful tables connected with the subject of his inquiries, amongst which was one of the number of prisoners in the gaols he had visited in England and Ireland, in the years 1777, 8, from which it appears that these wretched abodes of misery and crime at one time incarcerated no less than 9,056 individuals. He also illustrated it by two-and-twenty plates, most of them being picturesque and highly-finished views, or very accurate plans, of the lazarettos and hospitals he had seen abroad, many of them taken under his own eye by a young Italian artist whom he met with in his travels, and who, for a few sequins, cheerfully gave him the assistance of his pencil, his sketches being afterwards very admirably engraved by some of the first artists in Holland. But besides these elegant, as well as useful embellishments, he was at the expence of having re-engraved for its use, on a very large sheet, the table published by Sir S. T. Jansen, in 1772, of the number of offenders sentenced to death for their crimes at the Old Bailey, for the twenty-three years preceding its publication: that curious and authentic document having become extremely scarce, whilst the official records from which it was compiled had been destroyed in the riots of the No-Popery mob of 1780. In concluding is account of the labors of benevolence in which for the last three years his time had been principally occupied, he suggests a plan in connection with them, which it was perfectly characteristic of his attention to the comfort of his fellow-creatures of every class to have devised,—in a provision for the widows and children of every faithful and attentive gaoler who should die in that important office. "Should the *plan* take place," he adds, with his wonted combination of the most unbounded philanthropy, with the most genuine humility, "during my life, of establishing a *permanent charity*, under some such title as that at PHILADELPHIA, viz. *A society for alleviating the miseries of public prisons*, and annuities be engrafted thereupon for the abovementioned purpose, I would most readily stand at the bottom of a page as a subscriber of 500*l.*; or if such a society shall be constituted within three years after my death, this

sum shall he paid out of my estate." And with this pledge of his concern for the great object of his public labors through life, extending beyond the grave, he closes the last work which he himself was permitted to present to the world, with the exception of a translation of the penal code of the Grand Duke of Tuscany, which he superintended through the press, ere he left Warrington, never to return to it again. The greater part of the impression of that little pamphlet he distributed amongst the heads of the law, and other persons of rank and influence, both in and out of parliament, to many of whom, as to the circle of his private friends, he at the same time, with his usual liberality, presented copies of his new work on Lazarettos, which he published at so low a price as to give its purchasers the whole of the plates by which it was illustrated *gratis;* and so eager were the buyers of books to share in this liberal boon, that all the copies were bought up in a very short time after its appearance.

There are a few circumstances in the history of Mr. Howard's public life and labors during the period which this chapter of its memoirs embraces, which yet remain to be noticed. The mode of travelling which he pursued in England was the same as he had adopted on his former journeys, and his diet was at least equally abstemious, generally consisting, for the whole day, of two penny rolls, with some butter, cheese, or sweetmeats, a pint of milk, five or six cups of tea, with a roasted apple just before he retired to bed. To tea, in particular, he was always remarkably partial, conceiving it to be a great exhilirator of the spirits; whilst, contrary to the general opinion, he considered green more conducive to health than black, always providing himself with a sufficient quantity of it to last him during his various journeys abroad, and drinking it freely, without experiencing any of those deleterious effects on the nervous system which are generally, I know not how truly, attributed to the use of it. The singularity of his mode of living contributed, perhaps, in some, though in a very small degree, with the correct estimate he set upon the value of his time, to induce

him to decline most of the invitations to dinner, and other parties, which, in the course of his travels, he was in the constant habit of reeeiving. One instance of his departure from his general rule, has, however, been communicated to me on the authority of the late Rev. Mr. Bealey, of Warrington, which, as it may serve to illustrate one of the harmless peculiarities of his character, will be worth relating here. A nobleman in Ireland importunately entreated the honor of his company at dinner, and he, at length, accepted the invitation, on the express condition, that the dinner should consist of nothing but potatoes. When introduced to the table, he accordingly found it spread with nineteen dishes of that useful vegetable, each cooked in a different manner. Such an unexpected display of ingenuity caused him, however, to regret the condition he had imposed, thinking that he should have given less trouble to his noble host and hostess, and to their servants, had he left them to prepare a dinner in their own way. From the same respectable quarter I have been furnished with a proof of his inflexible integrity, as exhibited during one of the later of his visits to this sister kingdom. In the course of his inquiries into the abuses to whose correction the chief energies of his life were devoted, it was his inflexible rule never to accept of a present, whatever might be the pretence under which it was offered. On detecting some very gross mismanagement in a prison in Ireland, the nobleman under whose hereditary jurisdiction it was placed, learning the name of the stranger who had visited it, and alarmed lest the particulars of the wretched condition in which he found it should be made public, in order to conciliate his favor, pressed upon his acceptance a very valuable jewel, ostensibly as a token of his esteem for his extensive and unremitted exertions in the cause of humanity. That token, however, Mr. Howard firmly refused to receive at his hands; but on obtaining from him a solemn promise that the abuses which he minutely pointed out to his attention should forthwith be corrected; and finding on a subsequent visit to the prison in question that they were so, he suppressed the representation it was his intention to have given, with his wonted faithfulness to the public; his sole object in detailing the particulars of his various visits to

places of a similar description being, the improvement of their condition, without the needless exposure of their former mismanagement, or rather of the individuals whose neglect had been the occasion of it. It was probably to this very instance of his forbearance that a letter from the late Rev. Mr. Kingsbury refers, in relating some of the circumstances of one of Mr. Howard's prison visits, communicated to the writer, but not noticed in any of his own publications. On visiting the gaol of a town which Mr. Kingsbury declines naming, its philanthropic inspector found twelve prisoners confined in one room, which they used for all occasions. They looked, as we might naturally suppose they would do, very wretchedly, and the effluvia which proceeded from their persons and their habitation was of the most nauseous and unpleasant description. They were all of them ill, but as soon as he had cast his eyes upon them, and surveyed their miserable residence, he was perfectly informed of the nature of their malady—that they were perishing from inattention, and poisoned with filth. On making a minute inquiry into their treatment, he learnt that they had received no other food than a little weak broth, without bread, for the last twenty-four hours, and was assured also that the same meagre allowance had been their only fare for the day and night preceding. This was enough to satisfy him that without immediate interposition on their behalf, these unfortunate beings must inevitably be starved to death; and learning from the gaoler, when he remonstrated with him upon their deplorable condition, that there was no allowance for sufficient food, he made such a representation to his superiors, as caused this mischief to be instantly redressed. But such also was the filth of this horrible place of their confinement, that he assured the friend upon whose authority this anecdote is given to the world, that in measuring its dimensions he carefully pinned his cloathes about his body, lest he should be contaminated by a contact with the filthy walls, and though, on returning to his inn, he completely washed himself from head to foot, and bathed his whole body with vinegar, he added, that his fingers retained, for some time, the insufferably fœtid smell of the scene of wretchedness and disease from which he had just escaped.

That scene was the more distressing to him, not only from his particular love of cleanliness in his own person, but from the conviction he felt, and frequently expresses in his works, that nothing could more powerfully conduce to the health and comfort of prisoners, than an habitual attention to this object in their persons, and the places in which they are confined. It was this well-founded impression that made him insist so frequently and so urgently on the great importance of furnishing our gaols with a plentiful supply of water. "*He* never approached a prison," says his friend Dr. Lettsom, in one of the letters which his own kindred spirit induced him some years since to publish in a periodical journal on the regulation of places of confinement, "without enquiring, 'Is it well supplied with good water?' He informed me of an anecdote, in some measure connected with this idea. He went to Litchfield, with a view of examining the prison there; but previously presented himself at the habitation of the Rev. Mr. SEWARD, to whom he was then a stranger. The celebrated Poetess, the amiable daughter of the Clergyman, received the visitor till the return of her worthy parent, who had taken an excursion into the city. Intelligent minds soon coalesce in rational conversation; and the enquiries of HOWARD were so appropriate and minute respecting the prison, and particularly as to the convenience of water, that the lady, soon suspecting the character of this illustrious visitor, quickly asked, 'Are you not Mr. HOWARD, to whom I have the honor of addressing myself?'"*

It was during the last visit he ever paid to Ireland that this benevolent being exhibited an instance of the generosity of his character, and the disinterestedness of his labors, which, at the same time, afforded a proof of his deep concern in every thing connected with the welfare of that country, one of whose charitable institutions was upon this occasion unhappily deprived, by an unforeseen accident, of the liberal assistance he had intended to afford it. During his residence in Dublin, in March 1788, he executed an authority (since published in the Gentleman's Magazine†) to one of the most eminent booksellers in that city, by which he was

* Gent. Mag. Vol. LXXIV. Part I. p. 3, 4. † Vol. LX. Part II. p. 685.

empowered to sell a large case of his first work on Prisons, and of his Account of the Bastille, at the original publication price; and to pay over the amount, after deducting the carriage, freight, and commission, to the treasurer of Mercer's Hospital, for the use of that excellent and greatly-improved institution. The books, however, having unfortunately been shipped on board a vessel which was wrecked off Wicklow-head, this generous gift never reached the place of its destination, and could not therefore be appropriated to the purpose for which it was so munificently bestowed. This loss was the more to be regretted as it was the means of preventing the general diffusion of the important information he had obtained, at so much cost and labor, in the hope of procuring that thorough reformation in prison discipline, which no country stood more in need of than that, amongst whose more opulent inhabitants he was desirous of rendering the interests of one of its favorite charities a means of spreading his views upon this important subject more extensively abroad. Yet it was not merely in pointing out defects, or in suggesting improvements in the management of our gaols, that this great and good man showed himself the prisoner's friend; for he seldom visited any of their habitations of misery and woe without leaving behind him some substantial token of his commiseration for the wretched condition to which, by their folly or their crimes, their inmates were reduced. Towards persons confined for trifling debts, or unjustly detained in custody for their fees, he frequently exercised a liberality, which, considering the comparatively narrow limits of his means, should make our rich ones blush for their want of attention to such of their suffering fellow-creatures, as are sick and in prison, and they visit them not. "I have often seen him come to his lodgings," says the journal of his attendant on most of his tours, "in such spirits and joy, when he would say to me, 'I have made a poor woman happy; I have sent her husband home to her and her children.' He would often tell me, too, of such and such a man being kept in prison for his fees, which he had paid, and sent the poor man to his family and home." Kindness like this could not fail to

beget kindness and gratitude in return; and it must be pleasing to every lover of his species, to be informed, that even in its lowest and most degraded state, Mr. Howard found human nature not so utterly depraved, but that it could venerate the motives, and respect the person of one, the chief business of whose life it was to succour, to relieve, and to console the most wretched and outcast of his race. He accordingly informs us, in the last work he ever published, that in all his visits to various gaols in this and other kingdoms, he never received any insult either from the keepers or prisoners, nor ever lost any thing there, except that in one of them a handkerchief disappeared from his pocket, which, on a subsequent visit, was restored to him by a prisoner, who, as he presented it, said, that he believed he had dropped it when he last was there.* It is worthy also of notice, that though he very frequently travelled by night as well as day, both in his own country and in some of the wildest and least cultivated regions of Europe, in an age when depredations on the highway were of as frequent, as, with us, they are now of rare occurrence, he never was attacked by a robber, or met with any molestation on his way.† Once, indeed, and once only, was he a sufferer from that disposition to pilfering which will always prevail, to a certain extent, wherever a large mass of people are congregated together in one crowded city. On his return from his Turkish tour, one of his boxes was stolen, as he was getting into a hackney-coach in Bishopsgate-street, from the stage in which he had travelled from Dover. It contained a duplicate of his travels, twenty-five guineas, and a gold watch. The plan of the lazaretto at Marseilles, of which he possessed no duplicate, was happily in the other box; had it not been so, he declared to his friend, Dr. Lettsom, that notwithstanding the risques he had run, in procuring that document, so important did he consider it to the attainment of his object, that he would a second time have exposed himself to the danger of a visit to France, to supply its place.‡ It was the same singular devotedness to the great work in

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 215. † Rev. S. Palmer's MS. Memoir. ‡ Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LVII. Part II. p. 1151.

which he was engaged that induced him, not only to decline so generally as he did, every invitation to dinner or to supper whilst upon his tours, but to abstain from visiting every object of curiosity, how attractive soever it might be to his taste and natural thirst for information, and even from looking into a newspaper, lest his attention should be diverted for a moment from the main end of his pursuit; the whole of the time which was not necessarily consumed in sleep, or occupied in his devotions, being employed in arranging the minutes and observations he had been making during the course of the day. Once, indeed, and it would seem only once, he deviated from the rule he had prescribed to himself, by yielding to the entreaties of some of his friends, who wished him to accompany them to hear some extraordinarily fine music in Italy; but finding his thoughts too much occupied by its melody, he could never be persuaded to repeat the indulgence.* The value he set upon his time, especially whilst engaged in the singular path of philanthropy to which he devoted himself, was indeed most remarkable. Punctual to a minute in every engagement be made, he usually sat, when in conversation, with his watch in his hand, which he rested upon his knee, and though in the midst of an interesting anecdote or argument, so soon as the moment he had fixed for his departure arrived, he arose, took up his hat, and left the house. He calculated also how long it would take him to walk or ride to the place of his next engagement with such nicety, that he was seldom a second beyond his appointment. Yet in the midst of so entire a consecration of his time, his fortune, and every faculty of his existence, to the service of the very outcasts of society, he preserved the most lowly estimation of his own character; and whilst yielding the most exemplary obedience to the injunction of scripture, which commands us "to do justice, and to love mercy," he was so far from forgetting the remainder of the precept, "walk humbly with thy God," that the genuine humility of his character was "known and seen of all men." "I had heard a person express his surprise," says his venerable friend Mrs. Coles, "that he could interest

* Aikin, p. 212.

himself so much about such depraved characters as prisoners generally were, and having an opportunity of mentioning the subject to him in that person's presence, Mr. Howard said—'I consider that if it had not been for divine grace, I might have been as abandoned as they are.'" Upon another occasion the same lady observed to him, in the course of a very interesting conversation on his various tours of benevolence, "Sir, you must have witnessed many scenes of misery," to which he replied, in the same spirit of genuine kindness, "Yes, more than I could relieve; I could, therefore, only drop a tear over them." Such was the modesty with which, when the subject was introduced by others, he uniformly spoke of those labors of philanthropy, whose fame was now spread, not only to the remotest parts of his own country, but over most of the various regions of the vast continent of Europe. The public voice, indeed, was loud in his praise, and every rank of society joined in the admiration which the extraordinary virtues of his character had so justly excited. It was whilst he was engaged in his tour through Ireland, in May 1787, that the Lord Chancellor (Thurlow), in an admirable speech delivered in the House of Lords, in opposition to a proposed bill for the relief of insolvent debtors, took occasion to advert to the mode of management and discipline adopted in our prisons, and, in the course of his observations, paid a merited tribute to the correctness of Mr. Howard's views upon these points, now transcribed into these memoirs, in the language in which Dr. Aikin has recorded it—"He had lately,' he said, 'had the honor of a conversation upon the subject, with a gentleman who was, of all others, the best qualified to treat of it—he meant, Mr. *Howard*, whose humanity, great as it was, was at least equalled by his wisdom; for a more judicious, or a more sensible reasoner upon the topic, he never had conversed with. His own ideas had been turned to solitary imprisonment and a strict regimen, as a punishment for debt; and that notion had exactly corresponded with *Mr. Howard's*, who had agreed with him, that the great object ought to be, when it became necessary to seclude a man from society, and imprison him for debt, to take care that he came out of

prison no worse a man in point of health and morals than he went in.' His Lordship afterwards recited a story which Mr. *Howard* had told him, in proof of the corruption and licentiousness of our prisons. A Quaker, he said, called upon him to go with him and witness a scene which, if he were to go singly, would, he feared, be too much for his feelings: it was, to visit a friend in distress—a person who had lately gone into the King's-bench prison. When they arrived, they found the man half drunk, playing at fives. Though greatly shocked at the circumstance, they asked him to go with them to the coffee-room, and take a glass of wine. He refused, saying he had drank so much punch, that he could not drink wine—however, he would call in upon them before they went away. Mr. *Howard* and his friend returned, with feelings very different from those with which they entered the place, but not less painful."*

It was not, however, in the legislature alone that the tribute was paid to his worth, which, by his incessant labors in the cause of humanity he had so hardly earned, and so richly merited to receive; for the harp of the poet soon caught the eloquent strains of the orator, and embodied, in glowing verse, the praises which were now showered by every friend of the human race upon him, who was most justly considered its brighest ornament. Amongst others, the elegant but eccentric muse of Darwin selected his deeds of philanthropy as a fit subject for one of the numerous episodes with which his Loves of the Plants, the most extravagant of his singular productions, is embellished. The lines, though characterized by several of the faults of this *Della Cruscan* writer, have too many beauties not to deserve transcription here.

"And now, PHILANTHROPY! thy rays divine
Dart round the globe from Zembla to the Line;
O'er each dark prison plays the cheering light,
Like northern lustres o'er the vault of night.—

* Aikin, p. 180—182.

From realm to realm, with cross or crescent crown'd,
Where'er Mankind and Misery are found,
O'er burning sands, deep waves, or wilds of snow,
Thy HOWARD journeying seeks the house of woe.
Down many a winding step to dungeons dank,
Where anguish wails aloud, and fetters clank;
To caves bestrew'd with many a mouldering bone,
And cells, whose echoes only learn to groan;
Where no kind bars a whispering friend disclose,
No sunbeam enters, and no zephyr blows,
HE treads, inemulous of fame or wealth,
Profuse of toil, and prodigal of health,
With soft assuasive eloquence expands
Power's rigid heart, and opes his clenching hands;
Leads stern-ey'd Justice to the dark domains,
If not to sever, to relax the chains;
Or guides awaken'd Mercy through the gloom,
And shews the prison, sister to the tomb!—
Gives to her babes the self-devoted wife,
To her fond husband liberty and life!——
—The Spirits of the Good, who bend from high
Wide o'er these earthly scenes, their partial eye,
When first, arrayed in VIRTUE'S purest robe,
They saw her HOWARD traversing the globe;
Saw round his brows her sun-like Glory blaze
In arrowy circles of unwearied rays;
Mistook a mortal for an Angel-Guest,
And ask'd what Seraph-foot the earth imprest.
—Onward he moves!—Disease and Death retire,
And murm'ring Demons hate him, and admire." *

* Loves of the Plants, canto ii. line 439—471.

The hate of demons and the applause of men were, however, alike indifferent to him, who was actuated in all he did by a sense of duty, mingled with an habitual impression of the worthlessness of his best services, but as they might be the means of bringing that honor to his Creator, which the world around were so liberally bestowing upon a creature, who was but an instrument in his hands, from whom, he was assured, that every good disposition and benevolent action must alike proceed. So closely, indeed, was this habit of thinking and acting inwoven with his very nature, that though so early as the year 1780, Mr. Hayley had published an ode in commemoration of his deeds of mercy; and scarcely a month had since passed without the appearance, in some of the periodical journals, of a new ode, elegy, or sonnet, on the same subject:—after the lines of Dr. Darwin had been for some time before the public, he assured a friend, who asked whether he had seen them, that he never read any thing written in his praise, adding, that no one could disoblige him so much as by mentioning him in any publication whatever. It was the same principle which induced him to refuse the applications which were frequently made to him to sit for his picture; so that there is no portrait of him extant but what was taken by stealth, though that copied for these memoirs, from a sketch in this manner, by an artist of some eminence in his day, is considered by his surviving friends and domestics to be a very striking resemblance of features, whose benign expression they will not easily forget.

The unassuming and unassumed modesty that gave the finishing stroke to a character, which the combination of the rarest, with the greatest virtues so eminently adorned, operated, however, as an additional excitement to the general curiosity to become acquainted with its peculiarities, rather than, as Mr. Howard wished that it should do, as a veil to conceal them, in the retirement he loved, from the obtrusive scrutiny of the public eye. A singular instance of the interest he had awakened in the minds of men, raised far above the ordinary

influence of vulgar motives, is thus recorded by Dr. Aikin, to have occurred during his absence from home, on the last tour of inspection which he performed through the various counties of his native land. Whilst engaged in one of the journeys of that circuit, "a very respectable-looking elderly gentleman, on horseback, with a servant, stopt," says his biographer, "at the inn nearest Mr. *Howard's* house, at Cardington, and entered into conversation with the landlord concerning him. He observed, that characters often appeared very well at a distance, which could not bear close inspection; he had therefore come to Mr. *Howard's* residence in order to satisfy himself concerning him. The gentleman then, accompanied by the innkeeper, went to the house, and looked through it, with the offices and gardens, which he found in perfect order. He next enquired into Mr. *Howard's* character as a landlord, which was justly represented; and several neat houses which he had built for his tenants were shewn him. The gentleman returned to his inn, declaring himself now satisfied with the truth of all he had heard about *Howard.* This respectable stranger was no other than *Lord Monboddo;* and Mr. *Howard* was much flattered with the visit, and praised his Lordship's good sense in taking such a method of coming at the truth, since he thought it worth his trouble."*

The domestic history of the illustrious subject of these memoirs was not, at this period of his life, fruitful in incidents which could interest the general reader of pages, over which a melancholy shade is cast, as, in drawing near to the close of his existence, they become but the record of *his* sufferings, whose lot, were the happiness which this world can bestow the recompense of the just and good, should have been a succession of unwearied and uninterrupted felicity—a path strewn with perennial flowers, watered but by the gentlest dews of heaven—a journey through this lower vale to fairer worlds on high, sweet and lovely in its opening scenes; brilliant, yet softened in its mid-day splendor;

* Aikin. p. 150, 151.

calm, tranquil, and serene, at its evening's close, as to the traveller in a genial clime, are the beams of the rising, the meridian, and the setting sun, in a clear and an unclouded sky. It was far different, however, with him, for though the morning and the meridian of his days had been overcast by many a cloud, they gradually thickened round their closing scenes, until they had now assumed the appearance of a settled and impenetrable gloom. The dreadful malady of his son so far from promising any symptom of amendment, seemed only every day to exhibit but the more decidedly the fearful characters of confirmed and incurable derangement. His afflicted parent, after having tried the effect of a milder restraint in his own habitation, much longer than there could be a rational, or well-grounded hope of its being in any degree efficacious to his recovery, yielded to the advice of his medical attendants and his friends, in permitting his removal to the well-regulated lunatic asylum, which for so many years has been, and I believe still is, under the care of Dr. Arnold, at Leicester. From the skill and constant attention of a man so experienced in the diseases of the mind as this celebrated physician, there was every prospect of his receiving all the benefit which medical aid could possibly afford, in circumstances so distressing, and so destructive of all hope, as were those in which this unhappy young man was placed. His removal from Cardington left his father at liberty again to visit, during the intervals of his public labors in the cause of humanity, the village and the neighbourhood which had now for nearly thirty years been the scene of a benevolence in private life, as constant, as unwearied, as solicitous for the welfare of his fellow-creatures, as had been that which, when exhibited on a wider field, rendered him during the greater part of the same period, an object of wonder and admiration to the world. "He still continued," says a letter from his most intimate friend, Mr. Smith, to Mr. Howard's former biographer, Dr. Aikin, "to devise liberal things for his poor neighbours and tenants; and, considering how much his heart and time were engaged in his great and comprehensive plans, it was surprising with what minuteness he would send home his directions about his private donations.

His *schools* were continued to the last."* For these schools, it will not fail to be recollected, how anxious one of his letters, inserted in this chapter of his memoirs, evince him to have been, to make a more permanent provision than he hitherto had done, by the erection of suitable buildings for the accommodation of their scholars; an object for whose attainment, could it not otherwise be effected, he declared, that when he had completed those more extensive schemes of benevolence, in which, besides so large a portion of his time as he had devoted to their pursuit, thirty thousand pounds of his property had been consumed, he would cheerfully end his days in a cottage. One instance of his kind concern for the welfare of his poorer neighbours, exhibited upon his return from the last journey to the continent which he was permitted to complete, has been preserved, in a letter to the editor of a periodical journal, the substance of which is now transcribed into these pages, with some slight corrections which personal inquiry on the spot enables me to make. During his absence from England, a journeyman wheelwright had succeeded his master in his shop at Cardington, and had also taken a young woman of the village for his wife. As soon as Mr. Howard had satisfied himself of the deranged state of his son's mind, and ascertained, by an experience the most painful to a father's heart, that his presence augmented, rather than decreased the virulence of his dreadful malady, he endeavored to soothe the distress which such a heart-rending scene must have occasioned, by taking a walk through the neighbourhood of his once happy, but now cheerless dwelling, to inquire after the health and circumstances of his old acquaintance, and the numerous dependants on his bounty. Amongst the cottages of his tenants, he entered that of the newly-married wheelwright, whom he thus addressed:—"If I had been at home at your marriage, I should have made you a wedding present, and you shall not lose it now, though it shall be a gift to your wife and not to yourself. Come to my house to-morrow morning, and you shall know what it will be." On returning home, he asked his bailiff which was the best

* Aikin, p. 37.

cow in his farm-yard, and on its being pointed out to him, directed it to be driven, on the next morning, to the wheelwright's house. "But no," he immediately added, "the poor fellow has nothing to keep her on this winter: we will keep her for him till she has calved." This was accordingly done, and in the Spring this industrious mechanic's wife was made happy in the possession of a fine cow and calf, of which her husband and herself were the owners, at his decease, doubly valuing their gift from the veneration in which they held the character of the giver.* The memory of his virtues still lives, indeed, in the hearts of these, and many other recipients of his bounty; nor less fondly is it cherished by the survivors of the large circle of friends whom his kindness and hospitality gathered round him when at home, and in whose prosperity he always took the deepest interest, when separated by distance from the society and the converse which he loved. In that circle several persons were included, whose situation in life was greatly inferior to his own, but the excellence of whose character recommended them to his notice, and secured them a place in the list of friends, to whom he was in the habit of sending some token of his remembrance, in the letters which he, from time to time, addressed to the few individuals with whom he maintained an occasional correspondence when abroad. Of this description was Mr. Read, a painter, at Bedford, mentioned in one of his letters to Mr. Smith, of whose church he was a most valuable member. From his exemplary conduct, Mr. Howard generously assisted him with money to carry on his business; and as he particularly excelled in painting horses and other animals, he took great pains to recommend him to such of his friends as were most likely to encourage him in his professional pursuits; a line of conduct which he invariably adopted, whenever he thought that he could serve a deserving and industrious tradesman in his neighbourhood, either by his recommendation, or his purse.

* Monthly Magazine, Vol. IV. p. 426.

With a private character so perfectly consistent with his public actions, it only remains that we should compare both of them with those records of his feelings and his opinions, which, traced for no other eye than his, have happily been preserved, to show that there was no hypocrisy in his conduct, but that he was, in truth, the kind, benevolent being; the pious, humble, devoted Christian, that he appeared to be. The extracts from his diary, with which his relative has so kindly favored me, contain several reflections, maxims, and remarks, written after he had visited Warrington for the last time, which will abundantly justify this observation, and raise him to as high a place in the esteem of every good man, as one of mortal mould can desire to occupy: they are therefore inserted in the order in which they were transcribed, without further note or comment, on the spirit of pure philanthrophy, genuine humility, and exalted piety, which they breathe in every word.

" If the projectile Motion shews a *forming* God, the centripedal force, acting incessantly, shews a *preserving* God—' for verily there is a God, and thou God seeth me'—and he who is the *hand* of Providence directs the course of things to the general good—so may *I* endeavour in my poor Manner, to engage in Works which tend to increase human happiness and to God be all the praise.—

" God considers what weak Creatures we are, therefore gives us every Motive to do good.

" Jacob speaks of the Angel who had been his Guide in all his Journeys, and had delivered him out of all his Dangers;—and Jacob's God I trust is *my God*, and my Guide, and my Portion for ever.

" An approving Conscience adds Pleasure to every Act of Piety, benevolence, and self-denial.—It inspires Serenity and brightens every gloomy Hour, disarming adversity, disease, and death—Is it my ambition to put on the Lord Jesus!—' to have the same mind in me which was also in him.'

" Health, time, powers of Mind, and worldly Possessions are from *God*, do I consecrate them all to Him.—So help me oh my God!—

"The peculiar doctrines of Christianity, the degradation of human Nature, our inability to restore ourselves,—our need of a Mediator, and of divine Aid, are doctrines which strike at the Root of *vain glory*—we are justified by Faith, by the grace of God, thro' the redemption that is in Jesus Christ—where then is boasting? it is excluded Romans 3 & 27.—Aim at what is praise-worthy and then at the approbation of God, who alone is an impartial infallible Judge. —Let it be my earnest enquiry, how I shall best serve God in the station which he has assigned me.

"I am not at all angry with the reflections that some Persons make, as they think to my disparagement, because all they say of this kind, gives God the greater Honour—in whose Almighty hand, no Instrument is weak, in whose Presence no flesh must glory,—but the whole conduct of this Matter must be ascribed to Providence alone, and God *by me* intimates to the World, however weak and unworthy *I am*, that he espouses the *Cause*, and to Him,—to Him alone be all the Praise.

Ease, Affluence, and Honours, are temptations, which the *world* holds out—but remember 'the fashion of this world passeth away'—On the other hand Fatigue, Poverty, Sufferings, and Dangers, with an approving Conscience—Oh God! my Heart is fixed trusting in Thee! *My God!* Oh glorious Words! there is a Treasure! in comparison of which all things in this world are dross.

"Sunday even[g] 15 March 1789.

"Our Superfluities, should be given up for the convenience of others—

"Our Conveniencies should give place to the necessities of others—

"And even our necessities give way to the Extremities of the Poor—

"Oh God! May the Angel which conducted the Israelites thro' the Desert, accompany and bless Me—

"In all my Dangers, and dificulties, may I have full confidence in that unseen Power, to believe in hope, as the Lord orders all things—therefore I leave every thing to him, trusting he will always give his Angels charge con-

cerning me, and then I am equally safe in every place, therefore I will fear no Evil for Thou art my God."

The smaller memorandum-book which was the companion of his hazardous expedition to Turkey, the soother of his solitary hours in the Venetian lazaretto, and the depository of the pious breathings of his soul when on the very borders of the grave, amongst the notes of sermons which he heard during the last year he ever spent in his native land, contains some reflections and secret aspirations of his own, strikingly characteristic of the fervency of his piety, and the soundness of his faith. In one of these he thus earnestly supplicates divine assistance, to support him in his course, and to enable him to finish with joy the race that was set before him. "Oh God, succour me in time of trial and help me to maintain my integrity. My eyes are up to thee Oh God to help me to encounter the Danger leave me not to my own strength but may I rely on Him in whom is everlasting strength. I come to y^{e} throne of God for Mercy and help in time of need and that I may finish my course in peace—Be diffident of yrself and look up to God." In a second, he expresses his determination to persevere in the path of duty, and to continue to serve the Lord, so long as the strength he prayed to be constantly imparted, should not be withheld from him. "Where there is most holiness there is most humility Never does our understand^{g} shine more than when it is employed in Religion In certain Circumstances retirem^{t} is criminal with a holy fire I would proceed. What is our profession of Religion if it does not affect our Heart, shall I desert his Cause and God may I thro' divine Grace persevere to y^{e} end *My* [end] too is approaching." The notes of the sermon giving rise to the last remark, are followed by some detached prayers and exclamations, evidently written at different periods of his last journey through England and her sister kingdoms—"Do thou O Lord," is the fervent supplication of one of them, "visit the Prisoners and Captives. Manifest thy strength in my weakness, help almighty God for in Thee I put my Trust for thou art my Rock." "I would rejoice," he

exclaims in a second, and a shorter aspiration, " in a sense of thy favour;" whilst a third thus briefly records the scriptural ground of all his hopes—" And may not even I hope, that God who 'spared not His own Son, but delivered Him up for us all, but, that He shall not with Him freely give us all things' even me Life everlast^g." On the same page with these devout meditations he has also transcribed, with a short addition, a remark which has already been quoted, from a former part of this memorandum-book, as illustrative of his views of the inefficacy of good works, as a procuring, or even a secondary cause of salvation: " The doctrine of merit is diametrically opposite to the genius of the Gospel, 'By Grace we are saved,' 'Not of ourselves,' 'it is the gift of God.'" We have already learnt, from one of his letters to his friends, that it was his frequent habit, when journeying in distant countries, where he was deprived of the advantages of a gospel ministry, to supply the deficiency, as well as he was able, by perusing his notes of the sermons he had heard in his own more favored land, and making them the foundation of some profitable meditation during the sacred hours of the sabbath; doubtless, therefore, it was upon one of these occasions, that he gave a more prominent character and place to a sentiment, with which he was but the more satisfied, when he came to review, at leisure, what had at first been committed to paper in haste. That sentiment formed, indeed, a prominent feature in his religious creed, of which salvation by faith in Jesus Christ was the foundation, and the chief corner-stone. Thus, mingled with the last notes he appears ever to have taken from a preacher's lips, we find this unequivocal testimony of his attachment to the doctrine of the cross—" My desire is to be washed cleansed and justified in the blood of X and to dedicate myself to that Sav^r. who has bo^t. us with a price." " That his hope for salvation was founded upon Christ alone," observes the daughter of the excellent man by whom that doctrine was long faithfully published in his ears, " was eminently displayed in all his conversations on religious topics, in which he always disclaimed every idea of merit, and spoke of his best works as coming far short of the requirements of the gospel, though he, at the same

time, had formed a very high idea of the obligations under which Christians were laid, by a profession of religion, ' to abound in every good word and work.'" In these too, he did abound, as much as any man, in modern times, ever did before him; yet such was the humility which shone most resplendant amidst the virtues of a character, whose excellencies it seemed anxious to conceal from public observation and applause, that the more rapidly he was advancing to the standard of Christian perfection, in as far as that standard is to be attained in this lower world, the more fervent, the more earnest was he in mingling his voice, while on earth, with the song which the myriads of the redeemed, whom he has since joined in heaven, are perpetually chaunting before the throne of God and of the Lamb. " Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto thy name be all the glory!"

CHAPTER XII.

Mr. Howard's seventh, and last journey upon the continent, in which he inspected the prisons and hospitals of Holland; part of Germany; Prussia; and Russia;—his death and character. 1789—1790.

IT was a matter of but little surprise to Mr. Howard's friends, or, indeed, to the public at large, that his work on Lazarettos should contain an intimation of his purpose to undertake another foreign journey, with a view, should he be spared to finish it, of giving to the world some further information on those inquiries so interesting to humanity, which, through such incessant toils and dangers, he had long been engaged in instituting. At the very period of forming this resolution, he seems, however, to have anticipated the unfavorable construction which might be put upon it, by some who were not fully aware of the motives by which he was actuated, and he thus mildly and unostentatiously repels the objections they might urge against it. "To my country I commit the result of my past labors. It is my intention *again* to quit it for the purpose of revisiting *Russia, Turkey,* and some other countries, and extending my tour in the East. I am not insensible of the dangers that must attend such a journey. Trusting, however, in the protection of that *kind Providence* which has hitherto preserved me, I *calmly* and *cheerfully* commit myself to the disposal of unerring wisdom. Should it please GOD to cut off my life in the prosecution of this design, let not

my conduct be *uncandidly* imputed to *rashness* or *enthusiasm*, but to a *serious*, *deliberate* conviction that I am pursuing the path of *duty*; and to a sincere desire of being made an instrument of more extensive usefulness to my fellow-creatures than could be expected in the narrower circle of a retired life."* But, notwithstanding this vindication of his motives, his conduct in acting upon them, has not passed without animadversion; and it is not a little singular that, whilst the biographer, who, in other instances, has been the first to malign his principles, and misrepresent his actions, most fully acquits him of all temerity in venturing once again to risk his life in the cause of humanity,† one of the most intimate of his friends, the minister upon whose lessons of Christian duty, and expositions of Christian conduct he from time to time attended, with mingled pleasure and profit, felt it necessary to caution him, on this occasion, against "the mistake of suffering himself, through an earnest desire of doing good, to be precipitated beyond the clear line of duty, which might possibly be sometimes the case."‡ The person, however, who of all others was the most competent to put a proper construction upon this measure, viewed it in a very different, and surely a more correct light, when he considered it, as he always did, perfectly in unison with the principles which had already impelled him to make such sacrifices as he had done in the cause to which he had devoted himself. To Mr. Smith he at all times unbosomed himself with far more freedom than he seems to have used towards any other individual, and *he* was so far from looking upon his friend's last journey as a tempting of providence, that he thought it the most advisable step, which, in the circumstances he was placed in, he could possibly have taken. Had *he* followed the dictates of his own inclination, we may be assured that he would have used all his powers of persuasion to have kept him at home, that he might have enjoyed the pleasure of his company there; but more anxious for the happiness of his friend, than for his own gratification, and willing to lose every selfish feeling in the contemplation of the sublime object which this benevolent being proposed to himself,

* Account of Lazarettos, p. 235. † Gent. Mag. Vol. LX. Part I. p. 278.

‡ Dr. Stennet's Sermon, p. 39.

in the course of many conversations which they held upon the subject, he used not a word to divert him from his glorious purpose. Deeply, far more deeply than the world has ever thought, had the last severe stroke of his Almighty Father's chastening hand sunk into his soul; and as it did so, it unstrung the firmest fibres of a frame, which, hitherto but little moved by all the fatigues he had undergone in traversing so large a portion of the globe on the errand of mercy that first led him from his home, was now rapidly breaking up, by those sorrows of the mind, which earnestly as the Christian strove to calm them to repose, at times harrowed up, to a pitch of anguish, difficult to be borne, all the parental feelings and anxieties of the man. But too fully satisfied by the able practitioner under whose care his son was placed, that his recovery from the mental malady with which he was afflicted, must, to all human appearance, be the work of time, if indeed, a hope could be entertained of its ever being accomplished, he determined,—and who will say unwisely?—to take another journey to the continent of Europe, which, by the spheres of usefulness, and deeds of mercy to which it would introduce him, would afford the best antidote that any human pursuit could offer, to the depression of spirits, which the scenes that must surround him in his home, or even in his native land, must inevitably increase, rather than diminish. The severe domestic affliction which occasioned him to take this step (for without it, there is abundant reason to think that he never again would have left his country), was the disappointment of all the hopes he had fondly cherished, of finding in his son the support and comfort of his declining years; but like every afflictive dispensation with which the Christian is visited below, this was mercifully over-ruled for the promotion of his best interests, as it evidently weaned him from the world, and more fully prepared him for entering into his heavenly rest.

His plan, so far as it can now be collected from the recollections of his surviving friends, and from such as have been preserved of those who are deceased,

was to have spent three years abroad, in which time he hoped that the fate of his unhappy son would be determined, and his restoration to reason perfected, or his malady pronounced incurable, when he could accommodate his future plans of life to either of the events, which would then have less of that uncertainty in them, whose alternate vaccillations of hope and fear now agitated his parental bosom. The object of his pursuit during this period, seems not, however, to have been defined with that accuracy which marked all his schemes, ere the extraordinary precision and minuteness of arrangement which had formerly characterized them, had, in some slight measure, been affected by the derangement and incertitude which clouded his domestic prospects. "I had various conversations with him," says Dr. Aikin,* "on the subject; and I found rather a wish to have objects of enquiry pointed out to him by others, than any specific views present to his own mind. As, indeed, his purpose was to explore regions entirely new to him, and of which the police respecting his former objects was very imperfectly known to Europe (for the Turkish dominions in Asia, Egypt, and the Barbary coast, were in his plan of travels), he could not doubt that important subjects for observation would offer themselves unsought. With respect to that part of his tour in which he was to go over ground he had already trodden, I conceive that he expected to do good in that *censorial character*, which his repeated publications, known and attended to all over Europe, gave him a right to assume; and which he had before exercised to the great relief of the miserable in various countries. If to these motives be added the long formed habitude of pursuing a certain track of enquiry, and an inquietude of mind, proceeding from domestic misfortune, no cause will be left to wonder at so speedy a renewal of his toils and dangers." One object of his pursuit, and perhaps the principal one, was certainly to obtain further information respecting the plague, by extending his visits to those parts of the world in which it rages with the greatest virulence; and in some of whose infectious coasts it is supposed to take its rise.

* P. 184, 5.

Nor was he without hopes of being able to communicate to the inhabitants of those pestilential regions, a remedy that might stay the ravages of the dreadful scourge with which they were visited, or at least lessen the fearful terrors of its march of death. Having witnessed, in many cases of malignant fever, the efficacy of Dr. James's Powders, which were at this time in very high repute, he felt a strong persuasion that their administration would be useful in the plague, and he therefore resolved to take a wearisome and dangerous journey beyond the confines of Europe—to the deserts of Egypt, and the piratical shores of Barbary, to try an experiment which would probably cost him his own life, in the effort to save the lives of others, who had no claims upon his attention, but that they were men, though differing from him in faith, manners, habits, character,—every thing, in short, as widely almost as it is possible for beings of the same common race to do. The danger to which he thus exposed himself was one, however, which he had contemplated, and conceived that it was the path of his duty to encounter; though it is somewhat remarkable, that when he left England with that determination, he had evidently a strong impression on his mind that he never should return to her shores again. As soon as he had resolved to undertake this hazardous journey, he seems, indeed, to have associated with it in his mind this forcible persuasion that it would be his last; and as he took leave of one and another of his friends, he did it as one whose face they would see no more on this side the grave. These circumstances gave to his parting words a peculiar interest, and fixed them deeply on the minds of those by whom they have already been laid before the public, or, in many cases, originally communicated to me. The last time he was at Shrewsbury, which would seem to have been in February 1788, he took his leave of Mr. Lucas, on whose ministry he always attended when in that town, in the vestry of his meeting-house, nearly in these words, which were evidently used in allusion to a favorite saying of Philip Henry: "I hope, if we meet again on earth, we shall be nearer heaven; but, if we never see each other more below, I trust we shall meet in heaven." To the Rev. Mr. Lewin, the

last time he was in Liverpool, he said, "I am going to the Mediteranean, and elsewhere (naming some other places): I have had several malignant disorders; yet I am persuaded that I shall not return, and be permitted to lay my bones in my native land. If, however, I should, I think that I shall then have done all that duty can require of me; and I shall most probably seek a peaceful retirement for the residue of my days." To another friend he observed, that he should once more quit his native land, probably never to return to it again; and on his starting some objections to his plan, from the length and danger of his journey, he added, "You will probably never see me again; but, be that as it may, it is a matter of no concern to me, whether I lay down my life in Turkey, in Egypt, in Asia Minor, or elsewhere; my whole endeavor is to fulfil, according to the ability of so weak an instrument as I am, the will of that gracious Providence who has condescended to raise in me a firm persuasion that I am employed in what is consonant to his divine approbation."* About the same period, in a conversation with Mr. Blackburn, the architect, he is represented† to have expressed a conviction that his death was at no great distance, on the somewhat singular ground, of his mode of diet, and living, exactly resembling that of the Chinese, few of whom survived their sixty-third year; as, in fact, he himself did but by a very few months. Calling upon the Rev. Mr. Palmer, of Hackney, a little before his departure on his journey, he took his leave in a cheerful, though very affectionate manner; yet, at the same time, expressing an opinion that he should not live to return. He said, however, that he was perfecty easy as to the event of his apprehensions; adding, in the words of Father Paul to his physician, when he had told him that he had not long to live, "It is well; whatever pleases God pleases me." When another friend, I believe it was his old pastor, Mr. Townsend, expressed his concern at parting with him, from a persuasion that they should never meet again on earth, he cheerfully replied, "We shall soon meet in heaven:" and as he rather expected to die of the

* European Mag. Vol. XVIII. p. 416. † Gentleman's Mag. Vol. LX. Part II. p. 1050.

plague in Egypt, than elsewhere, he added, "the way to heaven from *Grand Cairo* is as near as from London."* The last time, too, that he attended at Dr. Stennet's meeting, in expectation that it would indeed be his last, he said to one of his fellow-worshippers who sat near him, "Well, we shall not perhaps meet one another again till we meet in heaven."† The very day before he left home, he called upon a lady, whose lively recollections of his virtues have added much to the interest of this narrative, and in taking leave of her, in a most affectionate and affecting manner, said, "I am going a very arduous journey; probably, my friend, we shall never meet any more in this world; but it is the path of duty; and, with respect to myself, I am quite resigned to the will of God."

Previous to his quitting Cardington, as he in some measure anticipated, and it but too surely proved, for the last time, he arranged all his worldly affairs with as much exactitude as though he had received an immediate command from heaven, to set his house in order, for on the morrow he should die. His will had been made about a year before, bearing date the 24th of May, 1787, by which he bequeathed all his real estates in trust for the benefit of his son, so long as he should remain in the unhappy state of mind in which he then was, and on his recovery to be vested in him for life, with the remainder to his children, or, on failure of issue, to Mr. Howard Channing and his heirs; this gentleman being the next of kin; as he is, if I mistake not, the son of Mr. Howard's maternal aunt, whose husband, Mr. Lawrence Channing, was one of the executors to his father's will. Of his personal property, a considerable part was bequeathed in legacies to the poor, the objects of his testamentary bounty having been selected with the same discrimination as had characterized the distribution of his alms during the whole course of his life. Of his charitable bequests of this description, the first was one of two guineas each to twenty poor widows whom his executors should think proper objects: a second, a donation of 5*l.* each.

* Rev. Mr. Palmer's Sermon, p. 27. † Dr. Stennet's Sermon, p. 39.

to ten poor cottagers at Cardington, masters of families, who *should not have been in an ale-house for twelve months preceding his death:* the third, a bequest of a similar amount to any ten poor families in the same village, not receiving parochial relief, *who should have been the most constant at any place of public worship* during the same period; whilst, by a fourth, to mark the affection which he cherished to the last for his beloved *Henrietta*, he left to the poor of the parish of Croxton, where *he married his last invaluable wife*, 50*l.* to be distributed amongst them at the discretion of his executors, who were his two brothers-in-law, Edward Leeds, Esq. of that place, and Joseph Leeds, Esq. of Croydon. To each of these gentlemen he bequeathed the sum of 20*l.* as he did also to William Tatnall, Esq. of Ironmonger-lane, who, on the decease of either of them, was to succeed to their trust. To his faithful servant Prole, he left a legacy of 50*l.*; to Thomasson, an annuity of 10*l.* a year for life; to Crockford, 20*l.*; and to his under-gardener, and the son of his son's nurse, to whom he was very kind whilst she lived, 10*l.* To one of his tenants, who had also been a laborer on his farm, he left 20*l.*; to two others, who were widows ten guineas each; whilst to the occupiers of the remainder of his cottages he bequeathed 5*l.* a-piece. Nor was he unmindful of his relations and connections as a Christian, Mr. Townsend, Mr. Smith, and Dr. Stennet, the ministers upon whose preaching he more regularly attended, receiving, as a slight memorial of his regard, the sum of twenty guineas each, whilst to ten poor members of their respective congregations, and also of those of Mr. Symonds and of the church at Cotton-end, to both of which he was a subscriber to his death, he left two guineas each. Dr. Price, Dr. Aikin, Mr. Densham, and Mr. Cole, the friends who had principally assisted him in the composition of his works, were also remembered in his will, by the same legacy as he bequeathed to his pastor, and the more intimate of his ministerial friends. After specifying some other trifling pecuniary legacies to the poorer of his relatives, two of whom, at least, were brought up entirely at his cost;—a gift of any three or four of his pictures and prints that he might choose to Samuel Whitbread, Esq. as a memorial of

their long friendship;—and directing that his body might be buried wherever he should happen to die, so that the expence did not exceed ten or fifteen guineas; he constituted his son the sole residuary legatee under a will which closes with this characteristic sentence:—"My immortal spirit I cast on the sovereign mercy of God, through Jesus Christ, who is the Lord my strength, and my song, and, I trust, is become my salvation; and I desire that a plain slip of marble may be placed under that of my late wife, containing an inscription of my name, and the year that I died; with this motto, *Spes mea Christus.*" Though in this will he had not been unmindful of the unhappy class of beings who, during so long a period of his life, had been the objects of his peculiar solicitude,—having bequeathed as one of its first legacies, the sum of 100*l.* to be distributed at the discretion of his executors, amongst such poor prisoners as they should think proper objects, or for their benefit; the one half to debtors, and the other to persons confined in houses of correction, for providing them with linen and other necessaries;—by a codicil, dated July 2, 1789, which could have been but a day or two before he left his home and his country for ever, he made a more munificent bequest in their favor, by redeeming his pledge of leaving 500*l.* to a society for alleviating the miseries of the public prisons, on the plan suggested at the close of his last work, provided, as he there stipulates, such society should be formed within three years after his decease. By that codicil, besides bequeathing two additional legacies of 50*l.* to a relative whom he had brought up, and 20*l.* to a widowed friend, he extended his residuary disposition of his freehold estates, in the case of the failure of issue, both to his son and Mr. Howard Channing, in favor of the family of his relative, Mr. Whitbread, in whose grandchild, the second son of the late lamented member for Bedford, the reversionary interest now vests, as the possesion itself, at some distant period, most probably will do.* After having made so complete, as well as just and charitable a disposition of his property, our Philanthropist's next care was to select a proper guardian for his

* For an extract from this will, see Gent. Mag. Vol. LX. Part II. p. 713.

son, so long as he should continue to need a guardian's care, as there was but too melancholy a prospect of his doing, during the period he had fixed for his absence abroad; and his choice very prudently fell upon Mr. Whitbread, who had the entire control and direction of the person and fortune of this unhappy young man, until he was released from a state of continued derangement, by his death, which happened in the asylum at Leicester, on the 24th of April, 1799, in the thirty-fifth year of his age; and during the whole of that period it is due to the memory of this worthy man to state, that he discharged the duties of so painful and so delicate an office with exemplary tenderness, prudence, and fidelity.*

If, in the uncommon assemblage of virtues which concentrated themselves in Mr. Howard's character, one shone with a superior lustre to the rest, it was his unfeigned humility; and of this he gave the most unquestionable proofs to the latest hour of his existence. Previous to his departure from Cardington, on his last journey, he spent much of his time in free and unreserved converse with his confidential friend Mr. Smith, chiefly respecting the arrangements he had made in the event of his death, to which he was now evidently looking forward as a change at no great distance. Should he die in England, he repeated to him the directions he had given in his will as to his funeral, which he always wished to be plain, and without parade. His monumental inscription he had fixed upon some years before; but in order to secure its adoption, he now had it cut upon a tablet, which he directed to be placed under that which he had erected in Cardington church to the memory of his beloved Henrietta, leaving blank spaces for the insertion of his age, and the day, year, and place of his decease. Naturally supposing, too, that a funeral sermon would be expected at his death, from the minister who, for so many years, had performed towards him all the duties of a faithful pastor, as well as of a most intimate and affectionate friend, he gave Mr. Smith very particu-

* See Note I.

lar directions both as to the text he should take, and the sermon he should preach upon that occasion. For the former he selected the last verse of the 17th Psalm, as being expressive of the prevailing desire of his heart. "That text," said he, "is the most appropriate to my feelings of any I know: for I can indeed join with the psalmist in saying, 'As for me, I will behold thy face in righteousness: I shall be satisfied when I awake with thy likeness.'" Nor could he have chosen one more strikingly characteristic of his religious principles, and of the uniform bias of his mind, which was strongly and most decidedly marked by an habitually humble view of his present attainments, and a constant and earnest desire after a greater conformity to the divine image. Feeling and acknowledging that, even in his best actions, he was influenced by a mixture of motives partaking of the imperfections of our nature; and conscious of being sinful and unprofitable at the best in the sight of God; he had at all times an unconquerable aversion to being held up to the admiration of his fellow-creatures. He therefore uniformly combated, with arguments drawn from these views of his own character, the remonstrances which Mr. Smith occasionally addressed to him, on what he could not but consider, at times, a too scrupulous dislike to publicity. That dislike he was convinced, however, did not arise from false modesty, or even from any reservedness of disposition, but was founded upon truly Christian principles, as he would come forward with great readiness, freedom, and energy, whenever he thought that, by so doing, he could render a service to his fellow-creatures. This disposition he carried with him to his grave, as from his particular aversion to any thing being said of him in public, he now exacted from his friend a solemn promise, that in the sermon which he might preach upon occasion of his death, he would not enter into any particulars of his life and actions. To the exposure of these to the public eye, his singular modesty had long engendered in his mind a rooted and insuperable dislike, thinking, as he did, that the world had no claim to know any thing of him, beyond what they were made acquainted with through the medium of

his own publications. Further than that he never wished to be known but to the circle of his chosen friends; and in order, as much as in him lay, to prevent his being so after his decease, he spent some time, during the last days of his residence at Cardington, in destroying all the letters and papers which might be of use in such an attempt. Some of these, and not the least interesting, happened, however, not to have been in his possession at this time, and have thus been preserved for the illustration of a character, which, however much opposed to his wishes, the general interest of society requires us to hold up to the admiration and imitation of others.

To the care and attention of his kind friend, Mr. Howard commended, during his absence, his schools and other charitable institutions for the benefit of his villagers, tenants, and poorer neighbours; and under his superintendence, and the fostering care of the Whitbread family, they long continued in a condition as flourishing as that in which he left them. The parting of these two excellent men, and inseparable companions, was affecting on both sides, though Mr. Smith was not without strong hopes that the forebodings of his friend, that he should return to him no more, would not be realized. Their conversation, during the last few days they were permitted to spend together on earth, was, however, particularly serious and impressive, and contemplated as probable, an event for which Mr. Howard himself was as fully prepared, as though it was certain. This was particularly the case, I learn from Mrs. Greene, the last time he walked with their family party to meeting, but a few days before he set out upon that journey of philanthrophy which closed his singularly honorable career.

Ere he left Cardington upon his merciful errand, he made a point of visiting all his tenants, and every individual in his neighbourhood who was either a recipient of his bounty, or ranked in the number of his humble friends. He crupulously discharged too, every debt which he had contracted in the vi-

cinity, or elsewhere, so that when he left England he owed not a single farthing to any one. In this respect he was always remarkably punctual, paying himself, and directing his servants to pay, the odd pence in every bill, since, as he observed, they were as justly due to the creditor as the shillings and the pounds. The evening before his departure, he walked with his old gardener, Joshua Crockford, to a very late hour, in the beautiful fir-walk of his garden, which their own hands and those of a beloved wife, who was then a sainted spirit in heaven, had planted in happier hours; giving him directions in what way he would wish the grounds to be kept up, whether he should ever return or not. In the course of his conversation with this faithful and attached domestic, he intimated that he had now got every thing in his garden exactly in the order he wished, though he was about to leave it; but he added, that should he be spared to reach the shores of his native land again, he intended to end his days there. He told him, at the same time, that in the event of his death, he had made provision for his continuing in his situation as long as he chose to remain there, which he has done to the present hour. John Prole, his old and trusty bailiff, he had just put into one of his farms; but as he was taking leave of his wife, he said to her, in his usual kind manner, "If the farm does not answer your purpose, I will take it into my own hands again, and your husband shall manage it for me. If I come back again, I will have a gate made into the close, and we can then be good neighbours." The day before, he had given her a very pretty tea-caddy, and the miniature of her former mistress, from which the engraving to this work was taken, desiring her to keep them for his sake, should she never see him again. To these presents, on the morning of his departure, he added another, for as his faithful domestic brought him his horse to the door, mounted on a second, which he himself was to ride, he said to her, "I must take your husband away from you for a little while," but, slipping a guinea into her hand, added, "there is something as a recompence for his loss of time; it is not fair to take him from you without

making you some amends." That guinea this excellent woman still treasures up as a memorial of a beloved master, to whom both she and her husband were most devotedly attached, by every tie of gratitude and affectionate esteem. Even this, however, was not the last mark of a generous acknowledgment of faithful services, and long and tried attachment which she received at his hands, for when her husband was about to take his leave of him in London, whither he had accompanied him on his last journey thither, Mr. Howard said to him—"Stop, John, I have some things for you to take with you to Cardington:" and presently a man brought in two or three paper parcels. "These," said his master, as he delivered them into his hands, "are a present for you to take to your wife, for you must not go home to her empty-handed." On opening them, Mrs. Prole found that they contained a quantity of very fine tea and sugar, a portion of which is still left in the caddy which Mr. Howard gave her before his departure, and which, together with the last guinea she received from him, she declares her determination to keep as long as she lives, and then they will, no doubt, be bequeathed as invaluable relics to her children, who have been taught, from their earliest years, to venerate the name of Howard, as that of the earthly benefactor, to whose kindness, under God, the survivor of their parents owes the comfortable provision which is made for her in her old age, and both were indebted for their all.

It was originally Mr. Howard's intention to have taken the toilsome and dangerous journey which he meditated, as he had done the preceding one, alone; but the urgent entreaties of the servant who had attended him in most of his former tours, at length obtained him permission to accompany him, and he was sent on before to London, to make preparations for their departure. He himself spent but a very short time in the metropolis, in bidding a hasty farewell to his friends who resided there, or in its immediate vicinity. It was at this time, and but a few hours before he set out on his long journey,

that, to avail myself of the affecting description which Dr. Aikin has given of so interesting a scene,* "he and his very intimate and highly-respected friend, Dr. Price, took a most affectionate and pathetic leave of each other; from the age and infirmities of the one, and the hazards the other was going to encounter, it was the foreboding of each of them that they should never meet again in this world; and their farewell corresponded with the solemnity of such an occasion. The reader's mind will pause upon the parting embrace of two such men; and revere the mixture of cordial affection, tender regret, philosophic firmness, and christian resignation, which their minds must have displayed."

It must have been on the 4th or 5th of July, that, attended by his servant, Thomasson, this excellent man left the shores of his native country to return not to them again; for, "In confidence on God, who had been *his* help," he himself informs us, that "*he* cheerfully set out on *his* journey, and came to *Amsterdam* the 7th of July, 1789; where *he* first visited the hospitals for the sick," which he found, on the whole, in a clean and improved condition, though, in their persons and linen, their patients were very dirty. In the prison in the stadt-house, many judicious alterations had been made in the debtors' rooms; the burgomaster and one of the sheriffs of the city accompanying him in his visits to them, and to the dungeons for the felons, who, much against their wishes, were still liable to be subjected to all the agonies of the torture. In visiting the rasp-house, on a sabbath morning, he had, however, the gratification of witnessing a very different scene, in a like orderly attendance of the prisoners on public worship in the chapel, as, in a former part of this work, he has been described to have been so highly delighted with, in that at Rotterdam. The infirmary attached to this house of correction was somewhat cleaner than at his former visits, but the patients had no sheets. The other bed-rooms of the house were full of vermin, and the mendicants were too

* P. 186, 7.

thinly clad. At Utrecht, whither he next proceeded, he met with nothing remarkable in the prisons, except that no persons were confined there for capital crimes, as they contained but a few petty offenders, who were kept upon bread and water, for a longer or a shorter period, at the discretion of the magistrates.* In this city, where he learnt with pleasure that there had been no execution for the last three-and-thirty years, he spent a day or two with his friend Dr. Brown; and whilst sojourning beneath his hospitable roof, was induced to break through the rule he had laid down to himself, of never accepting any invitations to dinner whilst engaged on his tours of benevolence, though he did so under some peculiar circumstances, which the Doctor has thus obligingly communicated to me: "There resided at this time, in Utrecht, a very worthy and humane gentleman of the name of Loten, who had been for many years the Dutch governor of Ceylon. I had the honor of his particular acquaintance; and he expressed to me the strong desire he felt to be introduced to Mr. Howard, though, as he was confined to his house by asthma, he could not go out to wait on him. I mentioned this circumstance to Mr. Howard, and described to him Mr. Loten's character in that amiable point of view in which it so fully deserved to be placed. The Philanthropist immediately requested me to introduce him to my friend; and added, 'for such a man as you have described this gentleman to me, I will depart from my rule; and if he does me the honor of asking me to dinner, I will certainly accept the invitation.' This reply I reported to Mr. Loten, and he sent an immediate invitation to Mr. Howard, who dined with him accordingly, though without violating his constant regimen, in abstaining from animal food and wine." During his short stay with his revered and amiable friend, our Philanthropist explained to him the views by which he was actuated in undertaking the long and hazardous journey he was now entering upon, more fully than he appears to have done to most of his other friends. "His object," says the Doctor, in his valuable memoranda, "was to acquire the most accurate information possible relative to the plague,

* Appendix concerning Foreign Prisons, p. 3—6.

the nature of the disease, the best mode of treating it, and the means most effectual for its cure, or its prevention. This information he intended to communicate to the world in order that all Europe might be benefited by his researches, and a plan, perhaps, ultimately devised for preventing this direful scourge from being introduced into those countries whose governments might possess judgment to adopt, and energy to execute such a scheme; or, in the event of its dismal introduction, for arresting its progress, and accomplishing its cure." His views and opinions with respect to this dreadful enemy of the human race, whose ravages he was so anxious, at the risk of his own life, to lessen, if he could not stay, are, however, more fully explained, in the following passage in his diary, written, as I should conjecture, about this period: "It is very probable that the Plague flies about from one Country to another as accident or negligence give it opportunity, so that disease rises spontaneously, that is without our being able to trace its *imported Infection*, tho' it must have originally taken its rise in some particular Place, as perhaps in Egypt or the Coast of Barbary—Important is the Enquiry whether it is ever found thus to arise spontaniously—But as to the Nature or *Cause* of this Malady I do not entertain much hope of seeing that investigated and ascertained with precision, any more than the essence or Cause of the Small Pox or Measles &c I would look to the *Moral* Source from whence *all evil* and suffering have been derived, and would at least endeavour to *diminish* their bitterness—And Oh! how should I bless God if such a *Worm* is made the *Instrument* of alleviating the Miseries of my fellow Creatures—and to connect more strongly the social Bond by mutual exertions for mutual relief.—If one Person has received good, spiritual good by my Labours, it is an Honour for which I cannot be too thankful—Let us bless *the Lord* for all things."—From a letter which he wrote but a short time previous to his departure from England to a person who had sent him a French treatise on the plague at Marseilles, it would appear also that, with the views he had formed upon the subject, he was not desirous of consulting many books on the nature of this singular disease.

"I read very little," he there observes, "on the subject of the plague, as I wish to draw my inferences from close observation on the disorder itself, and not from the theories of persons who never visited patients in that distemper; and indeed my general opinion of it is different from any thing I have yet found in books."*

To satisfy himself of the correctness, or the error of these opinions, he was now upon his way to those parts of the globe where this fiery pestilence reigns in all its accumulated horrors, over an immense population of besotted devotees to a faith, whose tenets prevent their taking the proper precautions to arrest its destructive progress. "I was deeply impressed," says Dr. Brown, as well he might be, "by the sense of the danger to which my friend would unavoidably be exposed in this expedition, and the risk which the civilized world would run of losing so valuable a life. I could not, therefore, avoid expressing to Mr. Howard my anxiety on this subject. He replied, with his usual decision, that he was resolved to undertake the journey, and, convinced of its probable utility to mankind, to place his confidence in that Providence which had hitherto so wonderfully protected him. He added, that if his life was spared, he should be enabled to enlarge the sphere of his usefulness, and if he was appointed to terminate, in this journey, his terrestrial career, he rejoiced to reflect that his life had not been wholly passed in vain; and that others might, perhaps, be prompted by his example to complete what he had left unfinished. When I bade him farewell, taking me by the hand, he said, 'Well, my dear friend! if we do not meet again in this world, I hope we shall meet in heaven.' These were the last expressions which I heard from the lips of the incomparable Howard." Thus did these two friends part, as it proved, for ever, until they shall rejoin each other in the realms of glory: and here, too, must we take our leave of those kind communications of the survivor of this congenial intimacy, which have furnished so much interesting matter for the biography of the be-

* Gillet's Weekly Register, Vol. I. p. 116.

loved companion of some of the happiest of his earthly hours, which were spent in his society and pleasing converse.

Entering Germany by the bishopric of Osnaburgh, our philanthropic traveller was grieved to learn that the mode of torture adopted there, always more excruciating than in other places, had recently been improved upon, in the refinements of its cruelty, by a *conseiller* from Paderborn. In one of the noxious cells below ground, already described in the account of his former visit, was a poor object, ironed hands and feet, and also chained to the walls of his dungeon. His wife was in an offensive and dark chamber on an upper floor, weeping and bitterly lamenting her unhappy situation, which, as far as respected the rigor of her confinement, when he humanely represented it to the chief magistrate of the city, our benevolent countryman was assured should immediately be softened. On mentioning to Baron de Borsch, one of the ministers of state, the dirty and offensive condition of the rooms appropriated to prisoners under correctional discipline, which were no cleaner than when he last visited them, he received, too, from him, an assurance that these criminals should, as in Holland, have the whole of every Saturday devoted to the washing and cleansing of their habitations. He was pleased also to find that the food of the prisoners was now good, and sufficient; the alteration having, no doubt, been occasioned by his representations of the defects which he had formerly noticed in these particulars. In another point, the regulations of this prison were deserving of particular commendation: all its inmates regularly attended public worship on the Sabbath, in a chapel containing separate desks for the books and ornaments of the Protestant and Roman Catholic chaplains, the prisoners of each persuasion attending the service of their own sect at different parts of the day. In the same liberal and Christian spirit,—alas, how unlike that which pervades but too large a proportion of our own boasted land of toleration and liberty of conscience!—every indulgence was allowed to the Jews, in their Sabbath, their diet, and their cloathes. Passing on to the capital of the Hanoverian

dominions of his Britannic Majesty, he found, on the 22d of July, no criminals in the prison there for capital offences; but in the rooms above stairs were seven prisoners, one of them a very pale object, who had marked by chalks upon the floor the weeks of his tedious confinement; and on counting them, Mr. Howard found that they amounted to forty-two, though his guilt or innocence of the crime laid to his charge, and consequently the justice or injustice of his prolonged detention here, was not yet decided. This grievous evil he had long since exposed, yet was it undiminished; nor was the still more execrable practice of torturing prisoners abolished; as it was at all times in the power of the magistrates to inflict it. "Have I not reason," exclaims the man of humanity, as he records this gross instance of inattention to its most powerful claims, on the part of the ministers of his own benignant monarch, "with a sigh, to say, 'I labour in vain, and spend my strength for nought?' But I have resolved, by the help of God, to give myself wholly to this work." He was grieved to learn that the good burgomaster Aleman, the noble founder of the new orphan-house, and house of correction for juvenile delinquents in the suburbs of this capital, had died since his last visit; and the more so, as when he saw the children at dinner, he could not help observing from their countenances, that, though it appeared to be in the best order, something was wrong in the institution which he had so ably and so humanely superintended. For this he was but too well able to account, when, in going through the house, he discovered that the bed-rooms were dirty, the bedding scanty, and without linen; and learnt also, that the children were fed by contract with the master at 2d. a day each. But having pointed out these defects to Mr. Conseiller Falke, the kinsman of the founder, and his successor in the direction of this useful establishment, he felt firmly persuaded that they would speedily be rectified. In an older institution, of a somewhat similar description, in the heart of the town, he saw that gentleman, the minister, and two or three others, distribute the weekly allowance to the poor, who received what was given to them with thankfulness; those women who did not refuse to sweep the streets

having a small addition made to their share. The town, he was informed, was divided into seven districts, to each of which a respectable person was appointed, to whom the poor, in case of sickness, were to make application, when he reported their condition to a magistrate, specially appointed for that purpose, who immediately ordered the physician for the district to attend the pauper. That part of this institution which was used as a prison for men was empty, but that for the women was dirty, and intolerably offensive. The hospital of this capital was only one large room, crowded with beds, containing patients of both sexes: a new one was then building for the military, on an improper spot, and on a contracted and bad plan. At Brunswick he again read the order for admitting any decent person to inspect the house of correction on putting a florin into the box to assist prisoners whose term was expired in passing on their journey, and conformed to it with pleasure; though he was grieved, on his entrance into the prison, to find it in as dirty a condition as ever. The torture was not abolished here, but he had the satisfaction to learn that the last instance of any person having suffered it was about eighteen years previous to this visit, and that the room had not since been opened, until now, that, by order of one of the counsellors of justice, its doors were unbarred for his admission. Through these doors he was ushered into a small, black, and dark cellar, which, in its hellish paraphernalia, too closely resembled the torture-rooms already described to need more particular notice here. The time for administering the question, as the absurd and barbarous custom of putting criminals, or suspected criminals, to the rack was technically and judicially called, was the midnight hour; though the thickness of a three-feet wall; the four doors through which the benevolent inspector of this dreadful chamber passed; its dirt floor, and depth under ground, must have prevented the most agonizing cries from being heard beyond the precincts of this horrid den. Several of the engines of this diabolical practice were kept in the place where, in former times, they had been but too often used; the remainder Mr. Howard saw at the house of the executioner. "He seemed," says his indignant visitor, "with pleasure to

shew the mode of application on the first, second and last question, and very readily answered any enquiries, having been several years in that occupation at Hanover; though here (he said) he had only beheaded four or five. On asking if nothing was put into the tortured person's mouth, as I had in some places seen, he replied, 'No, the Osnaburgh executioner thinks they suffer less;' and on his describing some of the modes of torture (which the art of devils and men had invented), he said, 'Sir, the Osnaburgh torture is still ruder.'"*

But, readily, I am sure, will the reader hasten with him from scenes of horror such as these, "to another country, where the torture *had* not been inflicted for above twice eighteen years." At Berlin, the prisons were in general clean, well regulated, and, on the whole, in an improved condition, except that for the city, which, in its every part, was very dirty, appearing never to have been whitewashed. The legal process against the prisoners confined here was long, tedious, and dilatory; the court yard was common to men, women, and boys; and the gaoler freely sold liquors of every description. In this city, besides the Spanish vest for certain male offenders, which has already been described, a singular machine, called a fiddle, was used for offenders of the other sex, into which their hands and neck were fastened, whilst they were exposed to the public gaze, for an hour at a time, on three successive days. The *Maison de Travail* was in the same excellent order as Mr. Howard had found it in at his former visits, but he now very properly noticed the very great number of men, women, and children who were at work together in one room of a house, in which a proper separation might so easily have been made, as objectionable in many points of view. He found no military hospital in the capital of this military kingdom, every regiment being provided with one or two sick-rooms, each of them containing seven or eight beds. Those he visited were clean, and most of them empty, a circumstance which he attributed to the strict

* Appendix concerning Foreign Prisons, p. 6—9.

discipline, constant exercising, and frequent reviewing of the Prussian troops, and also to many of them having wives, to whom a small weekly pay was politically, as well as humanely allowed, whilst, jointly with their husbands, they occupied a separate room in each *caserne*, or barracks. In the fortress at Spandau, he found, on the 4th of August, one hundred and seventy-one prisoners, several of them condemned for life, and one having actually been confined there for thirty-two years. Their allowance was but two pounds of bread and water a-day, and after the first year one suit of cloathes annually. They were required to work four hours of every day for the king, and when the governor employed them as carpenters or masons, he gave them about 3½*d.* each for their daily labor. Many were spinning cotton at their leisure hours for their own emolument; whilst several others had an iron collar round their necks, the mark of their contentions and quarrels. Their rooms under the ramparts were very close, dirty, and crowded, but as their governor, who was an Englishman, seemed desirous of softening the rigor of their confinement, Mr. Howard gave him some very useful hints for the purpose, which, after his death, were printed among the other memoranda of this journey. The upper room of one of the towers contained a state prisoner; whilst from a dreadful dungeon underneath another criminal had been removed on the very morning of his visit. It has been formerly stated, that no woman was ever permitted to continue a night within the walls of this castle; the prohibition seems not, however, to have extended to their occasionally visiting it during the day, as whilst our Philanthropist was walking round with the governor, the mother of one of the convicts humbly petitioned for liberty to see her son, and it was readily granted, though a guard was directed to attend her during their conference. At Koningsberg, the prison was in a close part of the city; the rooms on the two upper floors being inhabited, the one by seven men, the other by eight women, who were occupied in spinning. Their visitor observed that none of the men were in irons, which were never put on, in any case, until after conviction. He notices here also a practice highly worthy of commendation, which he was

informed prevailed in several Roman Catholic countries, of a refusal on the part of the priests of that faith to administer the sacrament to prisoners until their irons were taken off. In an upper room of the gaol were eleven sick women, whom he understood not to be prisoners, though, if he might conjecture from the appearance of their rooms, and from their own, they were some poor wretches sent there to perish from nastiness and neglect. In the house of correction, no separation was made between old and young, greater and lesser criminals, nor was any inducement held out of shortening their term in consequence of their good behaviour, whilst the first view of the countenances of the whole convinced him of sad neglect in their management. Their prison was without an infirmary, the sick having hardly a blanket to cover them, and the men being also in irons. From two or three who were dying, Mr. Howard requested the magistrates to let their irons be taken off; the surgeon who attended them through the gaol having no feeling whatever for his hapless patients. The sick women, in three other rooms, were dirty beyond description, and seemed in want of every comfort of life. The inspector and keeper were both old and infirm; and so miserably dirty was the prison confided to their care, that the magistrates, who went through it with our humane countryman, were covered with vermin before they had completed their round. Taking advantage of this circumstance, he enforced upon their attention the custom observed in the Dutch spin-houses, of devoting the whole of every Saturday to the work of purification; a practice which he further commended, from its manifest tendency to introduce habits of cleanliness among the female sex. In connection with these few, but salutary remarks, he inserted in his journal the following general observation, which, in the account of his last tour, given to the public after his decease, is very properly printed as a note upon the passage whence the above account is taken.—"In several places I now take the liberty to mention what seemed to me an obvious remedy to some defect that happened to strike me. I hope it will not be thought by any gentleman, that I do it in the style of a dictator. Yet should it be asked,

why I did not so generally do it in my first publications, I reply, that my purpose then was to collect what was good, with a view of a reform in my *own* country; as I did not think any observations of so private an individual would either reach the eye of foreign magistrates, or be attended to by them: but, it has pleased God to order it otherwise; it would therefore be, on my part, refusing to do the good offered to my endeavours, were I to abstain from such remarks as may correct abuses, and alleviate misery in all the places I visit." In the old house of correction, which had been burnt down in the course of the preceding winter, a singular mode of employment had been adopted for the prisoners, who were set to turn the two heavy wheels of a machine for stamping dyers' wood, which escaped the ravages of the conflagration, two working each wheel a hundred times, when they were relieved by a second set. In the suburbs of the city was another house of correction, with a neat garden attached to it, and situated near a pleasant lake. The prisoners, of whom there were about thirty, were confined in separate rooms, and looked clean and healthy, which their keeper, who had lived thirty-seven years in Russia, principally ascribed to the use of a warm bath, which, after the manner of that country, he had erected in his garden, compelling the prisoners every Saturday morning thoroughly to wash and clean themselves, in a warm room. The kind attention which he received from the magistrates induced Mr. Howard to ask permission to copy the plan of this bathing-house, and he was readily permitted to do so. The castle at Memel contained, on the 17th of August, fifty-seven men and eleven women, most of them confined in dark and damp rooms, built against the fortifications, and unprovided with bedding. The allowance was the same as at Spandau; their employment removing the ballast flung out of the ships in the harbour. In this work only twenty-two were now engaged, but at times there were vessels enough in port to find employment for the whole, women as well as men: some of the prisoners were sick, and they all had a pale and languid look. At Mittau, in Courland, twelve of the criminals or slaves, who were in irons, with a chain between each leg as at Memel, were

at work in hewing and sawing timber for repairing the palace, which had been greatly injured by fire in the preceding winter. Mr. Howard observed that they were quite as handy and quiet as the other workmen, and though he repeated his visit to them alone, not one stopped from his work, or gave the least hint of a request for money.*

Entering the extensive territories of Russia by way of Riga, our traveller inspected the prison and house of correction there, which was a square building in the citadel, the prison part of which was very dirty and offensive, and seemed to have but little attention paid in it, to the separation of the sexes, or to proper order and regulation in any respect, though in that appropriated to the house of correction the prisoners had a cheerful and healthy look, and the rooms were clean. Here were several bread-mills, at some of which six men were grinding corn, six women being at work in another part, on a lighter mill, the other prisoners, who were not capable of such hard labor, being employed the while in spinning. Their hours of work were fourteen in summer, and thirteen in winter; their food a sufficient quantity of bread and gruel. Every fortnight they were all compelled to use the warm bath, which adjoined the prison. In the stadt-house were rooms for the town debtors, in which not more than two or three were now incarcerated. Down twenty-five steps were two dungeons confining but one prisoner, and he was not in irons, and could receive alms at a grated window, the Russians being very kind to persons in his pitiable situation. The military hospital contained, at this time, upwards of 300 sick, who were crammed into two dirty and offensive wards, the few beds in them being so extremely crowded, that several of them lay upon boards saturated with infection, though the wall seemed to have been newly whitewashed; they were rendered more offensive too, by poisonous sewers in the passages into which they opened. These circumstances, even without attending to the improper diet of the patients, prevented any surprise on the

* Appendix concerning Foreign Prisons, p. 9—12.

part of its visitor, when he was informed that four or five hundred recruits had died in this pest-house in the beginning of the year. About ten miles from this town, he visited the slaves, or convicts, who were confined there in a prison or *ostrog* very similar to that at Moscow, formerly described as consisting of several wooden houses surrounded with high pales. The whole number of prisoners was 387, amongst whom were forty-two foreigners confined here for debts, some of them of so trifling an amount as from three to four roubles, (eight to eleven shillings) though contracted under some circumstances which would not permit their being immediately released by the payment of their debt, as in some cases, they otherwise would have been, by the humanity of their visitor. During their confinement in this gaol, they were ironed, and set to labor with the criminals on the public works, being allowed the while from government, twenty copecs (6½ *d.*) a-day, eight of which went to provide them in food, cloathes, and other necessaries; the remaining twelve being paid to their creditors until their whole debts were discharged. The rooms in this prison, or rather the separate wooden huts of which it was composed, contained about forty-two persons each, every slave having his separate bed, and most of them a little bedding. All their inmates, unless they were sick, which the surgeon came every morning to examine into, were in irons, and worked, in that state, fourteen hours a-day, in hewing timber, driving piles, and wheeling and carrying the stones for a fine large mole, on which they had been employed for six years, receiving an allowance of six copecs a-day to provide them with food and cloathing, the former of which was very bad, and the latter very indifferent. Their religious instruction was so shockingly neglected, that it was only once in a-year that they went to the chapel in the citadel, every other Sabbath being occupied in amusing themselves, by making shoes, and similar modes of employment. In a small inner room, Mr. Howard found two Russians, sent hither about four years before, since which period they had never been out of their room, where they were heavily ironed, both by

their hands and feet; a guard being constantly placed also at their door. They never were spoken to, nor was their crime known, or, indeed, any thing respecting them, but that they had suffered the punishment of the knout, had a piece cut out of each nostril, and the mark on their cheeks which denotes their condemnation for life. Several others were marked in this way, for murder and other capital crimes; no offence, not even the crying one of wilfully shedding human blood, being then punished in Russia with death. Of this new mode of legislation, a very singular illustration was here presented, in the case of the head knout-master, at St. Petersburgh, who had been brought hither, about a fortnight before, for having very coolly murdered his two colleagues, by striking off the head of one of them, as they were quarrelling in a public-house, and very dexterously decapitating the other the next instant, for seeming to resent the sudden fate of his comrade. For so daring and brutal an outrage, this man was sentenced to receive 270 strokes of the knout, which were administered by the executioner from Moscow, who was brought to Petersburgh for the express purpose. Being condemned to slavery for life, he was also sent to this prison with the mark of his sentence on his cheek. Here he met with several of his former acquaintance, to whom he had administered the discipline, which, in his turn, he had himself received; and, on being asked in how many strokes he could kill a man, he answered, with perfect nonchalance, that if the criminal were a strong man, he could dispatch him with five and twenty, if not with twenty blows.

During Mr. Howard's continuance in Riga and its neighbourhood, he entered in his diary the last observations and reflections with which I have been favored by the present possessor of that invaluable relic, in which it is highly probable that his hand never traced any characters again. The first of these contains a singular exposition of his ideas on the superiority of a vegetable, over an animal regimen, in which, I apprehend, few will coincide;—the

last, a statement of the source of his purest enjoyments here, and a proof of his constant preparation for an hereafter, which all surely must approve, and would do well to imitate and realize themselves.

"I am firmly perswaded as to the Health of our Bodies, Herbs and Fruits will sustain Nature in every respect, far beyond the best flesh meat, is there any comparison to be made between an Herb Market and a flesh Market? The Lord planted a Garden for Mankind in the beginning, and replenished it with all Manner of Fruits and Herbs,—this was the place ordained for Man, if these had still been the Food of Man, he would not have contracted so many diseases in his Body, nor cruel Vices in his Soul—The Taste of most sorts of flesh is disagreeable, to those who for any time abstain from it, and none can be competent Judges of what I say, but those who have made tryal of it.

I hope I have sources of enjoyment that depend not on the particular spot I inhabit, a rightly cultivated mind, under the power of Religion, and the exertion of beneficient dispositions, are a ground of Sattisfaction little affected by *heres* and *theres*.

"I hope my Soul thirsts for the Ordinances of God's House, which I am this day deprived of, but I will make it a day of rest—Thro' Mercy brought here in safety, I have this Morning read over some solemn transactions of my Soul, many years past, and in the most solemn and devout manner *renew* those Vows, which alas! have been too often broken, and acknowledge Thee—the Almighty Jehovah, for my Lord and my God—oh! God hear my Prayer and let my Cry come before Thee.

"Riga Aug^{t} 23^{d}"

The solemn transactions here referred to, were the covenant, and the other paper in the nature of a covenant, to which he deliberately signed his name in the year 1766, and which have already been inserted in the history of that period of his life. They were now, with equal deliberation, re-signed and renewed three-and-twenty years after they had first been framed and

executed. From Riga our traveller proceeded to St. Petersburgh, where he pursued nearly the same round of inspection of the prisons as he had done just eight years before, and found but little alteration in their condition, except that the new house of correction, which was then nearly finished, had never been inhabited, but was now going to ruin, many of the upper floors having already fallen in. He therefore passed with pleasure from the places of confinement, to inspect the hospitals of this capital, in which several very judicious improvements had been made since he last went through their wards. A new and splendid one, recently erected just out of the city, afforded an opportunity of usefully employing several male and female prisoners, who came thither every day, the latter to wash and clean the rooms, the former to perform other menial offices about the place. In the foundling and inoculating hospitals, and the noble institution for the corps of military cadets, our humane and independent countryman passed three or four mornings in inspecting every part of their economy, on which he freely spoke his mind, either in commending what was right, or pointing out for correction what he thought amiss, endeavoring, in the latter case, to enforce his observations by appealing to the practice of other countries in similar circumstances, or by showing the plans and models of such parts of buildings of this description, as were best fitted for the purposes they were intended to answer, in his own. He mentions also having spent another pleasant hour with the good old General de Betskoi. On the 9th and 10th of September he visited the marine hospital at Cronstadt, which he now found in a much worse condition than when he had formerly inspected it; the entrance being through very dark and offensive rooms; the wards narrow, low, and without apertures for air; the floors dirty; and many of the beds very close to one another, so that a patient could have very little hopes of recovering in such a fœtid air as these various circumstances combined to produce. The adjoining summer-houses were, however, airy and spacious, though here, as in the other parts of the hospital, the attendants on the sick were, very improperly, all of them men. The diet

of the patients, too, was very ill suited to the nature of their complaints, which were chiefly scorbutic disorders and an intermittent fever. "With what concern," exclaims their pitying visitor, "must a feeling mind be struck, when many objects are looking up for help, and the probability of a cure is thus cut off!" The condition of such of the sick sailors of the fleet as were on the upper floor of the barracks, whilst used as a temporary hospital, presented, however, a pleasing contrast to this distressing scene, and did great credit to the physician who presided over them, and who was one of our own countrymen. The sick mariners in the hospital, and the slaves in the prison, had indeed alike reason to regret that they had not the opportunity of deriving further benefit from the attendance and humanity for which the natives of Great Britain are deservedly celebrated, as the death of Admiral Greig put a stop to many improvements which he had commenced, in accordance with his favorite maxim, "If I cannot do what I would, I will do what I can." In consequence of that lamented event, the new prison, for which the ground was already marked out, eight years ago, had never been erected; and in the old one, both the criminals and the slaves, sent thither by their masters or landlords, seemed to be equally neglected; none of them having beds, and their rooms being excessively dirty. In his way to Moscow, our Philanthropist again inspected the miserable prison at Tver, which was very dirty, and had not been whitewashed since he had last visited it, soon after its erection. It contained, however, no dungeons, and the prisoners were *now* allowed as much bread as they chose, beside the charitable contributions from the box, which was fixed on a pillar on the outside. At Moscow, the prison or *ostrog*, which Mr. Howard visited in 1781, was now destroyed, its place having, about four years since, been supplied by a new and more commodious brick building, in which provision was made for the proper separation of prisoners of different descriptions. No wine or spirits were permitted to be brought within its walls; and its rooms were furnished with stoves and barrack bedsteads, but not with bedding. This want was experienced even by

the sick in the infirmary, which consisted of but one large room for both sexes, though it now contained only eighty-eight men, most of them miserable objects; several in high fevers, yet having so little attention paid to them, that when Mr. Howard visited their wretched pest-house, some of them declared that they had not had any refreshment that day, though it was then five o'clock. The prisoners still subsisted on charitable contributions; and their looks bespoke the liberality of their countrymen, as they did not appear to be in any great want of necessaries. "Hence," says our author, "I conclude, that the nation is humane; and in travelling through a great tract of the country, the peasants appeared to me of a kind and hospitable disposition." The other government, or city prison, consisted of two dirty and damp rooms, in which both debtors and criminals, men and women, were confined without any distinction. They had neither bedding nor allowance, as they subsisted entirely on occasional charity. Their number was but eighty, though at times a hundred and fifty were crowded into one of these offensive rooms. "Such a prison," exclaims our Philanthropist, with merited indignation, "is a disgrace to any civilized country." The grand duke's hospital, which had been burnt down since his last visit, was re-erected on a very improved plan, and its provisions and regulations were so excellent as to do credit to any country. The military hospital was not, however, in nearly so good a condition, the bread of the patients being very black, and neither well made nor baked. Mr. Howard showed it to the first physician, asking him as he did so, whether he thought the recent alteration in the diet of the military and the marine for the better; a question to which he cautiously evaded giving any reply. "The purpose of this alteration," observes this humane querist, "is to fortify them, and render them able to endure hardships; but it should have been considered, that the prevalent disorders among those people are scurvy and putrid fevers." Here, as in most of the other hospitals of this country, every aperture for air was carefully stopped up, on some of the fairest, and the mildest days.*

* Appendix concerning Prisons, p. 12—17.

From this capital Mr. Howard addressed to his friend Dr. Price, one of the last letters he ever wrote, and which, upon that account, cannot fail to be acceptable to the admirers of his character, as it is now printed in its entire state from Mr. Palmer's manuscript copy.

" Moscow, Sept. 22, 1789.

" My Dear Friend,

" Your kind desire of hearing from me engages me to write. When I left England, I first stopped at Amsterdam. I proceeded to Osnaburgh, Hanover, Brunswick, and Berlin: then to Koningsbergh, Riga, and Petersburgh, at all which places I visited the prisons and hospitals, which were all flung open to me, and in some the Burgomasters accompanied me into the Dungeons, as well as into the other rooms of confinement.

" I arrived a few days ago in this City, and have begun my rounds. The Hospitals are in a sad state: upwards of 70 thousand sailors and recruits died in them last year. I labour to convey the torch of Philanthropy into these distant regions, as in God's hand no Instrument is weak, and in whose presence no flesh must glory.

" I go through Poland into Hungary. I hope to have a few nights of this moon in my journey to Warsaw, which is about a thousand miles. I am pure well—the weather clear—the mornings fresh. Thermometer 48°, but have not yet begun fires. I wish for a mild winter, and shall then make some progress in my European expedition.

" My medical acquaintance give me but little hopes of escaping the plague in Turkey; but my spirits do not at all fail me: and, indeed, I do not look back, but would readily endure any hardships, and encounter any dangers, to be an honour to my Christian Profession.

" I long to hear from my friend, yet I know not where he can direct to me, unless at Sir Robt. Ainslie's, Constantinople. I will hope all things. Remember me to Sister, Nieces, and Mr Morgan.

" I am, my much esteemed friend,

" Most affectionately and sincerely Your's,

" Revd Dr Price." " John Howard."

From the route he here marks out for himself, our Philanthropist was suddenly diverted by the commiseration which he felt for the wretched condition of the sick soldiers in the Russian military hospitals; and to gain further information on this subject, instead of retracing his footsteps over the path he formerly trod, we must now prepare to follow him, in his career of humanity, through the deserts of Tartary, to the confines of the Euxine sea. The first place he visited in these wild and unfrequented regions was Crementschuok, where a new hospital had recently been erected, on the banks of the Nieper, for recruits who fell sick on their march to the army, containing, at this time, in its crowded wards, 400 patients, several of them very ill of the scurvy, yet dieted on sour bread, and still sourer quas. By way of change, they had a sort of water-gruel, which, if not eaten one day, served them for the next; all the patients, however varying the nature and symptoms of their disease, being tied to a certain diet, which their medical attendants had it not in their power to change. Their rooms were quite clean; yet, from the improper mode of treatment to which they were subjected, by an authority that must be obeyed, from one-third to a half of their number died here, their intermittent, soon turning into a putrid fever, which swept them off by scores at a time, the younger of them falling its readiest victims. A bathing-house was erecting, which, from the dirtiness of the patients, seemed to be much wanted, and the more so, as, according to the invariable practice of the country, their attendants were uniformly men.* The next place he visited was Cherson, and on his way thither, his baggage was stolen from behind his carriage, while he and his servant refreshed themselves with a nap. On discovering his loss, he immediately hastened back to the nearest village, in which he recollected to have seen a party of Russian recruits, whom he charged with having taken his property. While he waited in his carriage until a magistrate could be applied to, the articles he had lost were brought to him; first a hat box, and then a trunk, the latter of which had been found half buried in the road, by the side of a field which some men were ploughing, one of whom, startled at seeing the nails of the trunk shine just above the ground, was afraid to touch it without his companion. When opened

* Appendix concerning Prisons, p. 17, 18.

by Mr. Howard, every article it had contained, both of linen and money, was found in *statu quo ;* but the suspicion of having concealed it until an opportunity should offer for carrying off and sharing its contents, fell so strongly on the recruits, that the magistrate ordered seven of them to be exiled to Siberia.* At Cherson, he found a second military and naval hospital, in a state no less wretched than that he had recently visited ; its wards and passages never being washed, the bedsteads and bedding being equally dirty, and the latter never changed after a patient's death. We cannot, therefore, be surprised to learn that the unhappy beings who were successively stretched upon these hot-beds of infection, should have been in a very filthy condition, both in their persons and their linen, or that their rooms were close and offensive, when patients suffering under every variety of disease, one or two only excepted, were indiscriminately mingled in the same ward. The more prevalent of those diseases were scurvy and intermittent fever, which, from the closeness and dirtiness of the wards; the scantiness of linen and bedding; improper diet; and bad attendance, soon turned into a putrid fever, which hurried these hapless victims of inhumanity and neglect unpitied to their graves. The attendants on the sick in this wretched hospital,—a pest-house, when the plague was in the town ten or twelve years before, and certainly, though changed in name, a pest-house still—were men sent from different regiments on account of their being useless, from stupidity or drunkenness. The baths, from being badly situated at the bottom of a steep descent, were seldom used; and those who ought to have superintended the management of this institution, were so negligent of their duty as to permit the grossest frauds and abuses. At one of Mr. Howard's visits, they brought the physician some of the bread and quas about to be served out to his patients, as he informed him that they did every day, though his vigilance soon detected its superiority to that which he had tasted in the messes actually distributed, and convinced the doctor of the imposition practised

* Gent. Mag. Vol. LX. Part I. p. 278, 9.

upon him, not only in this, but in other respects; for when he had told him that the wards were furnished with towelling, on asking to see it, much to his informant's surprise, not any was to be found. "The primary objects in all hospitals," says our benevolent countryman, in concluding his remarks on the gross defects of this, "seem here neglected, viz. *cleanliness, air, diet, separation,* and *attention.* These are such essentials, that humanity and good policy equally demand, that no expence should be spared to procure them. Care, in this respect, I am persuaded, would save many more lives than the parade of medicines in the adjoining apothecary's shop." Visiting the rooms for the sick soldiers of the regiment quartered in this town, he found as evident marks of too little attention being paid to the patients, as he had done in the great hospital, whence several had been brought hither after remaining there for many months uncured, a fate which, if he might judge from appearances, those whom death should spare, would continue to experience, for as long a period, in a place whose rooms were low, close, and offensive; many of the sick lying upon mats, or barrack-beds, with nothing but one blanket to cover them. From this place, on the 17th of November, Mr. Howard addressed a letter to a friend in England, of which but the following short extract has been given to the public:—"Many are here shivering with the ague (a morass of twenty miles is before my window). I give the ounce of bark, and drachm of snake-root and wormwood, which has not failed me once." He mentions also having received information on which he could rely, that no less than 70,000 recruits, soldiers and sailors, had died in Russia in the course of the preceding year,—a mortality which he attributed, in a very great degree, to the inattention, ignorance, and inhumanity which he had witnessed, with so much pain, in their hospitals. Whilst here, he read, too, in the public journals, an account of the demolition of the Bastille, an event which afforded him peculiar gratification, as he thought the account he had published of the gloomy horrors of its iron cages, and impenetrable dungeons, might have hastened its destruction. His

eye, therefore, sparkled with peculiar delight as he expressed to his servant his intention, should he live to return to England, of visiting its ruins.* From Cherson he made a short excursion to Witowka (now Bokoiaulenskoe), a new settlement, about forty miles distant, where was another hospital for soldiers and recruits, consisting of eight long lazaretts, enclosed with reeds, and situated near the river Bog, with the advantage of a fine stream of soft running water, but deprived of that of wood for firing; the eyes of its visitor never having been gladdened by the sight of a single tree, either in his journey from Cherson hence, or for some hundred miles of his dreary way from Moscow to the former town. The rooms were twenty-seven feet wide, and each of them contained about 230 sick, lying in two rows, on barrack-bedsteads, without any partitions, and so closely stowed, that in the space of thirty feet, he assures us that he had counted sixteen, seventeen, and even eighteen patients. Their beds were dirty, as were also their linen and their persons: some had an old blanket over them; but by far the greater part were lying under a stiff black woollen coverlid, overspreading three or four of them. Their provisions were bad; they had neither water nor towels to wash themselves with; and their bath was filthy beyond description. On asking the apothecary to show him his bark, his boy, after searching five minutes, produced to Mr. Howard a pot, containing scarcely an ounce of an article, which he would not have known to be that medicine, had it not been produced as such. "In short," he adds, "every department of this hospital *seemed* neglected and abused. When I saw so many brave fellows, who had fought so well for their country before Otschakow, suffered to perish here with filth, neglect, and vermin, how did my heart melt within me!" Nor was the condition of the convalescents in any respect more tolerable; for, on observing one afternoon, during his stay here, about twenty poor objects standing together at the end of the town, our Philanthropist, with his wonted humanity, approached them to inquire into the particulars of their wretched condition, when he

* Appendix concerning Prisons, p. 18, 19: Gent. Mag. Vol. LX. Part I. p. 82: Aikin, p. 195, 6: Mrs. Greene's MS.

learnt that they were recruits just out of the hospital, and waiting for orders to go to the next town, about sixteen wersts distant, on a road with neither house nor tree for shelter, though the night was dreadfully wet, and the poor shivering wretches, scarcely recovered from a fever, were so weak and ill cloathed, that he did not doubt but that several of them died upon the way. A gentleman who accompanied him in his visit to Witowka, informed him, indeed, that between that place and Cherson, he himself had counted twenty-four such miserable objects lying dead by the road side. Nor can we wonder that he should have done so, when we learn that the usual winter lodgings of the Russian soldiery in these parts were cells under ground, covered over with sticks and earth, with a hole at the top to let out the smoke;—damp and dreary caverns, in comparison with which, the huts of the Hottentots, and even the dens of the wild beasts, were comfortable shelters. About a mile from the new town of St. Nicholas, which was just begun to be built, our traveller inspected four rooms for the sick of the recruits and prisoners of war, who were compelled to work very hard in the erection of the buildings here, though they had no proper accommodations provided for them. The number crowded into these rooms was, at this time, upwards of three hundred, many of whom were extremely ill, yet was their food little but very black and heavy bread, and quas of quite as bad a quality. They had all, however, been carefully shifted on the morning of Mr. Howard's visit: most of them had coverlids; and the surgeons were in waiting to receive him, the period of his coming having been previously fixed by the Brigadier Falajef, who was going to inspect the works, and took him and the physician whom Prince Potemkin had sent to examine into their condition, in his carriage. Having been informed, however, that there were actually about 500 sick in this place, he was extremely urgent to see the remainder of them, which, as he was not to be diverted from his purpose when he had reason to suspect that an attempt had been made to impose upon him, he was at length permitted to do, the physician who had accompanied him hither, and several officers, attending him

back to the town, where he found fifty objects of such extreme wretchedness as, in the whole course of his extensive visits to the abodes of misery and vice, he had never before seen together. Most, or all of them were recruits, in the prime of life; many of whom were dying upon a bed of hard coarse reeds, without linen or coverlids, with nothing, indeed, but a few remnants of their old cloathes to cover them; their persons dirty beyond description, and with their shirts in rags. With every kindlier feeling of his nature shocked beyond description at so barbarous a scene, our intrepid countryman turned to the officers at his side, and directing their attention to their fellow creatures who were thus inhumanly treated, told them, in a tone of the bitterest reproof, "that in none of the countries *he* had ever visited, had he found so little attention paid to the military as in *Russia*. *He* knew, however," he added, that "what *he* said would have no other effect on them but to make them despise *him*, but *he* should assuredly relate what *he* had with so much concern and indignation beheld." As he had anticipated, his military auditors immediately left him, and he then walked on to inspect several of the recruits at their work, which was that of carrying sand on their backs to fill a mole then making. Many of them looked sickly, and were tottering under their burden, which, with his characteristic humanity, he proposed to lessen by the use of wheel-barrows, or light carts, with a horse or an ox to each, which, as the ground was level, would expedite the work, as well as save the men, whose strength and spirits were already sufficiently broken before they got here, by long and tedious marches. I know not whether a recommendation, as politic as it was humane, was attended to; but there can be no difficulty whatever in pronouncing that it ought to have been. "Let but a contemplative mind," says Mr. Howard, in concluding his remarks on the sufferings of these miserable objects of his compassionate regard, "reflect a moment upon the condition of these poor destitute wretches, forced from their homes and all their dearest connections, and compare them with those one has seen, chearful, clean, and happy at a wedding, or village festival; let them

be viewed quitting their birth-place, with all their little wardrobe, and their pockets stored with rubles, the gifts of their relations, who never expect to see them more;—now joining their corps in a long march of one or two thousand wersts; their money gone to the officer who conducts them, and defrauds them of the government allowance; arriving, fatigued and half naked in a distant dreary country, and exposed immediately to military hardships, with harassed bodies and dejected spirits;—and who can wonder that so many droop and die, in a short time, without any apparent illness? The devastations I have seen made by war among so many innocent people, and this in a country where there are such immense tracts of land unoccupied, are shocking to human nature!" In the beginning of January, Mr. Howard returned to Cherson, where he was not at all surprised to learn, a day or two after his arrival, that since he had left Witowka, thirty or forty had died in a day. So great indeed, was the mortality in this ill-regulated hospital, that in the last thirteen months, of 11,319 patients admitted, 1949 had died whilst under cure. Soon after he had received this dismal intelligence, he went again, on the 6th of January, the round of all the wards of the military hospital, and the sick rooms of the regiment quartered at Cherson. In the former, he was gratified to find a very material alteration since he last was in them, with respect to cleanliness, alike in the persons, linen, and bedding of the sick; as was also partially the case in the latter. In the hospital he was sorry, however, to observe, that the pittance of meat given to many of the men was not two ounces, whilst the grits, of which their gruel was made, were very musty. Still more concerned was he to notice, that some of the attendants on the patients were intoxicated, one of them being furnished with a brandy-bottle holding two quarts, out of which he had reason to fear that he supplied the sick who could pay him for it, with a beverage that must inevitably defeat the best-concerted means for their recovery. "How many patients do I see," he feelingly exclaims, "in many disorders, which, I am persuaded, proceed from the use of spirituous liquors! What strict care should be taken that the attendants do not bring any to sell in the hospital! Have I not seen unmixed spirits served

round to sick and dying patients, by persons intoxicated themselves; when, to my great surprize, I was told, that the physican had ordered it as a *treat* to the patients! If my visits had any share in promoting this, I fear I killed half a dozen of them; or, at least, put them some days sooner out of their misery!"*

With this characteristic sentence ends the memorandum-book in which Mr. Howard was in the habit of noting, as they occurred, the observations that struck him in the course of his visits to the various prisons and hospitals of the vast continent of Europe, on whose confines he had now paid his last. Amidst such scenes of infection and disease, as those to which he was continually exposing himself, "his health and life," as it has been very truly observed, "could not be a day secure." Yet it was not from the putridity of a neglected hospital, or the contagion of a crowded gaol, that he caught the infection which terminated his glorious career. To those he had frequently been exposed, and had generally escaped from them unhurt, whilst one and another was dying on his right hand and on his left, whose danger seemed never to have been half so imminent as his. But now, after having braved the raging fever and the devouring pestilence, in all the terrors of their dreadful march; after encountering perils innumerable, by land and by water, in the full conviction that he was in the path of duty, whilst laboring to mitigate the sufferings of thousands and even millions of the human race, the destined period was arrived when this patriot and benefactor of the world was to fall the lamented victim of his humanity, to a single, and, comparatively speaking, an insignificant and obscure individual. He had not indeed correctly anticipated the mode of his death, but it is somewhat extraordinary, that the impression which had been so forcibly made upon his mind before he left England, that the period of it was not far distant, continued to operate with unabated force to the day on which he caught the infection, that eventually realized his expectations. In this persuasion, but a very few pages before the end of the rough memoranda of his philanthropic

* Appendix concerning Prisons, p. 19—21.

visits, he wrote the two following sentences: "I am a stranger and pilgrim here; but I trust, through grace, going to a land peopled with my fathers and my kindred, and the friends of my youth. And I trust my spirit will mingle with those pious dead, and be for ever with the Lord."* The particulars of the interesting but melancholy event, which he had long been contemplating, are already before the public in the narrative communicated to Dr. Aikin by Thomasson, and in the very affecting account of it, contained in Dr. Clarke's recent visit to the spot where it took place. A combination of these accounts will embrace every thing that is known upon the subject, with the exception of some pious reflections written by Mr. Howard during his illness, and now printed, for the first time, from his original memoranda. During his protracted visit to Cherson, the commander of the Russian army at Bender, after the taking of that fortress, gave permission to several of his officers to visit their friends at the former place, the winter being so far advanced, that the severity of the season would not permit a further prosecution of the war against the Turks. Cherson was consequently much crowded with company, and its inhabitants very naturally testified their joy at the success of the Russian arms by balls and masquerades, which were attended by most of the officers, and of the neighbouring gentry, as well as the residents in the town, several of whom, of each class, were almost immediately attacked with a fever, which Mr. Howard believed to be one of an infectious kind, brought thither by the military from Bender. Amongst the number of sufferers by their attendance on these amusements was a young lady, residing about twenty-four miles from the town; and as the symptoms of her disorder soon assumed a very alarming appearance, the fame which Mr. Howard had acquired during his residence in the neighbourhood, by the exertion of his medical skill, induced her friends to prefer an earnest entreaty that he would visit her. This, however, he at first refused to do, on the ground that he was a physician only to the poor; but hearing that her danger was increased, he at length consented to pay her a visit, which

* Appendix concerning Prisons, p. 21.

he did, for the first and second time, in the latter end of December, 1789. Having, on these occasions, prescribed what he thought proper, he returned to Cherson, to pursue the purposes of his visit to so distant a region of the globe, leaving directions with the family to send for him again if she got better; but adding, that if she grew worse, as he feared would be the case, it would be to no purpose to do so. Some time after he got back to his t mporary habitation, a letter, stating that the lady was better, and begging that he would come over without loss of time, unhappily miscarried, and was not delivered for eight days after it was written. As soon as he perceived the date, he resolved to go immmediately; and though the weather was very cold and tempestuous, and the rain fell in torrents, such was his impatience to execute his benevolent design, that, as no other conveyance could so readily be procured, he mounted an old dray-horse, upon whose back he proceeded, as expeditiously as he could, to the residence of his patient, whom he found in a dying state. The concern which, in these circumstances, he felt, at not having been able to reach her before, added to the fatigue of his journey, affected him so much as to bring on a fever, though he attributed the disease, which was the cause of his death, to a very different origin. Having, soon after his arrival, administered to his patient something to excite perspiration, and feeling unwilling to check its efficacy by uncovering her arm,—as soon as the symptoms of its operation began to appear, he put his hand under the bed-clothes to feel her pulse, and as he did so, the effluvia from her body was so very offensive, that it always was his own opinion that her fever was then communicated to him. She died on the following day, and he was much affected by her removal, as, to the last, he had flattered himself with hopes of her recovery. He immediately returned, however, to Cherson, and, a day or two after, having principally confined himself within doors till then, went out to dine with Admiral Mordvinof, who lived about a mile and a half from his lodgings. He staid later than usual, and when he returned, found himself unwell, and thought he had something of the gout flying about him, as it was not improbable that he

should have, being subject to the attacks of that disease from an early period of his life. He immediately took some sal volatile in a little tea, and thought himself better, until three or four o'clock on the following morning, when, feeling not quite so well, he repeated his former dose. Soon after his usual hour he got up and walked out, but finding himself worse, he soon returned home and took an emetic, which did not prevent a violent attack of fever, on the following night, to arrest whose progress he had immediate recourse to his favorite remedy of James's Fever powders, which he regularly took every two or four hours, till Sunday, the 17th; for though, as soon as he was acquainted with his illness, Prince Potemkin kindly sent his physician to attend him, his own prescriptions were never interfered with during this period, in which he continued to be perfectly sensible and collected, except that, on the 12th, he had a kind of fit, in which he suddenly fell down; his face became black; his breathing difficult; and he remained senseless for half an hour. On the 17th, the fit was repeated; but, as in the former instance, the insensibility which it occasioned was but of a very short continuance; and it was probably at about this period of his illness, or perhaps a few days earlier, that he thus recorded in his memorandum-book the grateful sense he entertained of the mercies he had received at the hands of the Lord, in seasons that were past, and of his ardent desire to be enabled to put his trust and confidence in him, for the future. " May I not look on present difficulties or think of future ones in this world as I am but a pilgrim or ware-faring Man, that tarrys but a night; this is not my home, but may I think what God has done for me, and relie on His power and His grace; for His promise, His Mercy endureth for ever: but I am faint and low, yet I trust in the right way, persuing though too apt to forget my Almighty friend and my God.

" Oh! my Soul, remember and record how often God has sent an answer of Peace, Mercies in the most seasonable times, how often better than thy fears, exceeded thy expectations. Oh why should I distrust this good and faithful God. In His word, He has said, 'In all thy ways acknowledge Him, and He will direct thy path.' Lord leave me not to my own Wisdom which is folly, nor

to my own strength which is weakness. Help me to glorify *Thee* on Earth, and finish the work *Thou* giveth me to do and to *Thy* name *alone* be all the Praise." The latter of these two pious reflections and devout aspirations, is inscribed upon the cover of the book; and, beneath it, evidently written at a somewhat later period, are two short sentences, rendered doubly valuable from their being, in all probability, the last that Mr. Howard ever wrote, and from their bearing his dying testimony to his belief in the doctrines, which had formed so prominent a feature in his creed through life, and which led him to place his firm and sole dependence for salvation on the rock of ages,—in the hour of death. "Oh! that the Son of God," he there exclaims, "may not die for me in vain."

"I think I never look into myself but I find some corruption and sin in my heart; oh God, do thou sanctify and cleanse the thos. of my depraved heart."

Thus fully preparing himself for a change which was now rapidly approaching, on the 18th of January, the symptoms of this great and good man's disease began to assume a still more alarming appearance, for he was then seized with a violent hiccupping, which continued the next day, until it was somewhat allayed by some musk draughts, administered by direction of his medical attendant. Whilst in the enjoyment of health, it had been Mr. Howard's frequent, indeed his almost daily custom, at a certain hour, to visit his friend Admiral Priestman, who resided at Cherson, and who, on finding that he failed in his usual calls, went some few days after he had been totally confined to his house, to see him, when he found him weak and ill, sitting before a stove in his bed-room. On inquiring after his health, he replied that his end was approaching very fast, that he had several things to say to him, and thanked him for having called upon him. The Admiral concluding from his answers, that he was in a melancholy mood, endeavoured to turn the conversation, imagining the whole, or the principal part of his disorder might be the mere effect of low spirits. Mr. Howard, however, assured him that it was not; and added, in a very impressive, yet cheerful manner, "Priestman, you style this a

dull conversation, and endeavour to divert my mind from dwelling upon *death*, but I entertain very different sentiments. Death has no terrors for me: it is an event I always look to with cheerfulness, if not with pleasure; and be assured, the subject is more grateful to me than any other. I am well aware that I have but a short time to live; my mode of life has rendered it impossible that I should get rid of this fever. If I had lived as you do, eating heartily of animal food, and drinking wine, I might, perhaps, by altering my diet be able to subdue it. But how can such a man as I am lower his diet who has been accustomed for years to exist upon vegetables and water, a little bread and a little tea? I have no method of lowering my nourishment,—and therefore I must die. It is such jolly fellows as you, Priestman, who get over these fevers:"—then turning from that subject he spoke of his funeral, and cheerfully gave directions where he would be buried. "There is a spot," said he, "near the village of Dauphigny; this would suit me nicely, you know it well, for I have often said that I should like to be buried there; and let me beg of you, as you value your old friend, not to suffer any pomp to be used at my funeral; nor any monument, nor monumental inscription whatsoever, to mark where I am laid: but lay me quietly in the earth, place a sun-dial over my grave, and let me be forgotten." Having given these directions, he was desirous that no time should be lost for securing the object of his wishes; for which purpose, the admiral soon afterwards, though very reluctantly, left the house, and he had not been gone long, ere a letter was brought to Mr. Howard from a friend in England, who had lately seen his son at Leicester, and expressed his hopes that, on his return, he would find him considerably better. When this pleasing account was read to him by his servant, for he was too ill to read it himself, it affected him very sensibly; and his expressions of the delight it afforded him, were peculiarly strong. Amongst other things, he repeatedly desired Thomasson, should his son, by the blessing of God, ever be restored to his reason, to tell him how much and how fervently he had prayed for his happiness, during an illness which he was now most firmly convinced would be his last. He also observed to him, in reference to the spot he had selected for his grave,—and which he probably was induced to choose,

in preference to any other in the neighbourhood, from its being situated in the grounds of a French gentleman, who had shown him many acts of kindness during his residence at Cherson,—that he should be at the same distance from heaven there, as if brought back to England; adding, that he had long felt no other wish for life, but as it afforded him the means of relieving the distresses of his fellow-creatures. When his friend returned to him with the intelligence that he had executed his commission respecting the place of his interment, his countenance brightened; a gleam of satisfaction came over his face; and he prepared to go to bed. As the admiral still remained with him, he gave him the letter to read which communicated the improvement that seemed to have taken place in his son's health; and when he had read it, he turned his languid head on his pillow, and asked, "Is not this comfort for a dying father?" He then expressed great repugnance to being buried according to the rites of the Greek church, and begged the admiral not only to prevent all interference on the part of the Russian priests, but himself to read the burial service of the church of England over his body, at his interment, which was the last request he ever made, and indeed nearly the last words his lips pronounced, as he was soon afterwards seized with a third fit, and ceased to speak for an hour or two previous to his decease. Still, however, he was sensible for awhile; as, on being requested to let the physician be sent for, who was then at some little distance from his residence, he nodded his head by way of assent, though it was too late, as before he could arrive, the rattling in the throat had begun, and he soon afterwards breathed his last, at about eight o'clock in the morning of the 20th of January, 1790.

Such were the closing scenes of the existence of John Howard, the Philanthropist, who thus fell a victim to a humanity which had led him to a distance of 1,500 miles from his home and native land: yet he died not among strangers there; for every good man, in every clime was *his* friend, who, through a life of extraordinary activity and unwearied benevolence, had proved himself the friend of all—but most of those who seemed to have no other earthly one.

And some of these, amidst the wilds of Tartary, and the frozen chill of Russia's deepest snows, administered to his comfort in his dying hours, and saw, in his tranquil and happy dissolution, a full verification of the Scripture testimony, that "the last end of the good man is peace." Nor was the veneration which his virtues had inspired confined to the higher ranks of the country in which his latter days were spent; for whilst *they* testified their regard for his uncommon worth, and regret at his loss, by bestowing on his body a more magnificent interment than accorded with his wishes, or was in fact consistent with his express directions on the subject, the peasantry, whose hard lot he had commiserated—whose gratuitous physician he had been; the soldiery and the sailors, whose wrongs he had so feelingly espoused; the slaves whose chains he would have broken, partook in the general sentiment of admiration for his character, and, mourning for the common loss to humanity, by hundreds and by thousands poured their tears upon his grave. That grave was made for him on the spot he had chosen, near the village of Dauphigny, which is about five wersts distant from Cherson; and his body was carried to it on a bier drawn by six horses, and followed by the carriages of the Prince of Moldavia, Admirals Priestman and Mordvinof, each of them with the same number of horses: by the general, and staff officers of the garrison, and the magistrates and merchants of Cherson in carriages; a large party of cavalry and other persons on horseback, and between two and three thousand people on foot. A small brick pyramid is erected over the sod where his ashes rest, instead of the sun-dial which he had wished to be the sole memorial of his grave. That rude, but honest tribute to his worth is still pointed out to the notice of the few travellers who may chance to visit these wild and unattractive regions, by a race of men who, low as they may rank in the scale of society, are justly proud of the honor of entombing in the solitude of their desert village, the remains of the Philanthropist of the world, whose pilgrimage of humanity was terminated near the spot which he himself selected for his body to mingle with his parent earth, when his spirit should have returned to God who gave it. Nor can his countrymen do otherwise than rejoice that, since, by his own express directions, that body was not to be

removed from the country, whatever it might be, in which he died—his relics should be deposited in the territories of a monarch who has proved himself to be actuated by the same anxiety to promote the best interests of his fellow-creatures, of every color—kindred—clime, as was the ruling principle of his life; and that they are committed to the protection of a people who, next to those who boast of him as the brightest ornament of their native land, hold his labors and his virtues in the highest estimation.*

Before his interment, two casts of the face of this illustrious man were taken, in plaister, by directions of Prince Potemkin—the one for himself, and the other for Mr. Howard's servant, from whom, on his return to England, it was purchased by the elder Mr. Whitbread, in the possession of whose family it still remains. The melancholy intelligence of his master's death preceded, however, by some days, the arrival of that servant in England; having been communicated by private letters to his friends, and afterwards announced to the public in the London Gazette of the 23d of March, 1790, a distinction never before or since conferred upon any private individual, but one which his extensive labors in the cause of humanity over the wide extent of the vast continent of Europe, had richly merited at the hands of the government that did itself honor, by so public an announcement of an event, which could not but interest every friend to his species throughout the civilized world. The particulars of that melancholy event were soon afterwards communicated to the friends of the deceased, on Thomasson's reaching England, with his papers and other effects,† and some short directions to his executors, written on the Thursday preceding his death. Such of those particulars as were of more general interest, as has already been stated, were subsequently communicated to the public by Dr. Aikin, accompanied by some medical remarks on the nature and symptoms of his disorder, the result of which is a persuasion in their author's mind, that the length of time which elapsed between his last visit to her, and his own seizure, renders the fact of

* Aikin, p. 189—196; Clarke's Travels, vol. I. p. 604—610; Note II. † Note III.

Mr. Howard having caught the fever from the young lady whom he so kindly attended, at least dubious, it being more probable, that the disease of which he died was brought on by his subsequent visits to the hospitals at Cherson, or by his walk home at so late an hour, in a cold, severe, and an unwholesome climate, on the night of the 8th of January. He is also of opinion that it is far from improbable that part of his illness was a wandering gout, to whose attacks he was constitutionally liable, and is still more strongly inclined to suspect that his name may be added "to the numerous list of those, whose lives have been sacrificed to the empirical use of a medicine of great activity, and therefore capable of doing much harm as well as good." * But whatever may have been the precise nature of the complaint which terminated his valuable existence, in a world which he was born at once to benefit and to adorn, it is certain that few persons have been called from their earthly labors to their heavenly reward, whose loss was more generally lamented than was that of this distinguished Philanthropist. Soon after the intelligence of his death had reached the shores of his native country, at least five sermons were preached in commemoration of his piety and his worth, by those ministers, and to those congregations with whom he was more intimately connected by the bonds of Christian fellowship. Of these, Dr. Stennet's and Mr. Palmer's were immediately printed, and bought up with great avidity; not only on account of their general excellence, but of the authentic particulars of his life, which the habits of friendship in which their authors had lived with him enabled them to give. The text taken by both of these reverend gentlemen, was the very appropriate one of "Who went about doing good;" the same passage of Scripture having also been selected for a similar purpose by the late Mr. Bull, of Newport Pagnell, who was then supplying at the church of which Mr. Symonds was pastor till his death, which happened but a short time before, having lived in habits of intimacy with Mr. Howard to the last; many of his fellow-worshippers, from whom he was obliged to separate, having also done so during his life, as they were now numbered with

* Aikin, p. 196—8.

the sincerest mourners for his death. With the text taken by his pastor, Mr. Townsend, I am unacquainted; whilst that of Mr. Kilpin, the pastor of the Baptist church at Cotton-end (Eccl. viii. 8.), seems not to have had any particular reference to the character of the individual whose death was to be improved, but rather to the certainty of that event happening unto all. Mr. Smith, in obedience to the express directions he had received, preached, upon this occasion, from the last verse of the 17th Psalm; and in doing so, he endeavored, as much as possible, to conform himself to the injunction which Mr. Howard had laid upon him, to abstain from entering into any of the particulars of his life. An immense concourse of people was, however, collected together from the town of Bedford and its vicinity, in expectation of hearing something which should have an immediate relation to the conduct, character, and death of the man, who had for so long a period been an ornament and a blessing to the village in which he lived, and to the neighbourhood around. To prevent, therefore, the total disappointment of hopes so naturally excited, he did, towards the close of his discourse, just glance at those topics on which he was forbidden to enter as largely as he could have wished, by a promise, of which he was almost fearful, that even this glance might be an infringement. Whether it was so or not, the reader may be enabled to judge for himself, by turning to the notes to this work, in which he will find those passages in Mr. Smith's sermon that relate to Mr. Howard, as they have been transcribed from his original manuscript, by his son-in-law, Mr. Greene.*

But it was not in the pulpit, or by the divine alone, that the extraordinary virtues of his character were celebrated, or the loss which the world at large had sustained by his removal was deplored. The judges of his country from the bench, and her senators in both houses of parliament, bore witness to the merit, and expressed their sorrow at the death of one of the brightest ornaments of his race that any age or nation had produced. The

Muses had not been silent in his praise during his life-time, and their tears now flowed from many a poetic stream upon his grave. The periodical journals of the day contain numerous odes and elegies on his death; many of them more remarkable for the excellence of their sentiments, than the harmony of their versification, or the beauty of their imagery. One, however, which was the production of Dr. Aikin's pen, deserves a very different character; and sure am I that no reader of taste will regret that it is now transcribed into these memoirs of the distinguished individual, whose entrance on his glorious reward it thus vividly describes:

" HOWARD, thy task is done! thy Master calls,
" And summons thee from Cherson's distant walls.
' Come, well approv'd! my faithful servant! come;
' No more a wand'rer, seek thy destin'd home.
' Long have I mark'd thee with o'er-ruling eye,
' And sent admiring angels from on high,
' To walk the paths of danger by thy side,
' From death to shield thee, and thro' snares to guide.
' My *minister of good*, I've sped thy way,
' And shot thro' dungeon glooms a leading ray,
' To cheer, by thee, with kind unhoped relief,
' My creatures lost and whelm'd in guilt and grief.
' I've led thee, ardent, on thro' wond'ring climes,
' To combat human woes and human crimes.
' But 'tis enough! thy *great commission's* o'er;
' I prove thy faith, thy love, thy zeal, no more.
' Nor droop, that far from country, kindred, friends,
' Thy life, to duty long devoted, ends;
' What boots it *where* the high reward is giv'n,
' Or *whence* the soul triumphant springs to heaven?"*

The melancholy event which gave rise to these animated lines created so general a sensation in the public mind, that even the gay amusements, and the

* Aikin's Life of Howard, p. 248.

fictitious woes of the theatre seem to have been tinged for a moment with a gloomier shade of real grief, to which utterance was given in a monody on Mr. Howard's death, written by Mr. Merry, of *Della Cruscan* notoriety, and spoken at Covent Garden Theatre, after the representation of "Such Things Are," a piece whose principal character was obviously moulded on the peculiar cast of his philanthropy; and which, from that circumstance, obtained a temporary popularity.

But whilst public applause was thus liberally bestowed, in every way in which it was possible to bestow it, on him who had fallen the victim of a humanity which, in so surprising a manner, had shown itself the ruling principle of his life,—the sole memorial which he wished, and could he have had the earnest desire of his heart, which he would have suffered to remain to posterity of his having lived and died, was completed, by inserting the place and time of his decease in the blanks which he had left in the following inscription, now placed under that to the memory of his beloved wife, in the body of the neat, but retired church of the village in which he dwelt.

JOHN HOWARD,
Died at *Cherson*, in *Russian Tartary*,
January 21st, 1790, Aged 64,
Christ is my Hope.

But the singular humility which had dictated this simple epitaph, did not repress, as indeed it ought not to have done, those sentiments of esteem and veneration in which his character was held by every friend to humanity, in the country which gave him birth; and from the produce of the fund which had so honorably, though imprudently been raised for bestowing some mark of public approbation of his conduct, during his life, a statue, by Bacon, was soon after his death erected to his memory in St. Paul's Cathedral, whose vast and magnificent interior was first converted into a receptacle for the monuments by which a nation's gratitude might celebrate the deeds of those who were her

boast, her ornament, and her pride, by placing foremost in the rank of her illustrious dead the friend and benefactor of the human race, whose actions the inscription on the pedestal of his statue thus records:

This extraordinary Man had the Fortune to be honored whilst living,
In the manner which his Virtues deserved;
He received the Thanks
Of both Houses of the British and Irish Parliaments,
For his eminent Services rendered to his Country and to Mankind.
Our national Prisons and Hospitals
Improved upon the Suggestions of his Wisdom,
Bear Testimony to the Solidity of his Judgment,
And to the Estimation in which he was held.
In every Part of the Civilized World,
Which he traversed to reduce the Sum of Human Misery;
From the Throne to the Dungeon his Name was mentioned
With Respect, Gratitude, and Admiration.
His Modesty alone
Defeated various Efforts that were made during his Life,
To erect this Statue,
Which the Publick has now consecrated to his Memory.
He was born at *Hackney*, in the County of *Middlesex*, Sep^{t}. II^{o}. MDCCXXVI.
The early Part of his Life he spent in Retirement,
Residing principally upon his paternal Estate,
At Cardington, in Bedfordshire;
For which County he served the Office of Sheriff in the Year MDCCLXXIII.
He expired at *Cherson* in *Russian Tartary*, on the XXTH. of Jan. MDCCXC.
A Victim to the perilous and benevolent Attempt
To ascertain the Cause of, and find an efficacious Remedy
For the Plague.
He trod an open but unfrequented Path to Immortality
In the ardent and unintermitted Exercise of Christian Charity:
May this Tribute to his Fame
Excite an Emulation of his truly glorious Achievements

By a memorandum written upon the blank leaf of the book in which Mr. Howard, according to his usual practice, had made a fair transcript of his daily observations on the prisons and hospitals which he had visited during his last journey, except some few of the latter ones, which he had been too ill to copy from his rough notes, the task of revising and publishing them, should it be thought proper to print them at all, was committed to his friends Dr. Price and Dr. Aikin, with an intimation of his wish for the latter to correct the press. In consequence of this direction, these papers were sent to Dr. Price, at a period when he was incapacitated from attending to them, by the illness which terminated his useful career, soon after the close of that of his illustrious friend, whose memoranda were then transmitted to Dr. Aikin, by whom they were prepared for the press, and presented to the public in December 1791, in a quarto pamphlet of thirty-two pages, bearing for its title "Appendix; containing Observations concerning Foreign Prisons and Hospitals collected by Mr. Howard, in his concluding Tour. Together with two Letters to Mr. Howard, from John Haygarth, M. D." The chief object of these letters, written but a short time previous to our humane countryman's last departure from England, is to suggest to him some further inquiries respecting the plague, in the journey he was about to undertake, and to propose to his consideration several improvements in his plan for establishing lazarettos in England, of which his correspondent most cordially approves; their subject, therefore, justly entitled them to be appended to the account of the results of Mr. Howard's last journey, with the brief notice of which we must close the history of his extraordinary life.

If the object which the author of these memoirs of the Philanthropist whose memory is so deservedly honored by his country, and whose deeds of benevolence, whose pre-eminence in virtue, are no less celebrated in some of the most distant regions of the globe, has in any measure been accomplished, it will not be necessary to say much, in bringing them to a conclusion, on those

peculiar features in his character, with which he has strove to make his readers intimately acquainted, as the circumstances in which they were exhibited, or the incidents which illustrated them were brought under their notice, in the regular narrative of this eventful history. Some description of this person, and a general outline of his character will, however, naturally be expected in this place; though, in attempting the sketch of them, the writer can, of course, do nothing more than abstract and combine the various particulars which have either been communicated to the public, or to himself, by those who had the advantage of that personal acquaintance with the subject of them, which it is impossible that he ever could have enjoyed. In stature, Mr. Howard was rather beneath, than above the common size; thin and spare in his make, there was nothing commanding, but rather mean and forbidding in his general appearance, which, in the latter period of his life more especially, was that of a foreigner, rather than of an English gentleman; the character of all others, in his private relations, which he most affected, and undeviatingly sustained. His complexion was somewhat sallow, though it varied, so as at times to assume a much paler hue. His features were large, though not nearly so disproportionate to his figure as his statue, and several of the portraits of him which have been published, would lead us to suppose. His nose was prominent, and is said to have borne a very striking resemblance to that of the poet Gray: but it was the keen, penetrating glance of his eye that lit up his whole countenance with that quickness and energy of expression which, in spite of the insignificance of his appearance, gave strong indications of a readiness of perception, and a rapidity of execution in whatever he might direct his attention to, far above the grasp of an ordinary mind. There was also a vivacity in his manner; an alertness in his gait; an animation in his gesture, which fully confirmed this opinion of the activity of his mental powers. But with these were united a softness—verging, indeed, on an effeminacy of voice; a gentleness of demeanor; an indescribable sweetness and benevolence in his smile, which tempered the harsher features, and sobered the livelier casts of

expression in his intelligent face and characteristic air. Such, indeed, was the energy of his nature, that whatever he took in hand (and at no period of his life was he without some object of active pursuit), he accomplished in as complete and perfect a manner as it was possible for human exertions to attain; whilst such was the celerity of his movements, that, in the language of one of his biographers, who knew him well,* "Give him a hint of any thing he had left short, or any new acquisition to be made, and while you might suppose he was deliberating about it, you were surprised with finding *it was done.*" Nor was it, as is often the case with men of extraordinary powers, but by fits and starts that he was ardent in pursuit of the object he proposed to himself, for his was the rarer gift of perseverance in the course he had marked out, without abating the avidity with which he commenced it, whatever the difficulties or the delays that might be thrown in the way of its progress, or protract its final accomplishment. Having once bent all the faculties of his mind, and every energy of his being, to one definite point, nothing could divert him from following it up, whithersoever it led him, with the same constancy and intensity of purpose as though it had been the sole end of his existence. The extraordinary feature of his character by which he was thus pre-eminently distinguished, not merely from the common race of men, but from every other man with whose history we are acquainted, has been sketched with so masterly a hand by one of the most powerful and eloquent writers of the present day, that it would be presumption to attempt it in other words than his. "The energy of his determination," says Foster, in his celebrated Essay on Decision of Character,† "was so great, that if instead of being habitual, it had been shewn only for a short time on particular occasions, it would have appeared a vehement impetuosity; but by being unintermitted, it had an equability of manner which scarcely appeared to exceed the tone of a calm constancy, it was so totally the reverse of any thing like turbulence or agitation. It was the calmness of an intensity kept uniform by the nature of the human mind forbidding it to

* Dr. Aikin, p. 210. † Foster's Essays, p. 122—5.

be more, and by the character of the individual forbidding it to be less. The habitual passion of his mind was a measure of feeling almost equal to the temporary extremes and paroxysms of common minds: as a great river, in its customary state, is equal to a small or moderate one when swollen to a torrent. The moment of finishing his plans in deliberation, and commencing them in action, was the same. I wonder what must have been the amount of that bribe in emolument or pleasure, that would have detained him a week inactive after their final adjustment. The law which carries water down a declivity, was not more unconquerable and invariable than the determination of his feelings towards the main object. The importance of this object held his faculties in a state of excitement which was too rigid to be affected by lighter interests, and on which therefore the beauties of nature and of art had no power. He had no leisure feeling which he could spare to be diverted among the innumerable varieties of the extensive scene which he traversed; all his subordinate feelings lost their separate existence and operation, by falling into the grand one. There have not been wanting trivial minds, to mark this as a fault in his character. But the mere man of taste ought to be silent respecting such a man as Howard; he is above their sphere of judgment. The invisible spirits, who fulfil their commission of philanthropy among mortals, do not care about pictures, statues, and sumptuous buildings; and no more did he, when the time in which he must have inspected and admired them, would have been taken from the work to which he had consecrated his life. The curiosity which he might feel, was reduced to wait till the hour should arrive, when its gratification should be presented by conscience, which kept a scrupulous charge of all his time, as the most sacred duty of that hour. If he was still at every hour, when it came, fated to feel the attractions of the fine arts but the second claim, they might be sure of their revenge; for no other man will ever visit Rome under such a despotic consciousness of duty as to refuse himself time for surveying the magnificence of its ruins. Such a sin against taste is very far beyond the reach of common saintship to commit. It implied an inconceivable severity of convic-

tion, that he had *one thing to do,* and that he who would do some great thing in this short life, must apply himself to the work with such a concentration of his forces, as, to idle spectators who live only to amuse themselves, looks like insanity. His attention was so strongly and tenaciously fixed on his object, that even at the greatest distance, as the Egyptian Pyramids to travellers, it appeared to him with a luminous distinctness as if it had been nigh, and beguiled the toilsome length of labour and enterprize by which he was to reach it. It was so conspicuous before him, that not a step deviated from the direction, and every movement and every day was an approximation. As his method referred every thing he did and thought to the end, and as his exertion did not relax for a moment, he made the trial, so seldom made, what is the utmost effect which may be granted to the last possible efforts of a human agent; and therefore what he did not accomplish, he might conclude to be placed beyond the sphere of mortal activity, and calmly leave to the immediate disposal of Omnipotence."

The sublimity of this course is far above the level of ordinary comprehension; we cannot, therefore, be surprised that the motives of the exalted being who pursued it, unmoved alike by the applause, or the derision of the world around him, should have been misrepresented; and that those who might hesitate to brand him as a madman, should have thought him an enthusiast. If, however, we take this term in its general acceptation, never certainly was it less appropriate to any one than to Mr. Howard; for in no one instance of his life did his feelings overcome his judgment, or the coolness of his temper, and the steadiness of his purpose give way to the wild extravagances of a heated imagination. In every thing he undertook he was actuated by a sense of duty: and to that sense every passion, and feeling, and inclination, was habitually subjected. Not, indeed, but that he felt as other men, for he had a heart most keenly alive to every kindly emotion, and every vivid impulse which the good can cherish, or receive. "I have equally seen," says his friend and

biographer, Dr. Aikin,* "the tear of sensibility start into his eyes on recalling some of the distressful scenes to which he had been witness, and the spirit of indignation flash from them on relating instances of baseness and oppression." But every passion and every emotion was under such complete command, that in no circumstances in which he was placed, though many of them were trying and critical in the extreme, was he ever agitated, or thrown for a moment off his guard; but master of himself at all times, and upon all occasions, his self-possession never forsook him, as he was prepared to act with firmness, with coolness, with prudence, whatever might be the extremity to which he was unexpectedly reduced. Calm, steady spirits was, indeed, the chief subject of his self-gratulation, and of his grateful acknowledgments to the God by whom they were imparted.—Intrepidity, courage, fortitude;—these are features in his character which, through the whole course of the preceding narrative of his life, the reader cannot fail to have observed. Whatever his sense of duty called him to perform, no danger could deter him from engaging in; for having made up his mind that it *was* his duty, to use his expression to a friend who once intimated his apprehensions for his safety, "he thrusted all consequences from his view, and was resolved to follow wherever Providence led."† Fearless of the face of man, however exalted his station, he told the bold and naked truth, disagreeable as it might be to their ears, alike to the emperor and the slave; and advocated the cause of humanity, as firmly, as freely, and as faithfully, in the presence of kings, senators, and magistrates, as of turnkeys and goalers. Yet he did not this, from any disrespect to constituted authorities, which, in obedience to a divine command, and from a love of social order, he was at all times ready to support; being a staunch friend to due subordination in every state, and to a vigorous exertion of civil authority, wherever it was directed to the attainment of a laudable purpose. Still, however, he was duly sensible of the inestimable advantages of a free constitution, and, though interfering but little with the politics of the day, he was one of those who rejoiced

* P. 214. † Dr. Stennet's Sermon, p. 26.

at the issue of the improvident contest into which we were foolishly plunged with our American colonies; and, in the narrow circle in which he moved at home, evinced himself, on several occasions, a spirited opponent of aristocratical influence. The benevolence, the humanity, the disinterestedness of the man, who, at an expence of thirty thousand pounds, travelled between fifty and sixty thousand miles, for the sole purpose of relieving the distresses of the most wretched of the human race, can require no comment here. The fatigues, the dangers, the privations, he underwent, or encountered for the good of others, were such as no one else was ever exposed to in such a cause, and as few could have endured. He often travelled several nights and days without stopping, over roads almost impassable; in weather the most inclement; with accommodations the meanest and most wretched. Summer and winter; heat and cold; rain and snow, in all their extremes, failed alike to stay him for a moment in his course; whilst plague, pestilence, and famine, instead of being evils that he shunned, were those with which he was the most familiar, and to many of whose horrors he voluntarily exposed himself, that, at the risk of his own life, he might devise the means of saving the lives, or mitigating the sufferings of their hapless victims. This was benevolence; this was humanity; this was disinterestedness indeed:—conduct above all praise, as it is removed from the hope of successful imitation. But for the accomplishment of this glorious purpose he was endued, or, more correctly speaking, had acquired habits of temperance and a command over all corporeal appetites, which would rival, or, if we look to their motives, excel those of the most self-denying philosopher of ancient, or rigid ascetic of modern times. The abstemious diet which, at an earlier period of his life, he adopted from a regard to his health, he afterwards continued, and even increased in its rigor, from principle, and from choice; and though many good men will no doubt feel disposed to controvert the reasons which, in a moral point of view, led him to its adoption, there cannot be two opinions on the advantages he derived from it. For the greater part, if not the whole of the period in which he was engaged in the pursuit of his grand

scheme of benevolence, he discarded from his alimentary regimen everything in the shape of indulgence, which even the most temperate have held to be essential to the preservation of their health and strength. In the number of these was animal food, and fermented liquors of every kind, even to an oyster, or a glass of table-beer. Tea, milk, butter, cheese, fruit, vegetables, were his greatest luxuries; and those were enjoyed but in very moderate quantities, and with a perfect indifference as to the times at which they were taken. "Thus," as his friend Dr. Aikin very justly observes,* "he found his wants supplied in almost every place where *man* existed, and was as well provided in the posadas of Spain and caravanseras of Turkey, as in the inns and hotels of England and France. Water," he continues, "was one of his principal necessaries, for he was a very Mussulman in his ablutions; and, if nicety or delicacy had place with him in any respect, it was in the perfect cleanliness of his whole person." These ablutions he regularly performed in the depth of the coldest winter, by plunging into a bath, whenever he had the opportunity of doing so; and I am informed, from the most undoubted authority, that when he had not, he would frequently lay himself down, for some considerable time, between two sheets, damped for the express purpose of communicating to his body that degree of cold, which, by accidentally striking from wet linen unto frames less hardy, has been the immediate cause of death. With the same view of lessening the liability to suffer from exposure to sudden damps, and to render the constitution more robust, he always remonstrated with great earnestness against the airing of linen, either for children or persons grown up in life, never suffering his own, under any circumstances, to be placed near a fire, before he put it on. But the extent of his conquests over the wants, or supposed wants, of our nature ended not here, as even sleep seemed not necessary to him in the proportion which other men require. When at home, six hours appears to have been his *maximum;* but whilst travelling, he could, and did, for a long while together, pursue his journeys with but one night's rest in three, and that upon

* P. 222, 3.

more than one occasion, taken in his carriage, as he proceeded on his way through five or six hundred miles of wretched road, without stopping but to change horses. To these hardships, as most people would consider them, he did not, however, inure himself from any cynical austerity, but merely as they the better qualified him for the performance of the great work to which he had devoted all the energies of a mind, to which those of the body were in a state of the most complete subjection.

For the completion of that work, he was also happily endowed with an understanding precisely fitted to the singular line of inquiry which he marked out to himself. Its powers cannot better be described than in the language of one who had such peculiar opportunities of forming a correct judgment of their extent, as his biographer Dr. Aikin. "He had not, in a high degree," says this able and judicious writer,* "that extensive comprehension, that faculty of generalizing, which is said to distinguish the man of genius, but which, without a previous collection of authentic materials, is ever apt to lead into erroneous speculations. He was rather a man of detail; of laborious accuracy and minute examination; and therefore he had the proper qualities for one who was to lead the way in researches where all was ignorance, confusion, and local custom. Who but such a man could have collected a body of information, which has made even professional men acquainted with interesting facts that they never before knew; and has given the English reader a more exact knowledge of practices followed in Russia and Spain, than he before had of those in his own country? This minuteness of detail was what he ever regarded as his peculiar province. As he was of all men the most modest estimater of his own abilities, he was used to say, 'I am the *plodder*, who goes about to collect materials for men of genius to make use of.'" His judgment was sound, as his understanding was clear; and though he had not enjoyed such advantages of education as his fortune and station in life required,

* P. 225—227.

he had a taste for polite literature, and even for philosophical research, which, had not his mind been occupied by higher objects, he might have cultivated with considerable success. His letters and other original papers have, for the most part, been carefully printed in these pages precisely as he wrote them, in order that the reader may form an estimate himself, of the extent of his orthographical and grammatical deficiencies, and institute a comparison between them and his style and form of expression, which are open to infinitely less objection. He was not, nor did he, indeed, profess to be a good classical scholar, though he seems to have been able to read Latin without difficulty, but for want of practice he had probably forgotten his Greek. French he spoke fluently; and in most of the modern languages he was sufficiently versed to maintain a conversation in them, having taken no small pains to acquire such a knowledge of them as should enable him to carry on the investigations which led him into foreign countries, without being subjected to mistakes, from the ignorance or misrepresentations of interpreters.

Such, then, were the virtues, such the qualifications of a Howard for the extraordinary part which he acted on the theatre of public life;—and they followed him into the retirement of the social, and the privacy of the domestic scene. Ever consistent with himself, he was the same benevolent being; the same decided character; the same temperate liver, in the circle of his friends, and the bosom of his family, as he was when the gaze of the world was upon his conduct and his path. This remarkable correspondence of every action in every relation of life which he was called upon to sustain, so as to form one beautiful and harmonious whole, is strikingly depictured by the eloquent pen of Chalmers,* who, after describing, with his usual force of language and glow of imagery, the individual who extends his affections and his benevolence from his family to his neighbourhood—from his neighbourhood to his country, closes his well-wrought climax with this animated sketch: But, "I can conceive a still

* Discourses on the Christian Revelation, in connection with Modern Astronomy, p. 172—6.

loftier flight of humanity—a man, the aspiring of whose heart for the good of man, knows no limitations—whose longings and whose conceptions on this subject, overleap all the barriers of geography—who, looking on himself as a brother of the species, links every spare energy which belongs to him, with the cause of its melioration—who can embrace within the grasp of his ample desires, the whole family of mankind—and who, in obedience to a heaven-born movement of principle within him, separates himself to some big and busy enterprise, which is to tell on the moral destinies of the world. Oh! could such a man mix up the softenings of private virtue, with the habit of so sublime a comprehension—if, amid those magnificent darings of thought and of performance, the mildness of his benignant eye could still continue to cheer the retreat of his family, and to spread the charm and the sacredness of piety among all its members—could he even mingle himself in all the gentleness of a soothed and smiling heart, with the playfulness of his children—and also find strength to shed the blessings of his presence and his counsel over the vicinity around him;—oh! would not the combination of so much grace with so much loftiness, only serve the more to aggrandize him? Would not the one ingredient of a character so rare, go to illustrate and to magnify the other? And would not you pronounce him to be the fairest specimen of our nature, who could so call out all your tenderness, while he challenged and compelled all your veneration? And, were I in search of that fine union of grace and of greatness which I have now been insisting on, and in virtue of which, the enlightened Christian can at once find room in his bosom for the concerns of universal humanity, and for the play of kindliness towards every individual he met with—I could nowhere more readily expect to find it, than with the worthies of our own land—the Howard of a former generation, who paced it over Europe in quest of the unseen wretchedness which abounds in it—or in such men of our present generation, as Wilberforce, who lifted his unwearied voice against the biggest outrage ever practised on our nature, till he wrought its extermination.—"

And such, indeed, in the grand outline of their character, *was* Howard; and such *is* Wilberforce; but it is only to some of the minuter features of the former that our attention is at present to be directed.

As a husband, then, he was kind and affectionate; not treating his wife as a being of inferior order, though exercising, with mildness, and in love, the authority with which he was divinely invested, for her benefit, as well as for his own. Both his marriages were sources of great connubial felicity to the parties contracting them, for they all seem to have a ted in that spirit of mutual concession to each other's opinions and prejudices, which can alone be productive of happiness in the wedded state. On Mr. Howard's part, this was particularly remarkable, in his having, though a decided Dissenter, regularly accompanied both of his wives, on one part of the Sabbath, to the established church, as they had been brought up within its pale.

As a parent, his conduct has been too freely and too fully discussed in the preceding part of this memoir, to require many words upon the subject now. That he was an affectionate father has been clearly proved;—that he was a severe one, as completely negatived. If he was not an indulgent one, it was because he was fearful, by giving way to the feelings of his heart, that he might spoil a son,—an only son, whom he most tenderly loved, and whom he was, above all things, anxious to train up in the paths of religion and of virtue. To effect this object he unhappily resorted to measures not the best adapted for securing the affections of a child, lively and volatile as was his; but, in firmly, yet mildly commanding, instead of gently warning and calmly winning,—in deterring by punishment, though it was so slight as never to have amounted to a blow, or exceeded a direction to sit in silence in his presence—rather than in alluring by rewards and expressions of satisfaction,—he committed, and he afterwards acknowledgd that he had committed, a fatal error. It was an error, however, of judgment, and of judgment

only; for it proceeded from the purest intentions, and the most ardent affection for the object of its discipline; and, bitterly—bitterly indeed, did he suffer for it, though there is not the shadow of a pretence for attributing, as some inhumanly have done, the dreadful malady, with which his son was visited, to this cause, originating, as it entirely did, in the young man's own misconduct.

In the midst of his family, as a master, no man ever acted more consistently with the apostolic injunction, "Give unto your servants that which is just and equal: knowing that ye also have a master in heaven,"—than he did. He preserved over them a mild, steady, uniform authority, and expected prompt and implicit obedience to his commands; but they were plain, clear, simple, and always delivered in a kind and gentle manner. He maintained, indeed, his influence as a master, by laying down and strictly adhering to a regular system of management, rather than by any particular exercise of his authority. They, on their parts, cheerfully obeyed his commands, because they were fully sensible of the reasonableness of them; and knowing that their master duly appreciated their services, they feared to displease him more than any other earthly evil that could befal them. Aware that he always studied their happiness and comfort, they knew that he was a friend in whom they could confide; who was interested in their welfare; and ready, in every season of distress and affliction, to do every thing in his power to relieve them. From the prudent line of conduct which they mutually pursued, his servants lived happily whilst in his employ, and he possessed their attachment to such a degree, that they all but idolized him, and were ready to make any sacrifice in his service. They all lived with him many years, none less than twenty, some more than thirty; and, with the exception of the Judas whose treachery has already been sufficiently exposed, they were pious, excellent people, who, by their conscientious discharge of the duties of their stations, eminently adorned their Christian profession. Possessing the same spirit of integrity with their master, they paid as strict an attention to his wishes and commands when they knew him to be

many hundred miles distant, as they possibly could have done had he been present; and had he at any time returned unexpectedly, he would have found every thing about his house and premises exactly as he had arranged it, even to his minutest order:—so true, though so trite is the observation, that good masters make good servants. John Prole, his faithful bailiff, survived him for some years, and, on his death-bed, spoke with rapture of the hopes he entertained of once more meeting with his beloved master, as a saint in glory. After his decease, an address was also found amongst his papers, intitled "A Father's Legacy to his Children," in which he proposed Mr. Howard's example to their imitation, in their Christian course, as the best they could follow, next to that of their divine Saviour. That address was afterwards privately printed for the use of his family; and, both as it contains the dying testimony of a pious and faithful servant to the excellence of his master's character, and relates some incidents in his earlier travels of benevolence with which I was not acquainted time enough to insert them in their proper place, some extracts from it will be found in the notes to this work.*

In his character of a landlord, our Philanthropist most studiously endeavored, by every means in his power, to promote the happiness of his tenantry, whose industry he was continually encouraging by presents, sent or brought to them from abroad, or from the manufacturing towns of his own country. For them and for the poor of his neighbourhood, he was constantly devising liberal things; and by the schools he established for the education of their children; the assistance he afforded them from his purse; and, above all, by the excellent advice which he gave them, as he moved, like the father of the village, from house to house; he introduced amongst them a love of neatness, cleanliness, and order, whose pleasing effects on the village they inhabited, have not yet been, and, probably, never will be utterly lost. The extreme moderation of his own desires enabled him to be munificent in his benefactions to those who needed

them, [illegible] beyond any thing that could have reasonably been expected from a man of his moderate fortune. "Perfectly contented with the competence which Providence had bestowed on him, he never," says one who knew him well,* "had a thought of increasing it; and even when in a situation to expect a family, he made it a rule with himself to lay up no part of his annual income, but to expend in some useful and benevolent scheme the superfluity of the year." Thus, during his residence at Cardington, it was for many years his constant custom to add, at least, one additional cottage to those he had already built upon his estate, not for the increase of his own revenues, but for the comfort of his tenantry. He did this though, it should be recollected, without injury to his family, as, besides leaving his patrimonial inheritance in an improved condition to his heirs, he possessed the best-grounded assurance that his children would be far richer than he was, from sharing largely in the wealth of their maternal relations. By the complete independence of his mind of the most baneful lust of growing rich, "he was elevated," as it has been no less truly than forcibly remarked,† "to an immeasurable distance above every thing mean and sordid; and in all his transactions he displayed a spirit of honour and generosity which might become the 'blood of the *Howards*,' when flowing in its noblest channels." It was also a consistent feature of a character like his, that he should be, as he always was, as ready to maintain the rights, as to promote the comforts of the poor—though the notion of those rights which his well-regulated mind had formed, were, we may be well assured, as distinct as is the heaven from the earth, from those wild vagaries and absurd speculations, which, first promulgated soon after his death, have been productive of such incalculable mischief, down to the very days in which we live.

As a friend, he was faithful and affectionate, though the number of persons with whom he shared his confidence were comparatively few; yet by the kind

* Aikin, p. 219, 220. † Ib. p. 220, 221.

ness of his disposition, and the suavity of his manners, he secured their attachment as strongly as, by the extraordinary virtues of his character, he had awakened their admiration. With that promiscuous society in which a man of fashionable habits spends so much of his time, it was alike contrary to his principles and his mode of living to mingle; but he enjoyed, as highly as it was possible for any one to do, the rational converse of a select circle. Though shy and reserved, if accidentally cast into a larger party, to such an one he was open and communicative; often delighting them, when led by others to the subject, with the most interesting accounts of his travels and various adventures; no man ever having made it more his study to gratify and please his friends, and those with whom he associated, than he did. He, therefore, rendered himself in the social circle, a cheerful and entertaining companion; and was universally beloved by all who had the opportunity of observing the estimable qualities of his heart, whatever might be the political party, or religious denomination to which they belonged. It has already been stated, in these memoirs, that he was remarkable for that polite, yet respectful attention to the female sex which characterizes the real gentleman, and more than one instance has been related of his having cheerfully given up his own comfort and convenience for theirs. Their society, when the charms of a cultivated mind, and of engaging manners were added to those indescribable attractions which women of virtuous and correct habits will always possess in the eyes of a man of a similar character to their own, was to him a source of the purest enjoyment; and his prediliction for it might be traced, partly to the happiness he had enjoyed in the wedded life, and, in part, to his abhorrence of every thing gross and licentious. "His own language and manners," says Dr. Aikin,* "were invariably pure and delicate; and the freedoms which pass uncensured or even applauded in the promiscuous companies of men, would have affected him with sensations of disgust. For a person possessed of such feelings," he very properly adds, "to have brought himself to submit to such frequent communication with the most abandoned of mankind,

* Aikin, p. 235.

was perhaps a greater triumph of duty over inclination than any other he obtained in the prosecution of his designs."

His habits, as it will already have struck the reader, were in many respects singular; yet they were so in none from the mere affectation of singularity, but from motives which to his mind sufficiently justified their adoption, by their extending the sphere of his usefulness, and preserving him from being contaminated, by the vices and the follies of the world. In his manner, as in his dress, he was somewhat precise; so much so, indeed, as to give him the appearance of an old bachelor, rather than of a man who had twice been married. The resoluteness of temper which he possessed, and which he manifested in private as in public life, "displayed itself," says Dr. Aikin,* "in a certain peremptoriness, which, when he had once determined, rendered him unyielding to persuasion or dissuasion, and urged him on to the accomplishment of his purpose, regardless of obstacles. He expected prompt obedience in those from whom he had a right to require it, and was not a man to be treated with negligence aad inattention. He was, however, extremely considerate, and sufficiently indulgent to human frailties; and a good-will to please him could scarcely fail of its effect. That his commands were reasonable, and his expectations moderate, may be inferred from the long continuance of most of his servants with him, and his steady attachment to many of those whom he employed. His means of enforcing compliance were chiefly rewards; and the withholding them was his method of showing displeasure." Like many other great and virtuous characters, he had a fondness for gardening, and other rural occupations, particularly the cultivation of plants, vegetables, and fruits, both of the useful and ornamental kind. And such was the taste he displayed in these pursuits, that his gardens and grounds were, and still continue to be, objects of curiosity, both for the skill with which they are laid out, and the rarity of some of their productions, whose seeds he frequently brought with him from foreign countries, distributing, with his wonted liberality, a portion of his stock among his friends.

* Aikin, p. 216, 217.

But in one other point of view does the character of this great and good man remain to be contemplated, yet it is that which crowned the whole—the excellence and consistency of his walk and conduct in the Christian profession. He was, through life, a firm, real, and experimental believer in the truths of revelation; and was never ashamed of professing and maintaining them in the face of an evil and a gainsaying world. Nor did he content himself with a bare profession of these truths, but lived in the daily and habitual discharge of the duties they require to be performed. His piety and devotion were genuine; fervent; unaffected; unobtrusive. Constant and exemplary in attending the public services of the sanctuary, his deportment in the house of God was such as became the Christian, who entered into the spirit of the gospel; felt its power; participated in its hopes; and enjoyed its consolations. In a similar spirit, the whole of the sabbath, whether spent at home, or abroad in parts where he could not enjoy the delight of going up to the courts of the Lord with the assembly of his people, was passed in a manner which strictly accorded with the gracious design of its institution. Nor in the midst of a life of extraordinary activity did he ever neglect the more retired exercises of religion, his house never being "other than the house of God," and the quiet seclusion of his closet often the very "gate of heaven." Dissenting from the established church, on principle, and well understanding the grounds of his dissent, he was not afraid to have it known to all the world, that he was of a religious profession whose members the laws of his country had prescribed from promoting her interests, however qualified to do so by their virtues and their talents, in any department of the state. When called, however, to the exercise of an office in which he thought that he could be serviceable to the cause of humanity, he shrunk not from taking it upon him, at the risk of incurring pains and penalties of the most serious nature, which the bigotry, or the avarice of any single individual could call down upon his head, without its being in the power of any, or all of his friends, however exalted their rank, or predominant their influence in the government, to save him from their effects. Yet, whilst he scrupulously declined to violate his conscience by prostituting a religious rite as a mere touchstone of eligibility

to civil office, he uniformly protested against the injustice of depriving any man of his rights, as a member of society, on account of the religious tenets which he might hold. He was no bigot, but revered good men of every denomination, and abhorred nothing more than the least approach to that little, narrow, contracted, and unchristian spirit, which disgraces but too many of the professors of religion, both within and without the pale of the established church. With many of the ministers and members of that church he lived in habits of the closest intimacy, and was held by them, and by the liberal-minded of all parties, in the highest possible esteem. In the same spirit of candor and brotherly love, whilst he looked upon the frauds, superstitions, and gross absurdities of the church of Rome, with utter abhorrence, he did full justice to the motives of many who were educated in its bosom, and zealously supported all its errors; paying the same honor to that vital religion, which, however heterodox in some of its views, was deeply rooted in the heart, whether he found it under the cowl of a monk—the cassock of a priest—or the plainer habiliments of a dissenting teacher. Throughout his works, as well as in his conversations with his friends, he always spoke, therefore, in terms of high commendation of that ardent zeal for the spiritual and temporal good of mankind, which he had frequently the happiness to witness among the Roman Catholic clergy, regular as well as secular. Nor did the principles of Protestant dissent in which he had been educated, induce him to view, with any thing like complacency, that hasty dissolution of the monasteries and convents of his dominions, which formed one of those sweeping measures of reform to which Joseph the Second of Germany lent all the energies of his capacious, but too boldly speculative mind. "He pitied," says Dr. Aikin,* "the aged inmates, male and female, of these quiet abodes, who were driven from their beloved retreats into the wide world, with a very slender and often ill-paid pittance for their support. Why might not these (he would say) be suffered gradually to die away, and be transplanted from one religious house to another as their num-

* P. 241, 2.

bers lessened? Those orders, which make it the great duty of their profession to attend with the kindest assiduity upon the sick and imprisoned, and who therefore came continually within his notice, seemed to conciliate his good will to the whole fraternity; and the virtues of order, decency, sobriety, and charity, so much akin to his own, naturally inclined him to a kind of fellowship with them." That fellowship, however, it were needless to add, was one inspired by the esteem which he felt for them as men, without involving any thing like an approbation of their theological tenets, or their religious ceremonies. This very proper line of distinction regulated his intercourse also with some of the leading ministers of a body of protestant dissenters, to whose views on some of the fundamental doctrines of Christianity, his own were as opposite as light and darkness. He esteemed them, however, for the virtues of their character, and the splendor of their talents, as highly as he would have done men who held the same opinions with himself; and however deeply he deplored what he held to be their errors, he did not drive them from the circle of those with whom he maintained a friendly intercourse in the world, by his unavailing and unauthorized anathemas; but leaving the condemnation of their heresy to Him to whom judgment in such cases can alone belong, he strove rather to commend his own views of the gospel dispensation to their adoption, by showing its accordance with the distinguishing feature of that religion, which commands us to love, and to live in peace with all men. Claiming, in short, for himself the unalienable right of thinking, in matters of religion, as he chose, he permitted, in its fullest latitude, the same right to others; whilst in the exercise of that active benevolence which has immortalized his name, he would as freely have risked his life to relieve the miseries of a Papist, a Mussulman, or an Hindoo, as of a Calvinist, a Baptist, or an Independent. The same genuine catholicism directed the constant, but unostentatious liberality by which his Christian profession was distinguished, in contributing largely of his abundance to the support of the cause of Christ, in various ways, and amongst various denominations of the religious world.

But commensurate with, if not exceeding, every other Christian grace which shone with such singular lustre in his character, was his extraordinary humility; a virtue, of which too many and too striking instances have been given in the preceding pages of these memoirs, to call for any further illustration here. The higher he was exalted by his benevolent deeds in the esteem of others, the lower, indeed, does he appear unaffectedly to have sunk in his own; and whilst daily acquiring correcter views of the requirements of the gospel, he felt but the more strongly, and lamented the more bitterly, the imperfections of his nature, which tainted with impurity, in the sight of God, the best and holiest of his services.

Having made up his mind on his religious sentiments, he was not to be removed from the steadfastness of his faith by novel opinions obtruded on the world. Those sentiments, it has already been stated, were such as are commonly known by the name of moderate Calvinism, and he was never ashamed of freely and unreservedly avowing his firm belief in the leading tenets of that particular denomination of the Christian world. Of those tenets he has chiefly left upon record the most unequivocal proofs of his full and cordial reception of the doctrines of original sin; the total depravity of our nature; our inability to do any thing towards our own salvation, which is entirely through faith in Jesus Christ, and that not of ourselves but the gift of God; the necessity of regeneration; and the utter worthlessness of all our best services, but as the evidence of the renewing and sanctifying influence of the Holy Spirit upon our hearts. Of the personality of that Spirit he was most firmly convinced, as he was also of his essential deity and co-equality with the Father and the Son, in a Trinity formed of three persons, though forming but one God. He held also, without doubt, the doctrines of predestination and final perseverance as laid down in the Scriptures, though his own papers furnish not the slightest evidence of his having pushed either of these controverted points to those ex-

tremes, bordering upon the grossest absurdities, for which some of their more ignorant, as well as their more zealous devotees have earnestly contended. Upon his riveted belief in the former of these tenets, his calumniators have, however, charged a rigidity of character, and a sternness of purpose similar to that which the Turks are said to derive from the blind devotion to a like article of their faith, which leads them to act as the mere victims of an uncontrollable fatality, as minute in its decrees, as it is absolute, implacable, and unjust in the principles and extent of its operation. But to this groundless accusation it may be, as in substance it already has been, answered, that Mr. Howard never appears to have acted, in any thing he took in hand, as though he was forced to do so by some irresistible impulse, all his designs having, on the contrary, been the subject of mature deliberation, and of much discussion with his friends; nor did he ever engage in them, but from a conviction of their utility, and after a due appreciation of the difficulties by which their accomplishment would, in all probability, be attended, and the dangers to which they would expose him. Nor were those difficulties and dangers at length confronted in any enthusiastic persuasion that he should miraculously be preserved from their natural consequences; but in a full consciousness that, by an habitual sense of duty, he was elevated above them. "Being in the way of my duty, I fear no evil:" this was the language he uniformly held, and the principle upon which he invariably acted; and, in this respect, his confidence differed not at all in its nature, however it might in its degree, from that which every good and pious man must feel, or wish to feel, in the over-ruling care of a kind and merciful Providence; and which, ere the names of Predestination or of Calvin were heard of, induced the royal psalmist to exclaim, "Though I walk through the valley of the shadow of death I will fear no evil, for thou art with me, thy rod and thy staff they comfort me."

Such are the general outlines, and such the more striking features of the

character of one of the greatest and best of men that the world has ever produced. That faults and foibles mingled in its composition we cannot doubt, for he was human; but surely of him, if of any one, it may be said with truth, that

"E'en his failings leaned to virtue's side."

To attempt to pronounce his eulogium, were useless; for the best eulogium of his virtues, is a faithful record of his life, and such, it is hoped, these pages have preserved. Nor can we expect that the proposing his character and his actions as a model for others, would be attended with any better success. True, it is, that in the last conversation which he held with one of his most intimate friends, who was vainly endeavoring to persuade him to continue at home, to perfect the generous plans he had framed for the good of his own country,—he expressed his persuasion that when he was gone, some one else would take up his work and carry it through: and the time now seems to be approaching when, after a long slumber in *his* grave, these hopes will be realized. Readily is it admitted too, that in many single points of his character, he may, and ought to be held up to an imitation, in which no one who is sincerely desirous of copying his excellences need be hopeless of success. Britain has produced since his time, and Britain and other countries, doubtless, will yet produce many philanthropists, whose benevolence, like his, would circle in one extended grasp the miseries of the world. But in the rare union of intrepidity with coolness; decision with enterprize; disinterestedness and humility; temperance and benevolence; fearlessness of man and devotedness to God;—in short, of every virtue which can adorn a public or a private life, crowned and perfected as they were by every Christian grace, neither can his country nor the world expect a second HOWARD to appear, as a commissioned angel of mercy, to the very refuse and outcasts of the earth.

NOTES.

CHAP. I.

NOTE I. p. 3.—Mr. Palmer's MS. memoir states, that "Mr. Howard was the son of an eminent merchant in the metropolis, who, by business, acquired a considerable fortune;" and that "he was born at Clapton, where his father had a country-house." This passage would seem to imply, that the father of Mr. Howard was in a somewhat higher station of life than that in which Dr. Aikin has placed him, and that his son was born before he retired from his mercantile pursuits; yet, as that gentleman speaks so positively and circumstantially on the subject, I have preferred following his account, rather than that of a biographer who does not appear, in this instance, to have possessed any superior means of information, and whose language, upon the occasion, is not capable of a very definite interpretation. The accuracy of that account is, in this particular, confirmed by the following entry in the Gentleman's Magazine, amongst the obituaries of the 9th of September, 1742:* "*John Howard*, Esq; formerly an Upholsterer, who three years ago fined for Sheriff." This latter circumstance shows, that he must have been a man not only of considerable property, but of some consideration amongst his fellow-citizens, the honor of being drank to as sheriff of the city of London not being quite so cheap, seventy years ago, as it has of late become. The author of the anonymous memoirs of Mr. Howard, published in the Universal Magazine for the months of April and May, 1790, gives, indeed, to our Philanthropist, and consequently to his father, a descent so illustrious as, in the estimation of those who plume themselves on the pride of ancestry, would render the highest civic honor an object infinitely below his notice:—"John Howard," says this unknown writer,† "was descended from a branch of the noble family of that name which makes such a distinguished figure

* Vol. XII. p. 499. See also a Letter, signed R. G. (Richard Gough) in Vol. LX. Part II. p. 717.

† Universal Magazine, Vol. LXXXVI. p. 170.

in the British peerage." The only evidence, however, attempted to be offered, in support of this noble pedigree, is that contained in the following note upon the above passage:—"The family arms of the Duke of Norfolk, and of the Earls of Suffolk, Effingham, and Carlisle, are placed at the head of the tomb-stone which Mr. Howard erected to the memory of his first wife, on the south side of Whitechapel Church-yard:" and, as far as this solitary fact can go, from actual inspection of the mouldering monument, I can assure those of my readers, who may feel any curiosity upon the subject, that this description of its armorial bearings is correct. But whether JOHN HOWARD, *the Philanthropist*, was entitled to claim kindred with the ducal house of Norfolk (holding, as it does, the first and proudest place in the peerage of his country), with the Earls of Suffolk, Effingham, and Carlisle, the deeds of whose ancestors are so splendidly emblazoned in the page of our history;—or whether he was descended from one of the meanest of our mechanics—or even from the lowest menial in the retinue of either of these princely houses—can surely be a matter of no importance whatever, to those who estimate the characters of men by what they are, not what their ancestors have been;—by what they do, not what their ancestors have done. And, weighed in this balance,—by the active exertions of his unwearied benevolence for the relief of his suffering fellow-creatures, and by the uniform consistency and strict integrity of his life, influenced, as it so invariably was, by the purest principles of Christianity, he has gained for himself a name and a reputation in this world, and secured a crown of glory in that which *is* to come, that will infinitely exceed, in duration, as in splendor, all the lustre that has glittered in the coronets, and all the virtues, and all the advantages of a noble birth, that have ever attracted the esteem or admiration of their fellow-mortals for "all the blood of all the Howards."

But, descending from the fancied elevation upon which this anonymous writer of his life has placed a man, who needed nothing but the greatness of his own actions, and the intrinsic excellence of his character to set him on a level with the noblest and the best of the human race, I would observe, that the account which that biographer has given of Mr. Howard's father offers a further confirmation of the correctness of the description of his situation in life, which has been adopted in these memoirs, from the biographical sketch of Dr. Aikin. "His father, Mr. John Howard," says our author,* "was partner in a very considerable upholstery and carpet warehouse, under the firm of Howard and Hamilton, in Long Lane, West Smithfield." An account, agreeing in substance with this statement, is also

* Universal Magazine, Vol. LXXXVI. p. 170.

contained in a short Memoir of Mr. Howard's Life in the Gentleman's Magazine for March, 1790,* upon which I shall hereafter have occasion to make some very severe strictures. Its correctness, in this particular, is also confirmed, beyond the possibility of a doubt, by the following entry upon the court-rolls of the king's manor of Enfield, of his admission to some property which he held there; as transmitted to the editor of the Gentleman's Magazine, by a correspondent, signing himself R. G.† but who was, no doubt, Mr. Richard Gough, the celebrated antiquary, then residing at that place, and an intimate friend of Mr. Howard's, as he is well known to have been, for many years, one of the principal contributors to the valuable periodical work, through whose pages he communicated this piece of information to the public:—

"*John Haward*, alias Howard, civis et tapetiar de London, admitted to six acres in Carter-hatch Leas, Le Pottash House, and an acre turned into an orchard, before 1704."

It may be worthy of remark, in this place, to avoid the necessity of making it in any other, that the memoir, published in the Universal Magazine, from which the most circumstantial information upon this point has been derived, is characterized, in a letter addressed by Mr. Palmer to the editor,‡ as "such as does *him* honor, and must be gratifying to *his* readers. It is much the best," he goes on to add, "that has yet appeared; and, so far as, from my long and intimate acquaintance with him, I am able to judge, it is very accurate, excepting in a *few* small particulars," which, in this, and a subsequent letter,§ he himself corrected. After so unequivocal a testimony to its general accuracy, from one in every way competent to decide upon it, I need scarcely add, that I have made frequent use of this biographical sketch in the course of these memoirs, always referring, however, to its pages for any statement made, either wholly or in part, upon its authority.

NOTE II. p. 3.—Dr. Aikin's account of the place of Mr. Howard's birth is,—"his father—retired from business, and had a house first at Enfield and afterwards at Hackney. It was, I believe, at the former of these places that Mr. *Howard* was born."‖ The MS. memoir by Mr. Palmer states, however, most explicitly, that this event took place at Clapton; and, from an intimate friendship of thirty years with this distinguished character, and from his own residence in the immediate vicinity of the spot he describes, it is hardly

* Vol. LX. Part I. p. 276. † Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LX. Part II. p. 717.

‡ Universal Magazine, Vol. LXXXVI. p. 236.

§ Ib. p. 318, 319. ‖ View of the Character, &c. of Mr. Howard, p. 9.

possible that he could have been mistaken on a point, upon which Dr. Aikin merely expresses his own belief. The anonymous life of Mr. Howard, published in the Universal Magazine,* informs us, however, more particularly,† that "he was born, about the year 1725, at Lower Clapton,—in an ancient house, which had been many years in the possession of his father and grandfather."

As far as respects the spot which had the honor of giving birth to this celebrated individual, Mr. Palmer, in the second of the two letters alluded to in the preceding note, confirms this account, in these express terms :‡—"As some doubts have arisen concerning the place of Mr. Howard's birth, it may not be improper to inform you, that I have more than once heard him speak of the house, which you have described at Clapton, in Hackney, as the house in which he was born :" and so unqualified an assurance of its correctness would have been abundantly sufficient to have induced me to adopt this statement without hesitation or observation, were it not for the circumstance of Dr. Aikin's Life of Howard having been published two years subsequent to the memoirs from which it is extracted, and consequently to Mr. Palmer's observations upon them. As he must, therefore, have read those memoirs, because he most distinctly refers to them,§ I cannot suppose that he would not, in this instance, have followed the account there given, had he not had some reason for doubting its accuracy, though I cannot but think that doubt could not have rested upon any very solid foundation. Having, however, met with a passage in the Gentleman's Magazine for April, 1790,‖ affording to it, at least an appearance of plausibility, I cannot, in justice to him, omit inserting it in this note. "The birth-place of Mr. Howard," observes the editor of that curious and valuable miscellany, "having been doubted, a correspondent says, 'I can only say, that I was told by a gentleman who was well acquainted with him, and whom I consider as a man of knowledge and of veracity, worthy to be depended on (though I pretend not to say, infallible), that he was born at Enfield: and I have since heard that his mother went on a visit thither, from *about the corner of Long-lane, in Smithfield* (where, not many years since, I understand, was an upholsterer's warehouse), and was taken ill, and delivered there, before she was able to return home.' 'I believe, but am not certain,' adds this correspondent of Mr. Urban, 'that his mother's name was Cholmley, and that she was sister to the wife of the late Wm. Tatnall, Esq. formerly of Ironmonger-lane, Cheapside, and afterwards of Theobalds, Herts.'"

* Vol. LXXXVI. p. 169—174; 258—263. † Ib. p. 170. ‡ Ib. p. 319. § p. 10, note.

‖ Vol. LX. Part I. p. 369. See also, in favour of *Enfield*, a letter signed R. G. (Richard Gough) Ib. Part II. p. 717.

As it regards the time of Mr. Howard's birth, the letters of Mr. Palmer which have already been published, and his short manuscript memoir of his illustrious friend, now in my possession, are alike silent. Whether, therefore, the date assigned to this event by Dr. Aikin (about 1727), or that given in the passage here quoted from the Universal Magazine be the correct one, I have no means whatever of deciding. The memoir inserted in the Gentleman's Magazine* gives indeed a still earlier date to the birth of this distinguished character, which is there referred to the year 1724, but on what authority I know not In a letter from one of Mr. Howard's friends at Plymouth, exposing some of the shameful misrepresentations of the character and conduct of that excellent man, with which this ill-natured and malevolent caricature of his most useful,—I had almost said, his blameless—life, so plentifully abounds; we have, however, a statement which may throw some material light upon this doubtful point. "The age of Mr. H.," says the writer of this letter,† "I can very nearly ascertain, as, in a visit which he made me in Nov. 1787, he mentioned 'his being then sixty-one years of age.'" Now if this representation be quite correct as to its dates, and it is difficult to conceive how it should be otherwise, the subject of it must have been born in 1726; which, after all, is the most likely to have been the precise year of his birth; or is, at least, that which it would be most prudent to adopt, as the intermediate period between the two different years fixed upon by the most correct of his biographers, as *about* the date of that event.

NOTE III. p. 3.—The cottager here alluded to was the mother of Mrs. Prole, who afterwards became lady's maid to the second Mrs. Howard, and the wife of his faithful bailiff, John Prole. It is from conversation with her that these particulars of our Philanthropist's childhood, as well as many others of his maturer years, have been derived.

NOTE IV. p. 3.—In the absence of all direct evidence in support of this opinion, it becomes necessary to state the reasons that have induced, in my mind, a persuasion of, at least, the great probability of its correctness. These then are—first, that both the schoolmasters, under whose care the elder Mr. Howard placed his son, were of these sentiments: secondly, that the first congregation which that son, when grown to man's estate, appears regularly to have attended, was one of the same denomination: and, in the last place, as will clearly be proved in the course of these memoirs, that, having been regularly joined to

* Vol. LX. Part I. p. 277. † Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LX. Part I. p. 287.

that congregation, the younger Mr. Howard, in all the intimate connections which he formed with many ministers and members of churches of other denominations (more particularly the Baptists), seems never to have departed from the discipline of that, in which, for these reasons, he is supposed to have followed the footsteps of his fathers.

NOTE V. p. 9.—Of this very learned man, who is described by the author of the Life of Mr. Howard published in the Universal Magazine,* as "one of the best scholars of his time," I regret to say, that the only account which I have been enabled to discover, is that contained in some pieces of neglected biography furnished to the Monthly Magazine,† I believe by the late Dr. Joseph Toulmin, and which is here transcribed for the reader's information:—

"Mr. JOHN EAMES is a character, to which due and full respect has not been paid in season, as only a slight and incidental mention has been made of him, and that not till lately, in the biography of other characters.‡ He was a native of London, and received his classical learning at Merchant-taylor's school. He afterwards pursued a course of academical studies, with a view to the Christian ministry; yet he never preached but one sermon, when he was so exceedingly agitated and confused that he was scarcely able to proceed. There was also, unhappily, a great defect in his organs of speech, and his pronunciation was exceedingly harsh, uncouth and disagreeable. These circumstances, discouraged him from renewing the attempt, so that, quitting the pulpit entirely, he devoted himself to the instruction of young men, whose education for the pulpit, among Protestant Dissenters, was patronized and assisted by the Independent Fund. His department included the languages, mathematics, moral and natural philosophy. On the death of Dr. Ridgely, who filled the divinity chair in the same seminary, he was prevailed upon to add to his course on those subjects, lectures in divinity, and to teach the Oriental languages, assisted in the other branches by a learned colleague, Mr. Densham. Mr. Eames was deemed remarkable, as a man of extensive learning, and a universal scholar. Dr. Watts once said to one of his pupils, Mr. Angus, 'Your tutor is the most learned man I ever knew.' He excelled, particularly, in classical literature, and in a profound knowledge of mathematics, and natural philosophy. His scientific learning procured

* Vol. LXXXVI p. 170. † Vol. XVI. p. 241, 2.

‡ Biographia Britannica, article Amory; Memoirs of Dr. Savage, prefixed to his Posthumous Sermons. Dr. Gibbon's Memoirs of Dr. Watts, and Mr. Chaplin's Funeral Sermon for the Rev. John Angus.

him the acquaintance, esteem, and friendship of Sir Isaac Newton, to whom he was, on some occasions, singularly useful; and who introduced him to the Royal Society, of which he became a member, and was employed by it, in conjunction with another gentleman, to prepare and publish an abridgment of their Transactions. With all these qualifications, Mr. Eames was remarkable for a diffidence and bashfulness, which greatly overshadowed and concealed his great talents: 'He was modest,' said Mr. Angus, 'to a fault.' The writer of this has authority for adding, that he was candid and liberal, and a friend to religious inquiry; but through the timidity and modesty of his temper, he was exposed to the insolence of bigotry, and suffered opposition and uneasiness from those who had not the generosity to pay a due deference and respect to his abilities and learning. Among those who were formed under him for the stations, which they afterwards filled with reputation and honour, were Dr. Furneaux, Dr. Price, and Dr. Savage. This latter gentleman adopted some of his tutor's lectures, in his own course of academical instructions; particularly those on conic sections, and a small system of ethics, drawn up in Latin, and he always spoke of Mr. Eames with high respect and *con amore*. Mr. afterwards the eminent Archbishop, Secker received part of his academical education under this learned man, and by him, on discovering a disposition for a freedom of thinking, which would have had an unfavorable aspect on his acceptableness as a minister among the Dissenters of that day, was advised to lay aside his design of appearing in that character, and to direct his attention to the study of physic. Mr. Eames died suddenly, June 29, 1744. 'What a change,' says Dr. Watts, who dedicated to him his Treatise on Geography and Astronomy, 'did Mr. Eames experience! but a few hours between his lecturing to his pupils, and his hearing the lectures of angels.'"

To this short memoir I have but little to add. The institution of which Mr. Eames was, for some years, the principal tutor, was an academy founded by Mr. Coward, for the education of young men for the work of the ministry among Protestant Dissenters, by a will, which directed that all persons enjoying the advantage of his bequest, are to be trained up in the theological tenets of Calvin; a direction which of course imposes upon the divinity tutor the necessity of moulding his lectures on the plan of those of Geneva, or, at least, of taking especial care that nothing they contain shall be contrary to the doctrines formerly taught there by the genuine disciples of its great apostle; and it is to this circumstance that the following short notice of Mr. Eames, in the life of his pupil Dr. Price, published

some years since in the Universal Magazine,* alludes, " To complete his studies, Mr. Price placed his nephew at an academy in Moorfields, of which the principal tutor was Mr. John Eames, one of the council of the Royal Society, and appointed by that society, in conjunction with Mr. Martyn, to abridge their Philosophical Transactions from the year 1719. This gentleman—who could boast of uncommon learning, was endued, at the same time, with the most invincible modesty. But his divinity lectures did not correspond with his many excellencies; for his fine genius was cramped and chained down to the explanation of Marc's Medulla,—the very marrow of Dutch Calvinistical divinity, and all free inquiry among his pupils was narrowly watched and attempted to be stifled in the very birth."

That this attempt did not, however, succeed the doctrines afterwards promulgated from the pulpit by Dr. Price, Dr. Furneaux, and several other ministers, who received their education in this academy, under his tuition, most abundantly proves. From the valuable memoirs of the former of these two learned, though somewhat heterodox divines, recently published by his nephew Mr. Morgan, the well-known author of the " Doctrine of Annuities," we learn that he always spoke of the ability and virtues of his venerable tutor with respect and esteem, and that it was by his recommendation that Dr. (then Mr.) Price, obtained the situation of chaplain and companion to Mr. Streatfield, of Stoke Newington, in whose family he resided in that capacity for thirteen years, after his leaving the academy in Moorfields.†

NOTE VI. p. 10.—In reference to this event, Dr. Aikin observes,‡ " It was, probably, in consequence of the father's direction that he was bound apprentice to a wholesale grocer in the city. This will appear a singular step in the education of a young man of fortune; but, at that period, inuring youth to habits of method and industry, and giving them a prudent regard to money, with a knowledge of the modes of employing it to advantage, were by many considered as the most important points in every condition of life. Mr. *Howard* was probably indebted to this part of his education for some of that spirit of order, and knowledge of common affairs, which he possessed; but he did not, in this situation, contract any of that love of aggrandisement which is the basis of all commercial exertions; and so irksome was the employment to him, that, on coming of age, he bought out

* Vol. LXXXVIII. p. 422. † Morgan's Life of Price, p. 11. ‡ Life of Howard, p. 14, 15.

the remainder of his time, and immediately set out on his travels to France and Italy." The Doctor is here, however, evidently mistaken in his assumption that it was by any testamentary directions of the elder Mr. Howard, that his son was put apprentice to Mr. Newnham, as it appears, as well from the account inserted in the Universal Magazine, and from that given by Mr. Palmer in his manuscript, as from the utter silence of the will upon the subject, that this step was taken during the father's life time. In point of fact, the death of his father, which happened on the 9th of September, 1742,* must, in all probability, have been after the commencement of this apprenticeship; as, according to Dr. Aikin's account of the year in which the subject of his memoir was born, he would then have been either in the fifteenth, or sixteenth, though, according to that given in the Universal Magazine, he might have reached the seventeenth, and even entered upon the eighteenth year of his age. Nor is it, surely, by any means natural to suppose that that father, who was a man fully aware of the value of money, should have given so large a premium as 700*l.* (for that was its amount), if he had not hoped that his son would, at some future period, be actively and lucratively engaged in the pursuits of trade, into the mysteries of which he was, for so valuable a consideration, to be duly initiated. Both of his other biographers referred to in this note, accordingly represent our immortal Philanthropist as having been originally designed for business.† In the following passage of his life, the latter of these authors gives us some particulars of his treatment during his apprenticeship, which, though not of sufficient importance to find a place in the body of these memoirs, may yet not improperly be inserted here. "Mr. Howard was intended originally for a man of business, and was accordingly bound apprentice to Messrs. Newnham and Shipley, wholesale grocers, in Watling-street; by whom he was treated with that distinction to which a premium of seven hundred pounds entitled him. He was indulged with his own separate apartments, and allowed to keep a servant and a couple of saddle-horses."‡ Of the habits and character of Mr. Howard's father, I transcribe, from the work last mentioned, the only account that I have been able anywhere to meet with. "He was," says this anonymous author,§ "in very opulent circumstances, but of a penurious disposition. He maintained great order and regularity in his house; and to his constant observation of the Sabbath, and of the duty of family prayer, his son was perhaps indebted for that piety, which, ever after, formed a distinguished feature in his character."

* Universal Magazine, Vol. XII. p. 492. † Rev. S. Palmer's MS. Memoir: Univ. Mag. Vol. LXXXVI. p. 171.

‡ Universal Magazine, Vol. LXXXVI. p. 171. § Ib. p. 170.

NOTE VII. p. 12.—This was most probably done, either by the executors of his father's will, or by Mr. Howard himself, with their consent, before he left the counting-house of Messrs. Newnham and Shipley. We learn from the memoirs so often quoted in this part of our Philanthropist's life, that he had such a veneration for this house, that he would never let it on lease; but that, about five years before his death, he sold it, for three thousand pounds, to Thomas Smith, Esq. afterwards of the Clock House, Tottenham, of whom it was purchased by Mr. Gornham, an eminent surveyor, in King's-road, Gray's-Inn-lane.*

NOTE VIII. p. 12.—It is not a little remarkable, that neither Mr. Palmer, nor the author of either of the Memoirs of Mr. Howard, printed in the Universal, and in the Gentleman's Magazine, take any notice whatever of this journey to the continent; yet, as Dr. Aikin speaks of it in so clear and distinct a manner, I cannot but suppose that he had information upon the subject which neither of these writers possessed; and I therefore felt myself bound to follow his account, in preference to theirs. This has been done too, the more readily, because, as has been already observed in a former note, Dr. Aikin had evidently seen the memoirs in the Universal, and, as will hereafter most satisfactorily be shown, was fully acquainted with the contents of those published in the Gentleman's Magazine; and could not but have been aware that Mr. Howard is there represented to have gone to lodge at Stoke Newington, immediately on leaving Mr. Newnham, without any thing being added of his ever having left that place for the continent, until after the death of his first wife, whom he married while residing there.† With this account Mr. Palmer's shorter biography of his deceased friend, in substance, entirely agrees.

NOTE IX. p. 14.—The Universal Magazine informs us, that the subscription of Mr. Howard amounted to 57*l.* 14*s.* 6*d.*; so odd a sum, that it would scarcely have been thus minutely stated, had it not been the one actually given, under some circumstances, or for some particular reasons, with which we cannot now expect to become acquainted.

NOTE X. p. 15.—The Memoirs of Mr. Howard's Life published in the Gentleman's Magazine,‡ states, that her name was *Lardeau*, and that she was "widow of a man who had been clerk at Sir James Creed's White-lead works;" further describing her as "a worthy,

* Universal Magazine, Vol. LXXXVI. p. 171, *in notis.* † Ib. p. 171; Gentleman's Mag. Vol. LX. Part I. p. 276.

‡ Gentleman's Mag. Vol. LX. Part I. p. 276.

sensible woman, but a poor invalid, who had not had a day's health for twenty years." Dr. Aikin's Memoir* has an *alia dicta* to her name—*Lardeau* (or Loidore); but Mr. Palmer,† and the writer in the Universal Magazine,‡ have the latter mode of spelling only.

NOTE XI. p. 15.—We are informed, in the Memoirs of Mr. Howard published in the Gentleman's Magazine,§ that during the period of his residing as a lodger in the house of Mrs. Loidore, "he used to ride out in the morning for a few miles, with a book in his pocket, dismount, turn his horse to graze upon a common, and spend several hours in reading." "On a very particular inquiry, however," says the author of the Life of Mr. Howard inserted in the Universal Magazine,‖ in express allusion to this passage, "of persons very intimate, and who had often rode out, with him, we are assured that they never saw, nor ever *heard* of such a practice."

NOTE XII. p. 16.—In a pamphlet published in 1790, under the title of "The Life of the late John Howard, Esq. with a Review of his Travels," in a description of this lady's death, and of her husband's sorrow upon account of it, we are told** that, "as a remembrance of her, he ever after carried about with him, and when alone always used, a dessert-spoon that had belonged to her." I have endeavored to find some better authority for this anecdote than that of a writer so grossly ignorant of the history of Mr. Howard's earlier life, as to assert that "his youthful years were spent abroad, and that he returned not to England till he arrived at age, and came to take possession of his estate,"†† but I have endeavored in vain. It is not, however, at all likely that such a memorial of his first wife should have been so fondly cherished, and so carefully preserved, after he had married a second, to whom he was most doatingly attached, not from a principle of gratitude, but from the strongest ties of genuine affection; though the author of these professed memoirs of his life is so ignorant of this circumstance, that he merely notices this second marriage *en passant*, without making a single observation upon it, except that the lady was very accomplished, the *only* daughter of a master in chancery; (which she certainly was not) that Mr. Howard received an ample portion with her; and that she unfortunately died in child-bed of her first child.‡‡ The servants of Mr. Howard inform me, indeed, that they never saw this spoon,

* P. 17. † MS. Memoir. ‡ Vol. LXXXVI. p. 171. § Vol. LX. Part I. p. 276. ‖ Vol. LXXXVI. p. 171. *in notis.*

** P. 70. †† Ib. p. 68. ‡‡ Ib. p. 70.

or heard any thing of it, which could not have been the case had he used it so constantly as he is represented to have done.

The same writer relates two other circumstances connected with the first marriage of Mr. Howard, resting upon no better authority than that just noticed. One of them, indeed, is to the full as improbable: for, after giving an account of the origin of this connection with Mrs. Loidore, and of the motives which induced its formation, differing but little from that already inserted in the body of this work, we are very gravely assured* that, "on the first opportunity he expressed his sentiments to her in the strongest terms of affection; assuring her, that if she rejected his proposal, he would become an exile for ever to his family and friends. The lady was upwards of forty" (the truth is, she was more than fifty), "and therefore urged the disagreement of their years, as well as their circumstances; but after allowing her twenty-four hours for a final reply, his eloquence surmounted all her obstacles, and she consented to a union, wherein gratitude was to supply the deficiency of passion."† The former part of this most *pathetic* scene is, no doubt, a gratuitous embellishment of this author's fertile imagination, and it is even inconsistent with other parts of his own statement.

It is more than probable that a very similar character will apply to the former part of the assurance he gives us,‡ that "Mr. Howard has often declared, that to the amiable example of this lady, and the distress he experienced when taken by the French privateer, he owed that strong attachment to the relieving of the distressed," "which he manifested in the after period of his life," or somewhat to that effect, ought to have been added, to complete the sentence; but this writer's style is no less inaccurate and inelegant, than the majority of the circumstances he relates are either grossly false, or shamefully misrepresented.

I have met, however, with an anecdote or two of this marriage, which, though perhaps, in some respects, a little too highly coloured, it may be but right to insert in this place, because they are derived from a quarter entitled to infinitely more credit than this paltry scribbler possibly can be. The Memoir of his Life in the Universal Magazine,§ in speaking of Mr. Howard's treatment of his first wife, informs us, that "he uniformly behaved to her with the greatest tenderness: he has been often heard to say, that he would freely part with a hundred pounds to give her one good night's rest; and, after her death, he has more than once declared, that, were he to marry again, he would prefer just such another

* P. 69. † Ib. p. 69, 70. ‡ Ib. p. 70. § Vol. LXXXVI. p. 172.

person and mind as hers, to all the charms of youth and beauty. He ever after entertained a great respect for her memory, and, about five years ago, visited her tomb, and gave directions to have that, and the iron rails around it, repaired and beautified."

The recent visit paid by Mr. Howard's present biographer to the tomb-stone which his respect for the memory of the excellent woman over whose grave it is erected, induced her husband, more than forty years after her decease, thus to endeavor to preserve from the ravages of time, enables him to state, that it is now in so dilapidated a condition, that unless those who are interested in keeping it from mouldering to decay, if any such are still in existence, shall give directions for its immediate repair, the inscription it bears will, in the space of a very few years, no longer be legible.

CHAP. II.

NOTE 1. p. 21.—Mr. Howard's own account of this event is contained in the following note upon the first section of his work, on "The State of Prisons," p. 11. "I must not be understood here to mean a compliment to the French. How they then treated English prisoners of war, I knew by experience in 1756; when a Lisbon packet (the Hanover) in which I went passenger, in order to make the tour of Portugal, was taken by a French privateer. Before we reached Brest, I suffered the extremity of thirst, not having for above forty hours one drop of water; nor hardly a morsel of food. In the castle, at Brest, I lay six nights upon straw: and observing how cruelly my countrymen were used there, and at Morlaix, whither I was carried next; during the two months I was at Carhaix upon parole, I corresponded with the English prisoners at Brest, Morlaix, and Dinnan: at the last of those towns were several of our ship's crew, and my servant. I had sufficient evidence of their being treated with such barbarity, that many hundreds had perished; and that thirty-six were buried in a hole at Dinnan in one day. When I came to England, still on parole, I made known to the commissioners of sick and wounded seamen, the sundry particulars: which gained their attention, and thanks. Remonstrance was made to the French court: our sailors had redress: and those that were in the three prisons mentioned above, were brought home in the first cartel-ships.—A *Lady* from Ireland, who married in France,

had bequeathed in trust with the magistrates of St. Malo's, sundry charities; one of which was a penny a day to every English prisoner of war in Dinnan. This was duly paid; and saved the lives of many brave and useful men.—Perhaps, what I *suffered* on this occasion, increased my sympathy with the unhappy people, whose case is the subject of this book." The additional particulars contained in these pages, were derived, either from the personal communications of Mr. Howard to his friend the Rev. Samuel Palmer, and by him recorded in the biographical sketch now in my possession, or, from the Memoir of his Life, drawn up by some person, evidently most intimately acquainted with its history, for the Universal Magazine for April, 1790.* That which was furnished to the Gentleman's Magazine, for the preceding month, contains a representation of the conduct of Mr. Howard upon this occasion, and of the probable cause of the harsh treatment that he experienced during his detention in France, as unfounded, as, in common with the whole article of which it forms a part, it is illiberal. "After mature consultation with a Dissenting minister, his intimate friend," says the author of this choice specimen of *faithful* biography,† " on his intention of visiting Lisbon after the earthquake of Nov. 1, 1755; and being earnestly dissuaded from his purpose, as tempting Providence, from the risque of being taken by some of the ships of France, then at war with this country, he resolved to visit that desolated capital, and left his house at Newington, at Midsummer, 1756. He set sail for Lisbon on board the Hanover packet, which was taken by a French privateer; and he behaved with so much *hauteur*, so much *à l'Anglois*, to the captain of the privateer, as might probably be the cause of his suffering so severely as it appears he did."

As to the first part of this singular account, I have only to remark that, resting as it entirely does upon the mere *ipse dixit* of a writer anxiously seeking every opportunity of blackening the private character of Mr. Howard, whilst pretending to eulogize his public services, and to venerate that very philanthropy, whose source he so shamefully misrepresents, I have not thought proper to make any use whatever of it, in the body of this work; nor would it have been inserted here, but to avoid the suspicion of suppressing anything that has been communicated to the public, with regard to this extraordinary man, bearing even the remotest semblance to authenticity.

With respect to the second of these charges, the *hauteur* exhibited by Mr. Howard to the captain of the privateer, who made him prisoner, not only is it equally unsupported by evidence, but its manifest improbability will clearly appear from the whole history of the

* Vol. LXXXVI. p. 173. † Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LX, Part I, p. 276, 7.

treatment of the English soldiers and sailors, at that time prisoners of war, in this part of France, as well as of Mr. Howard, and the persons captured with him—who, it must be remembered, experienced precisely the same degree of severity as himself—and of their subsequent liberation. So soon, indeed, as sixteen days after the first publication of this calumny, a letter was addressed to the editor of the Gentleman's Magazine,* demanding of its author the evidence of this, among many other "facts *there* related, to which the friends of that gentleman *were* strangers." But no such evidence was ever produced. Well, therefore, might the writer of that letter assert, that in those memoirs Mr. Howard's friends found "a character delineated of which they never discovered the least trait." "That *their* anonymous author has resorted to fiction," he goes on to observe, "for the purpose of assassinating his character, is an idea too horrible to be easily admitted." There is, however, but too much reason to conclude, that such a supposition is not more horrible, than it is correct.

NOTE II. p. 22.—Between the period of his return from France, after having been confined there as a prisoner of war, and his second marriage, the author of the Memoirs of Mr. Howard's Life published in the Gentleman's Magazine, informs us,† that "it is believed *he* made the tour of Italy;" but upon this statement one of those friends of this most excellent man who so properly took up their pens to vindicate his character from the foul aspersions and gross misrepresentations of this anonymous libeller, in a letter to the editor of the valuable miscellany in which they were unfortunately, and most unaccountably, permitted to appear, relates that—"Mr. H., after being liberated from the French prison in 1756, went to Berlin; for which his chief inducement, I believe, was to gain a more intimate knowledge of the king of Prussia; but I do not recollect hearing that he had made the tour of Italy."‡

The silence of all the most authentic accounts of Mr. Howard's life upon such a journey, at this time, induces me, however, to think that there must be an error even in this statement, and that his visit to Berlin must have been at some other period of his life and travels; both Dr. Aikin§ and Mr. Palmer|| agreeing in their representation of his not having left England, upon his return from his unfortunate expedition to Lisbon, until after the second Mrs. Howard's death; though the author of the Memoirs of his Life published in the Universal Magazine,¶ informs us, that "he soon after followed the impulse of an

* Vol. LX. Part I. p. 290, Letter signed A. B. and dated April 16. † Vol. LX. Part I. p. 277. ‡ Ib. p. 287.
§ P. 23. || MS. Memoir. ¶ Vol. LXXXVI. p. 173.

ardent curiosity, and made the tour of Italy." This, however, must, I am inclined to think, have been the same journey with that which Dr. Aikin represents him to have taken before his first marriage; and which, upon his authority, I have referred to that period of Mr. Howard's history.

NOTE III. p. 23.—The authors of the life of Mr. Howard published in the Gentleman's Magazine, and of the anonymous pamphlet, bearing the title of "The Life of the late John Howard, Esq. with a Review of his Travels," represent this lady to have been the *only* daughter of Mr. Leeds. But with respect, as well to the general accuracy of their relation, as to the justice and liberality of their remarks, it may fairly be said of these two slanderous publications, *par pari*, verily they are worthy of each other. In this, as in numerous other instances, the information they give is quite incorrect; Mr. Leeds having had two daughters, the younger of whom was married to John Barnadiston, Esq. of Lincoln's-Inn, barrister at law, ancestor to the gentleman to whose kindness I am indebted for the communication of several of Mr. Howard's original papers, which came to his hands as acting executor of the will of his maternal uncle, George Leeds, Esq. of Croxton, and, in *his* right, to that of Mr. Howard himself.

NOTE IV. p. 28.—"As an instance," says a note upon the letter of Mr. Howard's Plymouth friend to the editor of the Gentleman's Magazine,* upon whose authority this statement is given, "that, in whatever Mr. H. engaged it was *summis viribus*, it may not be unworthy of notice to mention, that on the frost setting-in, he used, during the continuance, to leave his bed at two every morning, for the purpose of observing the state of a thermometer, which was placed in his garden, at some distance from his house."

NOTE V. p. 37.—The circumstances attending Mrs. Howard's removal were more than usually melancholy and distressing. She was safely delivered of her infant on the Wednesday, and was doing so well on the Sunday, that when her husband went to church in the morning she was not considered to be in the slightest danger. Soon after his return, however, she was suddenly taken ill, and in a very short time expired in his arms, almost in the act of taking a cup of chocolate, or some such slight nourishment, which he had given her, at her own request.

* Vol. LX. Part I. p. 288.

NOTE VI. p. 38.—Another proof, precisely of the same description, though varying in some few of its circumstances, is already before the public, in a letter addressed to the editor of the Gentleman's Magazine, by one of Mr. Howard's friends at Plymouth, soon after the intelligence of his decease had reached England, which I shall here transcribe in the relator's own words.* "I recollect his telling me, just before he set out on one of his foreign excursions, as he was walking with his son round some plantations he had been making at *Cardington*, and pointing out to him farther improvements which he had in contemplation, These, however, *Jack*," (I think he called him) "in case I should not come back, you will pursue or not, as you may think proper; but remember, *this walk* was planted by *your mother;* and if you ever touch a *twig* of it, may my *blessing* never rest upon you!"

NOTE VII. p. 38.—The author of the Life of Howard published in the Gentleman's Magazine for 1790, in a letter addressed to Dr. Aikin, in reply to his severe, but most merited animadversions upon the malignancy, and the falsehood which characterized that article, and to the other friends of Mr. Howard, who lost not a moment in publicly expressing their surprise and indignation at its gross misrepresentations,—persists, however, in charging this most benevolent being with having been a tyrant in the midst of his family, both to his wives and to his son. "I repeat it," he exclaims, in this lame vindication of his memoir, but still grosser libel upon the subject of it, "and can substantiate the charge, that Mr. H. was a *severe* husband and a *severe* parent. Not that he disgraced himself by giving way to passion so far as to *strike* either wife, son, or servant. If that is all which in your opinion constitutes severity, you are an incompetent judge of that disposition, the true name perhaps for which, in the present instance, is *austerity* of temper. Such a temper may diffuse benevolence and relieve distress, but can never constitute domestic happiness."† Why he did not substantiate his charge,—or how he could suppose that any man in his senses would believe it, upon the mere assertion of an anonymous writer, a concealed assassin of the character of one of the best of men that ever appeared upon the face of the earth,—it will be for him, if he be still in the land of the living, to inform us.

For my own part, I can only say, that every friend of Mr. Howard's with whom I have either conversed or corresponded upon this subject, or whose observations upon his general character and conduct have been communicated to me by surviving relatives

* Gentleman's Magazine, Vol. LX. Part I. p. 288. † Ib. p. 416.

(and in this number are included his own and his wife's relations; his pastor; the ministers upon whose preaching he attended, and with whom he lived on terms of the closet intimacy; his confidential correspondents; his neighbbours; his tenants; and his servants), has contributed to furnish me with the most ample testimony to the falsehood of this base and wicked calumny. Of these materials I have availed myself in the body of this work, where it will most distinctly appear, that he behaved to both his wives with the greatest kindness, and was deeply afflicted by their loss; and that to his second, in particular, he was most doatingly attached, never having known what domestic happiness was after her removal. Surely, then, that man deserves to be branded as a most infamous calumniator, who could deliberately publish to the world, that the individual who felt and acted thus towards the wife of his bosom, was a severe husband, merely that he might draw from these false premises as absurd a conclusion—that he was so, because he was a rigid Predestinarian: yet this is the logic, and this the justice of the anonymous writer, who, unfortunately for the credit of that admirable work, was permitted to subscribe himself, in the pages of the Gentleman's Magazine, "One of Mr. Urban's Biographers."*

CHAP. III.

NOTE I. p. 44.—No sooner had the gross libel on Mr. Howard's character, to which most of the reports injurious to his memory are to be traced, made its appearance in the Gentleman's Magazine, than his friends hastened to refute the infamous calumny on his parental character which it contained. Foremost in the number of these generous vindicators of the aspersed Philanthropist was Dr. Aikin, who addressed to the editor, a letter upon the subject, which does the highest honor both to his head and heart. The following extract from it will, I am sure, be acceptable to the readers of these Memoirs:—

"MR. URBAN, "*Yarmouth, April* 15 [1790].

"The occasion which at present urges me to write, made me some time in doubt whether I should desire you to convey what I had to say to the publick; but at length I was determined to adopt this mode, both as a means of affording you the opportunity of making that

* Vol. LX. Part I. p. 416—418.

retribution for an injury which every man of candour and liberality would wish, and as the best method of circulating an *antidote* as far as the *poison* had reached.

"It was naturally to be expected, that your periodical work, which took so distinguished a part in a scheme for doing honour to Mr. Howard when living, should be the first to pay him a tribute of respect and veneration when no more. I was therefore not at all surprised to see your *Obituary* furnished with a long article respecting that great philanthropist. I shall not now say in how many respects that article is faulty and defective. I mean to confine myself to a *charge* openly and positively brought against Mr. Howard, of a nature so heinous, that it cannot fail, where it is believed, greatly to injure his character in the estimation of the world: the charge of having, *by severity, driven an only child into a state of insanity.* My hands, Mr. Urban, tremble with indignation and horror while I copy it; and scarcely can I restrain myself within temperate bounds, whilst I refute a slander black as hell, against a man whose unparalleled benevolence rendered him the pride and ornament of human nature. He honoured me with his friendship; and ill should I deserve it, could I remain cool and indifferent on such an attack upon his memory.

"That Mr. H.'s idea of education led him (as it has done many other wise and good men) to regard *implicit obedience* in a child as an essential ground-work, I readily admit; and that he managed so as to attain this point completely, I likewise know to be true: but the *manner* in which this was effected was not of a kind that could make any dangerous impressions on a child's mental faculties, since it was free from every thing hasty, violent, and capricious, and consisted in a very steady, cool, and uniform course of discipline and authority, in such points alone as were thought important to the child's welfare. Mr. H. has more than once affirmed to me, that he never struck his son in his life, which is certainly what few *indulgent* parents could say. And how long did even this course continue? Your writer has thought fit, by way of sneer, to mention the child's being sent to a girl's school. The fact was, that having had the misfortune to lose his mother at his birth, he was, while yet extremely young, put under the care of a very sensible school-mistress. After this, we are told of his being sent to a boarding-school for boys; and here the relator has chosen to stop in the account of his education. I shall now take up this history (which is only important, as it has been brought to affect such a character), and then leave your readers to their own convictions of the monstrous falsity of this tale of calumny."

The Doctor then proceeds to relate the various removals of young Howard to Daventry, Nottingham, Edinburgh, and Cambridge, which will be regularly noticed, in their proper places, in the body of this work.

NOTE II. p. 49.—The observations to which this paper relates were made at Bath, Bristol, Claverton, and Lansdown, in the course of the preceding September and November. In point of composition it is even inferior to Mr. Howard's former communications to the Society.

NOTE III. p. 60.—This calumny was circulated during Mr. Howard's life-time, while he was absent on one of his continental tours; but after his death it was more widely spread, and more generally believed. His friends, however, lost no time in refuting so false and so ridiculous a tale, and, amongst others, Mr. Palmer was particularly active in this commendable work, addressing to the editor of the Universal Magazine the following letter upon the subject:—

To the Editor of the Universal Magazine.

"SIR,

"Notwithstanding what has been said and written, in vindication of the late excellent Mr. Howard, I find there are still persons who are determined to believe and propagate the idle and cruel report respecting his severity to his son. As I have had the satisfaction to trace it to its origin, which was indeed a very trivial circumstance, I think myself in duty bound, from a regard to equity, as well as veneration for the character of my excellent friend, to relate that circumstance to the public as I received it, from the best authority; which I cannot do better than by means of your valuable miscellany. The authority I refer to, is that of the very respectable and Rev^d. Mr. Townsend, many years Mr. Howard's pastor at Stoke Newington—That you may have his genuine narrative, I here enclose his original letter.*

"Hackney,
Sept. 9, 1796."

"I am, Sir, your obedient servant,
"S. PALMER.

* "I lately communicated a brief abstract of this letter to the General Evening Post, from whence I suppose the Editor of the Gentleman's Magazine copied it, as addressed to Mr. Urban, though I never had, and never intend, any correspondence with him upon the subject. The print which he has given of Mr. Howard, must be intended to burlesque him.—Strange! that not only his character must be traduced, but his very person must be disfigured!"

"DEAR SIR,

"That so very an uncommon instance of heroic and persevering philanthrophy as was our excellent friend, the late Mr. Howard, should meet with enemies, among the selfish, the envious and malevolent of mankind, doth not much surprize me, after having read the abusive attack that was made—by the grand calumniator, upon the character of Job, who was pronounced by the Almighty himself, the most perfect and upright man at that time existing. While he was pursuing, shall I say, his godlike course I heard him represented as mad, attended with many a significant shrug of the shoulders, and twist of the mouth, expressive of much more contempt, than pity, in the breast of the speaker. Some years ago, several stories were circulated, on purpose, no doubt, to tarnish the lustre of this exalted character; among which it seemed to be a favourite one, that he was so exceedingly severe and cruel in the treatment of his son, as to lay a foundation for the unhappy state of mind he is now in; particularly, that for some offence he committed when a child, 'he once locked him up for several hours in a solitary place, having soon after gone to Bedford with the key in his pocket, and did not return till night.'* From what I know of Mr. Howard, I was persuaded this dismal story was an absolute falsehood: but had it not in my power to contradict it, till I had an opportunity of mentioning it to him, which I did at his next visit, and then received from him an account of the following incident, which he supposed must have given rise to the scandalous report. It was Mr. Howard's constant practice to walk out with his child in the garden while the servants were at dinner. In one of these little excursions, with master Howard in his hand (who was then about three years old) the father being much entertained with the innocent prattle of his son, they went on till they came to the root-house or hermitage, in a retired part of the garden, with which the young gentleman was familiarly acquainted, and were there for some time, diverting one another. During this, the servant came in great haste to inform his master, that a gentleman on horseback was at the door, and desired to speak with Mr. Howard immediately, upon business of some importance; and as he wished to be with him as soon as possible, he said to his son, 'Jack, be a good boy, and keep quiet, and I shall come very soon to you again,' and so locking the door to prevent the child from going out and prowling about the garden by himself to the hazard of getting some mischief, he put the key in his pocket, and ran to the person in waiting, as fast as he could. The con-

* "Some related that he was put upon a high shelf, from whence a fall might have been fatal. But there was no such shelf in the place.——S. P."

versation between them lasted much longer than he expected, and put the thought of the child out of his mind. Upon the gentleman's departure he asked the servant where Jack was, and received for answer, that he supposed him to be in the root-house where he had been left. And then instantly recollecting the incident, he flew to set him at liberty, and found him quietly asleep on the matting of the floor*: and when he was waked could not perceive that the confinement had made any disagreeable impressions upon his mind.

"This was Mr. Howard's account of the trifling incident, which was worked up, either by ignorance or malevolence, into so hideous a tale of cruelty. And I believe all who knew him will agree with me that so sacred did he hold truth, that he would have lost his life rather than have told a known falsehood. And who can soberly think that a man of such exalted benevolence could possibly treat his only child, then as it were but an infant, with the deliberate severity that has been imputed to him?

"I have, dear Sir, now related to you, as exactly as I could from memory, the conversation I had with Mr. Howard upon this story, and leave it to you to make what use of it, you shall think proper.

I remain, your affectionate friend and obliged Servt

"Fairford, July 8, 1790." "M. TOWNSEND."

Another circumstance which may, perhaps, have been equally misrepresented, magnified, and distorted, as its particulars passed from one tale-bearer to another, has been kindly communicated to me by the Rev. Mr. Lewin, of Liverpool, in whose presence it occurred, in the following terms:—

"Mr. Pickard, the minister of Carter-lane, being at Bedford, to wait on Mr. Sanderson's widow, he, with myself, were invited to dine with Mr. Howard, at his seat at Cardington. After dinner we took a walk in the garden, accompanied by Master Howard, of whom his father appeared to be very fond, and seemed highly gratified at our admiration of his son. Mr. Howard observed that he was a very good child; and, as a proof of his obedient disposition, placed him in a situation where he could view the whole garden, and bade him stay there till he came back. It unfortunately happened, that instead of a mere walk round the garden, we went into a kind of arbour, called the root-house. There a conversation ensued for a few minutes, when we returned to the house. As we were walking I observed to Mr. Pickard, that the child was still where we left him. Mr. Pickard

* "Rather, a matted bench, which went round the room. The floor, which was of clay, was not covered.——S. P."

upon this observed, that we had forgotten Master Howard. Instantly his father, with considerable emotion of mind, ran to the young gentleman, carressed him, and expressed no small concern at the accident. I saw, during the whole of the business, not the least token of overbearing authority, or any studied display of ostentation. The transaction seemed purely accidental, and to have arisen merely from our observing that he was a fine little boy."

CHAP. VI.

NOTE I. p. 159.—The former of these acts directs, that all prisoners, against whom no bills of indictment shall be found by the grand jury, or who shall be discharged by proclamation, for want of prosecution, shall be immediately set at large in open court without payment of any fee, or sum of money, to the sheriff or gaoler in respect of such discharge; and, abolishing all such fees for the future, it directs the payment, in lieu of them, of a sum, not exceeding thirteen shillings and four-pence, out of the county-rate, or of the public stock of cities, towns, &c. not contributing to such rate, for every prisoner discharged, in either of the cases provided for by this statute. The other authorizes and requires the justices in quarter-sessions assembled, to order the ceilings, wards, and other rooms, both of debtors and felons, in those prisons within their jurisdiction, in which felons are usually confined, to be scraped and whitewashed, once in the year at least; to be regularly washed and kept clean; and constantly supplied with fresh air by means of hand-ventilators or otherwise. It further directs them to appropriate two rooms for the use of the sick in each gaol; the one for men and the other for women, and to order their removal into them as soon as they shall be seized with any disorder, that they may be kept separate from the prisoners who are in health; to provide in every prison a warm and cold bath, or commodious bathing tubs, and to direct the prisoners to be washed in one or other of them before they are suffered to go out of the gaol upon any occasion whatever; and also to appoint to them an experienced surgeon or apothecary, at a stated salary, who shall report to the justices, at every quarter-sessions, a statement of the health of the prisoners under his care and superintendence. By the second section of the act, they are also authorized to direct the courts of justice within their jurisdiction to be properly ventilated,

to order clothes for the prisoners when they shall see occasion; to prevent their being kept under-ground whenever they can conveniently do so; and, finally, to make such other orders, from time to time, for restoring or preserving their health as they shall think necessary. The last section provides for the payment of the expence of the execution of these orders out of the county-rate, or the public stock of places not contributing to it; and directs that any gaoler who shall neglect, or disobey the orders made in pursuance of this act may be summarily proceeded against, either before the judges of assize, or justices in quarter-sessions, and be sentenced to pay such fine as the court before whom he is brought, shall direct, or in default of payment be committed to gaol. The better to secure the execution of these most humane and salutary provisions, the act is also directed to be painted in large and legible characters on a board, and hung up in some conspicuous part of every gaol: It is much to be lamented, that those provisions are so little attended to.

CHAP. X.

NOTE I. p. 426.—"An Account of the Number of Miles travelled on the reform of Prisons.

Journeys.		*Miles.*
In Great Britain and Ireland	1773, 4, 5, and 6	10,318
First Foreign Journey	1775	1,400
Second ditto	1776	1,700
Third ditto	1778	4,636
In Great Britain and Ireland	1779	6,430
Fourth Foreign Journey	1781	4,465
In Great Britain and Ireland	1782	8,165
Fifth Foreign Journey	1783	3,304
To Ireland		715
To Worcester		238
To Hertford, Chelmsford, and Warrington		602
	Total	42,033 miles.

	Journeys in 1779	1781
	Miles.	*Miles.*
1st, Western	534	538
2d, Southern	368	273
3d, Eastern	512	803
4th, Kent, &c.	353	516
5th, Northern	957	932
6th, South Wales	580	472
7th, Scotland and Ireland	1151	537
8th, North Wales	690	2030
9th, Notting^{m} and Hunts	450	924
10th, Lincolns^{r} and Bedf^{d}	500	845
11th, Liverpool, &c.	395	295
Total	6490 Miles.	8165

To God alone be all the Praise! I do not regret the Loss of the many Conveniencies of Life, but bless God who inclined my mind to such a Scheme."

CHAP. XI.

NOTE I. p. 536.—Lest it should be thought that any undue partiality should have induced this representation, I would just state here, the particulars of an account given to me at the last quarter-sessions, at Preston, by the keeper of the house of correction there; from which it appears, that in the course of the year ending the 2d of April, the prisoners confined there, the average number being 291, earned by their labor, chiefly in the various branches of the cotton manufacture, 1286*l.* 12*s.* of which 879*l.* 17*s.* 3½*d.* was paid over to the county treasurer, towards defraying the expence of their maintenance, the remainder being consumed by the allowance of 10 per cent. to the task-master, and by the encouragement so judiciously held out to the convicts, of receiving at their discharge, one-fourth of the sum they might have earned during their confinement. The average expence of dieting each prisoner for the year round is calculated at nearly 2*s.* 5*d.* per week, which amounts to 1828*l.* 9*s.* for 291 persons: so that more than half the sum expended in their food, is the clear produce of their own labor. But to this very consider-

able saving to the county, another is to be added, for the employment of upwards of thirty prisoners for the year round, as laborers in the new buildings erecting in the gaol, each of whom did the work of a man, whose wages would have been eighteen shillings per week; so that to the 879*l.* 17*s.* 3½*d.* already stated to have been paid over to the treasurer, we must add, upon this account, at least 1,404*l.* more, which will give us a surplus of 455*l.* 8*s.* 3½*d.* applicable to the other expences of the establishment, after the diet of the whole of its prisoners is completely paid for out of their earnings. I have reason to believe that the other bridewells of this country are quite as well managed, though I am not in possession of the particulars of their expenditure.

CHAPTER XII.

NOTE I. p. 592.—The remains of this unhappy victim of his own imprudence were removed from Leicester to Cardington, and deposited in the same vault with those of his mother; a tablet having since been erected, above that to her own and her husband's memory, bearing this short inscription:—

JOHN HOWARD,
Only Son and Heir of
JOHN AND HENRIETTA HOWARD,
Died the 26th of April, 1799,
Aged 34 Years.

NOTE II. p. 631.—It is with great concern that I add, from Dr. Clarke's Travels,* the following account of a meditated profanation of the grave of our illustrious countryman. "A circumstance came to our knowledge before we left Russia, concerning Howard's remains, which it is painful to relate; namely, that Count Vincent Potocki, a Polish nobleman of the highest taste and talents, whose magnificent library and museum would do honour to any country, through a mistaken design of testifying his respect for the memory of Howard, had signified his intention of taking up the body, that it might be conveyed to his country-seat, where a sumptuous monument has been prepared for its reception, upon a small island in the midst of a lake. His Countess, being a romantic lady, wishes to have an annual *fête*,

* Vol. I. p. 610, 611.

consecrated to Benevolence; at this the nymphs of the country are to attend, and strew the place with flowers. The design is so contrary to the earnest request of Mr. Howard, and at the same time so derogatory from the dignity due to his remains, that every friend to his memory will join in wishing it may never be fulfilled: Count Potocki was absent during the time we remained in that part of the world, or we should have ventured to remonstrate: we could only therefore entrust our petitions to a third person, who promised to convey them to him after our departure." May they have been conveyed, and listened to, is the earnest wish of Mr. Howard's biographer, as it must be of every admirer of his virtues!

NOTE III. p. 631.—We are informed in a work to which, as it respects Mr. Howard, for reasons which have already been assigned, implicit credit is by no means due, that it was an express direction of his to Thomasson, that his body should be kept five days before it was interred, and that he himself should remain at Cherson for as many weeks after his master's decease. Whether in fact these directions were ever given, or if given, whether they were acted upon, I know not, nor is it a point of any importance, could the truth now be ascertained. With respect to this man, a more unpleasant duty remains to be performed, by giving such an account of his history, after his return to England, as shall justify the very different light in which he appears before the public in these pages, and in those of Dr. Aikin, which were printed before the infamy of his character was discovered. Charged to bring home to his executors the valuable effects which his master had with him at his death, he was liberally recompenced by them for the care he had taken of his property, and the supposed fidelity of his services. Amongst other things they gave him, partly by Mr. Howard's written directions, his gold watch, his clothes, and some of the money he had about him at the time of his decease. The character he had always borne, and the attachment he professed to entertain for his former employer, induced Mr. Whitbread also to take him immediately into his service, from which, however, he was soon dismissed, on the discovery of some vicious propensities, of so flagrant a nature as to induce that gentleman to insist on his quitting his neighbourhood for ever, if he would avoid a prosecution for his offences, which a respect for the sense Mr. Howard entertained for his services alone prevented his instituting. With these conditions he complied; and on calling at Mrs. Prole's, but a few days before his departure, he pulled out two or three guineas, exclaiming as he did so, "See, these are the last of my master's money:" to

which the good old lady replied, "For shame, Thomasson, to have squandered all his bounty; but you know it was ill-gotten gain, and that never prospers; I expect you will live to want." These were the last words that any of his former fellow-servants ever spoke to him, and they were very strikingly verified; for, retiring into the neighbourhood of Warrington, he took a public-house, in which he failed, principally from the indifference of his character and of his conduct; and ultimately died, as has been stated in the preface to this work, a pauper in the Liverpool Infirmary. Before he was summoned hence, there is ground, however, to hope that he had repented of his sins, of which his ingratitude to the best of masters was not by any means the least.

NOTE IV. p. 633.—The Conclusion of the Funeral Sermon for Mr. Howard, preached by Rev. Thomas Smith, at the New Meeting, Bedford, March 7, 1790.

"This view of things affords us the most solid and abundant comfort on the loss of pious and valued friends. With what satisfaction may we reflect upon them as having exchanged these abodes of disorder and sin, for those of everlasting purity and joy. We cannot help mourning when those we valued are taken from us; yet our grief is mixed with a sweet and [pleasing] consolation, when we have reason to hope they have entered the joy of their Lord. This consolation we have on the death of our highly esteemed and worthy friend, Mr. Howard, who has been in intimate and affectionate connection with this Christian Society, from its first formation. I intend no laboured encomium on his character; were I disposed, and better able to do justice to his uncommon virtues, I am not at *liberty* in this respect to do it. What he was you too well know to need information, and, if you wish to dignify your characters, you will remember and imitate him. Something it is necessary to say; something I think myself at liberty to say, suffice it therefore to observe, that his piety was uniform and consistent; displayed in the even tenor of an honorable walk with God, without parade or ostentation.

He had a lively zeal for the honor and interest of the Redeemer, which he was ready to assert upon all occasions, where the honor and success of the gospel could be promoted. His concern for the support and welfare of this Christian Society, and the various services he rendered it, will long be remembered with pleasure and gratitude.

His loss, too, will be severely felt by us, unless a gracious Providence should raise up unto us, one like-minded with himself.

He lived, beloved by those who were most intimately connected with him;—his benefac-

tions to the poor, were uncommonly numerous and liberal;—he went in search of misery, in order to relieve it. Every benevolent mind must love the man who devoted his time, his fortune, his health, and life, to schemes and labours, which had for their object, the miseries of the most wretched of his fellow-creatures;—the relieving those who were already bound, and preserving others from becoming so.

"He is now gone from our world. His death is followed by general respect, and we who are lamenting his loss are comforted by the persuasion that he is now translated to the mansions of the just.

"Had it pleased an all-wise Providence to have returned him to his native country and friends, we should have rejoiced in the event; but that Being, whose ways are always wise and kind, has thought proper to take him from our world. This is the will of God, and to that will it is our duty to submit. With the greater acquiescence and consolation may we submit to it, as we have such solid grounds to hope that our departed Friend is gone to those mansions where he shall behold the divine face in righteousness, and be satisfied with his complete likeness. God grant that all of us may be imitators of him in his piety, purity, and usefulness. Once more, let us all be concerned to have more of the image of God upon us in this life,—Let us be concerned, as far as human infirmity will admit, and looking to God for assistance, to be holy, as he is holy, remembering that it is by a patient continuance in well-doing that we are to seek for glory, honor, and immortality, remembering that the Gospel teaches us to deny ungodliness and worldly lusts, to live righteously, soberly, and godly, in this present evil world, whilst we are encouraged by it to look for the blessed hope and the glorious appearance of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, who loved us and gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify to himself a peculiar people zealous of good works."

NOTE v. p. 650.—Extracts from John Prole's Address to his Children, entitled "A Father's Legacy to his Children;" printed for their own use after his death:—

"A little more than two years and a half after I lost my much-esteemed master, where I was very happy, and then the Lord directed me to that worthy, benevolent, and good man, Mr. Howard, with whom, for the first six or seven years, I enjoyed all the happiness that a rational mind could wish, for here the Lord had again fully answered my poor unworthy requests far beyond all my wishes and expectations.*

* This refers to the time *he lived in Mr. Howard's family.* He afterwards married, and became a sort of bailiff to him. The former master he mentions was Mr. Penny, of Lymington.

" How many have been the kind and gracious appearances of the great Jehovah for me of late, which some of you have known. How kindly did that great Preserver protect me and my good master in that hazardous journey into Scotland, in the deep snow, when we went through drifts in many places deeper than our horses and ourselves. And in a remarkable manner was I preserved on our journey from Newcastle, for about five o'clock in the morning, as I was riding on before my master, when getting out of the road, both my horse and myself fell into a pit which I could not see, it being made level by the snow, and in which we were covered; but, having a strong horse, he worked himself out with me on him, without any hurt:—and many other dangers my master and myself were, in our journey, preserved from, while many that we heard of lost their lives in that severe season; and all our escapes from death were owing to that kind hand, which, in the moment of danger, is often remarkably seen.

" I could wish and pray you to make it your study to copy the example of my much-esteemed and worthy master, Mr. Howard, especially in his diligence and activity in promoting the honor and glory of God, and the real good of his fellow-creatures. What an example has he left! No time was lost with him, but all improved for the most valuable purposes. No parade of equipage, nor outward appearance; no superfluities, nor indulgence in eating and drinking, but the strictest abstinence from everything that could be in the least a let or hindrance to him in performing what he well knew was his incumbent duty as a rational and immortal being, who would be called to a strict and impartial account of the talents with which a good and gracious Creator had endowed him. And I can assure you, that nothing was lost or unimproved by him, but all was faithfully improved to some valuable end or purpose. Let us endeavour, like him, to improve the talents that a wise and good God has entrusted us with, and may we be ever mindful that, in a little time, we must give a strict account what use we have made of those precious advantages with which we are so richly endowed. I mean our spiritual gifts, and the many opportunities we have for our improvement in divine life, especially our solemn Seasons, let none of them be lost.

FINIS.

S. Curtis, Printer, Camberwell Press.

ERRATA.

Page xxiii, line	12,	— Chances, *r.* Annuities
— —	14 & 15,	— Brocksbank, *r.* Brooksbank
— —	17,	— M. A. *r.* B. D.
14 —	6,	— Micaiah, *r.* Meredith
15 —	8, & 18 —	18, — Loidoire, *r.* Loidore
16 —	20,	— Note XI. *r.* Note XII.
31 —	19,	*dele* there
33 —	19,	for chear, *r.* cheer
71 —	25,	— John, *r.* Thomas
89 —	4,	author's, *dele* apostrophe
111 —	15,	*dele* rather
117 —	1,	— jun.
119 —	8,	after discountenance, *dele* comma
175 —	10,	for high; *r.* high,
247 —	10,	— violence, *r.* virulence
268 —	28,	— one instance, *r.* in one instance
275 —	28,	— Ib. *r.* Appendix to State of Prisons, 1st. Edit.
287 —	16,	— whom, *r.* whose members
336 —	31,	for advertisements, *r.* advertisement
337 —	16,	*dele* to
349 —	29,	for 1st. *r.* 2d.
396 —	23,	— bridewells, *r.* bridewell
399 —	2,	East Grinstead, *dele* comma
405 —	30,	for 3d. *r.* 2d.
419 —	4,	— require. *r.* requires
422 —	6,	— weight, *r.* weight:
426 —	25,	— this, *r.* that
439 —	8,	— its, *r.* his
450 —	4,	— fourth, *r.* fifth; for fifth and sixth, *r.* sixth and seventh; and for fourth, *r.* fifth
457 —	8,	after situated, *add* *
471 —	2,	for nations, *r.* Christians
507 —	20,	— generous, *r.* gracious,
512 —	29,	*dele* my
533 —	7,	— the
543 —	13,	for ruined, *r.* ruinous
562 —	20,	— is, *r.* his
576 —	3,	— evince, *r.* evinces
630 —	30,	— Note III. *r.* Note IV.

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